THE CHRONICLE OF MELROSE ABBEY I

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY 2007

The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey

A STRATIGRAPHIC EDITION

I. Introduction and Facsimile

DAUVIT BROUN
JULIAN HARRISON

Scottish History Society
2007

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

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VOLUME 1

The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey
A Stratigraphic Edition

Volume I
Introduction and Facsimile Edition

The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey is the principal source for Scottish history in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it is also a remarkable survival of a chronicle-manuscript that grew for over a century. It is thus of great importance to historians and palaeographers alike.

This new edition is accompanied by a detailed introduction, offering a full account of scribes; a collation of the manuscript; a discussion of the manuscript's evolution and binding-history in the light of its disbinding in 2005–6; a new 'stratigraphic' approach to the chronicle's development; and a full account of the manuscript's history. There is also a discussion of Cistercian chronicling in the British Isles. Of particular interest is the recognition that the manuscript comprised part of British Library MS Cotton Julius B. XIII as well as Cotton Faustina B. IX, shedding new light on the nature of the original codex and its date. The book is accompanied by a DVD containing digitised images of the whole manuscript.

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SCOTTISH CHRONICLES PROJECT

This is the first of a number of volumes on Scottish chronicles which will appear occasionally as part of the main series of annual volumes published by the Scottish History Society. An editorial board, consisting of scholars whose research embraces Scottish chronicles, or who were members of the *Scotichronicon* project led by Donald Watt, have been assembled to assist the society in the development of this occasional series.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This volume represents a fresh departure for the Scottish History Society. There is no text and translation (except for a brief sample quoted in chapter IV): the Latin of the chronicle and its rendering into English are promised for volumes ii and iii, which are in progress (and will appear no earlier than 2010). Instead, readers are offered on the DVD a reproduction of the original manuscript as it survives today. Like a number of other medieval manuscripts it has become divided in two, and is now London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XIII fos 2–47, and London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. IX fos 2–75. For centuries the Melrose Chronicle has been regarded as Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 alone. In this edition Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 is recognised for the first time as part of the codex. It shows that the manuscript originally consisted of a year-by-year chronicle beginning with the Incarnation of Christ (which originally ran up to the killing of Thomas Becket on 29 December 1170 and was subsequently continued throughout most of the thirteenth century) conjoined with a copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*. On the DVD Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 have been reunited for the first time in almost 500 years. The volume itself consists chiefly of a detailed analysis of the manuscript and a full account of its history from when it was created in 1173×4 to the disbinding of each of its two parts by Mariluz Beltran de Guevara of the British Library in 2005–6. The priority given here to providing an in-depth study of the manuscript-evidence before presenting the text itself is not only a reflection of the special challenge posed by the Melrose Chronicle; it is also indicative of an important shift in approach to medieval sources towards an ever greater awareness that any piece of writing is more than mere words, and has a physical dimension which is crucial to our understanding of it.

The volume begins with two introductory scene-setting chapters: the first aims to situate the Cistercian abbey of Melrose in its world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the second serves to place the Melrose Chronicle within the context of other annalistic chronicles from Cistercian abbeys in Britain and Ireland. Chapter III turns the focus on the chronicle itself by discussing previous editions and arguing for the desirability of an innovative approach to the task of producing a new edition. The main aim is to place centre-stage the evidence provided by a close study of the manuscript, and it is proposed that this can best be achieved by basing the edition on the chronicle's 'stratigraphy'. What is meant by this, and how the stratigraphy can be established through the wealth of evidence provided by the remarkable survival of a chronicle-manuscript like that of Melrose, is discussed at length. The following chapters are concerned with the two most obvious novelties

of this edition: the stratigraphic approach, and the discovery of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47. Chapters IV and V are devoted to the latter. It is explained in chapter IV why Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 must be regarded as part of Melrose's chronicle-manuscript, and what this contributes to our understanding of how the codex was originally produced. This includes a brief discussion of the sources used by the scribes who created the year-by-year chronicle in 1173×4, which serves to show that each may also be regarded as the author of their section of the text. A detailed account of the original manuscript of 1173×4 is provided in chapter V, complementing the attention devoted to the physical evidence of the additions to the chronicle which dominates the full account of its stratigraphy in chapter VIII. The dating of each stratum is drawn from information in the text; in all other respects the analysis of the stratigraphy is based on the essential contributions of codicology and palaeography which are the subjects of chapters VI and VII. Chapter VI arises from the exceptional opportunity provided by the disbinding of the manuscript to study its structure and binding, which are both vital to understanding its history. Chapter VII is chiefly devoted to the challenge of analysing what text was written by which scribes. The discussion of palaeography is limited to the identification of features that might be regarded as distinctive to an individual scribe or which are relevant to the history of script in this period. This material relating to palaeographical developments is drawn together in the fifth section of chapter X and is preceded in the fourth section by a summary of scribes and the date of their contributions (insofar as this is revealed in chapter VIII), along with a systematic classification of their script. The meat of the book finishes in chapter IX with a full discussion of the history of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 from when the manuscript left Melrose during the wars of independence sometime during the English occupation of Roxburghshire (1296–1314). The volume concludes with a chapter providing useful points of reference: a brief description of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX, a collation of the parts of these manuscripts which originated in Melrose Abbey, a summary of strata (with an explanation of how they will be organised in volumes ii and iii), a listing of scribes, a brief account of points of general palaeographical interest, and a list of known copies, editions, extracts and translations. The collation of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 and the listing of scribes are accompanied (respectively) by a discussion of the relevant codicological and palaeographical terminology that has been developed in the most recent scholarship on the medieval manuscripts of Latin Christendom. As a facsimile edition this volume aims to give a detailed treatment of those aspects of the chronicle which depend on the study of the manuscript. The question of the chronicle's sources is essentially a textual concern and will be tackled in the volumes of text and translation. It will be possible there to mark up the edited text in a way that will facilitate the discussion of sources.

Both authors began to study the chronicle independently of each other, Julian Harrison as part of a wider study of Cistercian chronicles in the British Isles, and Dauvit Broun in the hope of developing the chronicle as a web-based resource. The first attempt to make the Melrose Chronicle accessible on the web took shape after James Waddell of Melrose contacted the University of St Andrews in October 1999, very generously offering his own text and translation to scholars working on the chronicle: his message was passed on to Dauvit Broun, and the project grew from there. Dauvit Broun is very grateful to James Waddell, not only for making his work available, but for providing the initial spark without which work on this edition would never have begun. The decision to adopt a new approach (and a fresh text and translation) was made during study-leave in 2001–2, supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Faculty of Arts in the University of Glasgow, and the idea of a collaborative edition with Julian Harrison soon followed. In the spring of 2004 the possibility of disbinding Faustina B. IX and digitising both parts came on the horizon. We are extremely grateful to the British Library, and Rachel Stockdale and Mariluz Beltran de Guevara in particular, for making it possible to disbind both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX, and to John Mumford for his enthusiastic support for the project throughout. We are also extremely grateful to Roger Mason (as convenor) and Alan MacDonald (as treasurer), and the rest of the Council of the Scottish History Society, who readily provided the bulk of the funding for the digitisation of the manuscripts, and to the Gargunnock Estate for making the donation to the Scottish History Society which made it possible for the Society to offer their financial support so readily. The rest of the funding for digitisation was provided by the Scottish Inheritance Fund, and we would like to thank the Fund and Alexander Fenton and Kenneth Veitch in particular for making this timely donation. Vital financial support was also given by the Strathmartine Trust who funded the research on the disbound manuscripts and the production of the DVD: we are very grateful to Barbara Crawford and the trustees for this assistance. Dauvit Broun is also very grateful to Christelle Le Riguer for producing the DVD, and to the Department of History, University of Glasgow, for financial assistance in trips to the British Library earlier in the project, as well as to the AHRC and the Faculty of Arts at Glasgow for the initial period of study-leave. It is also a pleasure to thank Norman Reid, Head of Special Collections and Keeper of Manuscripts and Muniments, University of St Andrews Library, for permission to cite material from the papers of A. O. and M. O. Anderson in his care, and also to thank him and Rachel Hart, Muniments Archivist in the Special Collections Department of the University of St Andrews, for providing access to these papers shortly after they had been deposited and before they had been assimilated into the university's archives, and to Simon Taylor for his assistance at an earlier stage in relation to these papers. Dauvit Broun is also very grateful to Murray Tod for his hospitality and welcome on so many trips to the British Library over the years.

It is also our pleasant duty to thank those who have in many ways given generously of their scholarship. We are particularly grateful to Daniel Huws, who worked on the disbound manuscripts with us and gave freely of his expertise and advice. We are also grateful to him for reading and commenting on an early draft of volume i and for his assistance with chapter VI. Earlier drafts of the volume were also read and commented on by Norman Shead and Simon Taylor, for which many thanks are due, and we are very grateful to Sharon Adams, Publications Secretary of the Scottish History Society, for reading through a penultimate draft and for offering invaluable help and advice. We are also most grateful for help on particular points to Michelle Brown, James Carley, James G. Clark, Archie Duncan, Nicholas Evans, Mariluz Beltran de Guevara, Michael Gullick, Robin Harcourt Williams, John Mumford, Pamela Selwyn, Rachel Stockdale, Colin Tite and Freya Verstraten. We would both like to acknowledge the assistance of the curators and staff in the various libraries we have worked, especially the British Library, Glasgow University Library, Edinburgh University Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland, University of St Andrews Library, Lambeth Palace Library, College of Arms, Westminster Abbey Library, Cambridge University Library, Trinity College Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Bodleian Library Oxford, Corpus Christi College Oxford, Durham University Library, Norfolk Record Office and Trinity College Dublin. Dauvit Broun would particularly wish to thank Alan Borthwick for making the original charters of Melrose Abbey in the National Archives of Scotland available for study. Julian Harrison is very grateful for help with his work on Cistercian chronicling to Martin Brett, Rees Davies, David Dumville, Elizabeth Freeman, Philip Morgan, Martin Schøyen, and James Willoughby. Dauvit Broun would also wish to record his gratitude to Marjorie Anderson for giving him a copy of the facsimile edition she produced with her husband. He is, last but not least, forever grateful to Nerys Ann Jones for her constant support and encouragement.

Both authors wish to dedicate this edition to two pre-eminent scholars who, by their work, and by friendship and kindness to us, have made a fundamental contribution to our progress: Archie Duncan, whose track record in the study and publication of medieval Scottish sources across a wide range of genres is unrivalled, and whose emphasis on understanding how sources came into being has been an abiding influence; and Daniel Huws, whose scholarship and deep understanding of medieval codicology and palaeography and their potential to reveal new insights, and the clarity with which this is conveyed in his work, has taught us so much, and has been a constant inspiration.

Vigil of St Boisil, 2006

GUIDE TO THE DVD

The DVD contains 254 digitised images grouped into three files. There is a file each for Julius B. XIII fos 1–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 1–75, with an image for the recto and verso of each folio. The third file consists of ten detailed images:

[No.1] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 48v+53r (1)
On the left side of the gutter a row of prickings can be seen which were originally on the inner margin of fo.53. Each pricking corresponds with a ruled line on fo.53r. This shows that fo.53 and fo.48 have been joined together (with fo.53 on this side taken across the gutter).

Three binding-holes are visible. From the top: the first (a large hole, like a vertical gash), and the second hole immediately below it, are a Cottonian (and modern) sewing-station. The third hole (which looks as if it has been stabbed) is the binding-hole at 160mm from the tail, and was produced as part of the earliest binding of the manuscript.

[No.2] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 48v+53r (2)
As with the previous image, a row of prickings can be seen on the left side of the gutter which were originally on the inner margin of fo.53. Each pricking corresponds with a ruled line on fo.53r.

The bottom hole (like a horizontal slash) is 80mm from the tail, and was produced as part of the earliest binding of the manuscript.

[No.3] Outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.14v
A red smudge can be seen on the mounting. This may originally have been a comment or marker in the red crayon characteristic of Archbishop Matthew Parker (d.1575). It is opposite an account of Alexander II's marriages, first to Joanna sister of Henry III of England, and second to Marie de Couci.

[No.4] Outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.69r
A red smudge can be seen in the outer margin. This may originally have been a comment or marker in the red crayon characteristic of Archbishop Matthew Parker (d.1575). It is opposite a passage in which a miracle of Simon de Montfort is compared to one of St Peter.

[No.5] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 5v+8r
The word *successit* appears to have been written across the gutter, but this is not where it was originally. It was written by Scribe 28 when he added the 'Verse Chronicle' piecemeal into margins and between lines. He wrote *successit* in the inner margin of fo.5v; when fos 5 and 8 were split into singletons and then joined together, part of the inner margin of fo.5v was taken across the

gutter, and, as a result, *successit* moved into its current unusual position. Only the first syllable can be seen in the facsimile edition of 1936 (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 8).

[No.6] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 6v+7r (1)
Flap created to preserve addition in inner margin (a section of the 'Verse Chronicle' interpolated by Scribe 28) when the manuscript as a whole was first prepared for binding. Above the flap it can be seen that part of the inner margin of fo.6v has been pasted onto fo.7r, obscuring part of an initial *A*. The reason fo.6 has been dragged across fo.7 like this was in order to preserve another section of the 'Verse Chronicle' added by Scribe 28 onto the outer margin of fo.6v.

[No.7] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 6v+7r (2)
This shows the underside of the flap seen in the previous image. The hole is at 200mm from the tail.

[No.8] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 6v+7r (3)
This shows the underside of the same flap as the previous image. The bottom hole is at 160mm from the tail, and was produced as part of the earliest binding of the manuscript.

[No.9] Gutter of Faustina B. IX fos 6v+7r (4)
The bottom part of the underside of the same flap as the previous images can be seen at the top, Part of fo.6v (after being cropped) has been pasted over the inner margin of fo.7r along the remainder of the gutter, obscuring two initial *A*s (one partially, the other completely). Note also how the second *p* of *papa* (abbreviated to *p*^{a}*p*) has been dragged into the gutter when fo.6v was pulled across to overlap with the inner margin of fo.7r. The hole (looking like a gash) is at 80mm from the tail, and was produced as part of the earliest binding of the manuscript.

[No.10] Outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.26r
This shows the flap created to retain an item on the succession to the abbacy of Coupar Angus in 1194 that had been added in the outer margin of fo.26r.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*	Alan Orr Anderson & Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (facs. eds), with an index by William Croft Dickinson, *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum* (London, 1936)
Barrow, *Charters of David I*	G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), *The Charters of King David I: The Written Acts of David I, King of Scots, 1124–53, and of his son Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 1139–52* (Woodbridge, 1999)
BL	London, British Library
Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Broun, *The Irish Identity*	Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999)
Broun & Harrison, *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*	Dauvit Broun & Julian Harrison (eds and trans), *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition*, 3 vols, Scottish History Society
CDS	Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1881–8); Grant G. Simpson & James D. Galbraith (eds), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland preserved in the Public Record Office and the British Library*, vol. v ([Edinburgh], n.d.)
Chron. Fordun, i	William F. Skene (ed.), *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1871)
Chron. Fordun, ii	Felix J. H. Skene (trans.), *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. William F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1872)
Duncan, 'Sources and uses'	A. A. M. Duncan, 'Sources and uses of the Chronicle of Melrose, 1165–1297', in Simon Taylor (ed.), *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297: Essays in honour of Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday* (Dublin, 2000), 146–85
ES	Alan Orr Anderson (trans.), *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286* (Edinburgh, 1922; Stamford, corr. repr., 1991)

Faustina B. IX	London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B. IX
Harrison, 'The English reception'	Julian Harrison, 'The English reception of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2002), Article 1 http://www.bl.uk/collections/eblj/2002/article1.html
Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*'	Julian Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* in the British Isles', in Rainer Berndt (ed.), *Schrift, Schreiber, Schenker: Studien zur Abtei Sankt Viktor in Paris und den Viktorinern*, Corpus Victorinum, Instrumenta, 1 (Berlin, 2005), 263–92
HRHS	D. E. R. Watt & N. F. Shead (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries*, The Scottish Record Society, new series, 24 (Edinburgh, 2001)
Julius B. XIII	London, British Library, Cotton Julius B. XIII
Melrose Liber	[Cosmo Innes] (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros. Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1837)
MS. (MSS.)	manuscript (manuscripts)
NAS	Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland
NLS	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
NLW	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
RRS, ii	G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), with the collaboration of W. W. Scott, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ii, *The Acts of William I, King of Scots 1165–1214* (Edinburgh, 1971)
s.a. (*s.aa.*)	*sub anno* (*sub annis*)
SAEC	Alan Orr Anderson (trans.), *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500–1286* (London, 1908; Stamford, corr. repr., 1991)
Scotichronicon	D. E. R. Watt (gen. ed.), *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower*, 9 vols (Aberdeen, 1987–98)
Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*	Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Chronica de Mailros, e codice unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato*, The Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1835)
Watt & Murray, *Fasti*	D. E. R. Watt & A. L. Murray (eds), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638*, The Scottish Record Society, new series, 25 (Edinburgh, rev. edn, 2003)

GLOSSARY

Ampersand: Form of writing *et*, 'and', which looks like **&**.

Ascender: The part of a letter (such as **b** or **l**) extending above the height of most letters.

Bifolium: A sheet of parchment folded in two to form two folios.

Biting: The joining together of letters with contrary curves.

Codex: A manuscript book.

Descender: The part of a letter (such as **p** or **q**) extending below the line of writing.

Folio: A leaf whose front (recto) and back (verso) each constitute a page.

Gathering: see **quire**.

Gutter: The inside of the fold of a bifolium.

Hairline: A thin line typically written using the corner of a nib.

Kettle-stitch: The stitch near the top (head) or bottom (tail) in the gutter when a manuscript is bound, and which holds the quires together.

Minim: A short vertical stroke. The letter **i** is typically written as a single minim; **n** as two minims; and **m** as three minims.

Pricking: Small holes piercing the edge of a piece of parchment. They are used as guides for ruling lines.

Quire: Typically a few bifolia folded to form booklets (usually consisting of between 6 and 10 folios) which are brought together to form a codex. Can also include single folios as well as bifolia.

Sewing station: Holes where thread or some other ligature has been passed through a quire to bind it.

Serif: A small stroke typically added as decoration to the top of an ascender.

Sign-post rubric: Word(s), typically a name or title ('king of France'), written in the margin to draw attention to an item in the chronicle.

Stub: The extreme inner part of a folio that remains once it has been cut away (or 'cancelled') after bifolia have been gathered together into a quire.

Tramlines: Parallel lines ruled close together which typically define one edge of the written surface of a folio.

Tironian *et*: An ancient shorthand symbol for *et*, 'and', looking like **7**.

I

MELROSE ABBEY AND ITS WORLD

Dauvit Broun

On Easter Monday, 23 March 1136, the abbey of Melrose was created by King David I (1124–53) and his son and heir, Henry, as a daughter-house of the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, which had itself been founded only four years earlier.[1] After ten years Melrose had become securely established: the abbey's church was dedicated on Sunday, 28 July 1146, and it had acquired, at about this time, parallel charters from David I and Henry in which their earlier donations of lands and other rights were brought together and recorded for posterity.[2] Earlier, Melrose had already been sufficiently successful to become a mother-house itself, with the foundation of Newbattle Abbey in 1140. In 1150 two further daughter-houses were established: the first at Holm Cultram in Cumberland (which was at that time within David I's realm), and the second at Kinloss in Moray. Melrose was well on its way to securing its place in Scottish history as the kingdom's principal Cistercian abbey.

David I's decision to establish a daughter-house of Rievaulx can, at one level, be explained as a result of his friendship with Aelred, the son of the hereditary priest of Hexham: Aelred was an official in David I's household before becoming a monk at Rievaulx in or about 1134 (and, in due course, its abbot).[3] This personal connection was no doubt significant. Melrose's foundation should, however, also be seen within the immediate context of David I's ambitions in northern England, rather than simply as a facet of his

1 It has been claimed that 'by modern reckoning' the foundation-date was 23 March 1137, not 1136 (because in the middle ages the year was frequently reckoned to begin on 25 March): Richard Oram *apud* Richard Fawcett & Richard Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, 2004), 20. The date in the chronicle is not expressed as '23 March', however, but as *feria ii^a^ pasche*, i.e., Easter Monday. Easter fell after 25 March in 1137, and so would not have been placed in the annal for 1136. There is no doubt, therefore, that the date of foundation recorded in the chronicle was 23 March 1136. I am grateful to Julian Harrison for pointing out that this is confirmed by the Waverley Chronicle, which records *s.a.* 1136 *Fundata est Mel<rosa> feria secunda pasche*: Henry Richards Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1864–9), ii. 225 (where the abbey in question is misidentified by the editor as Meaux in Yorkshire).

2 Barrow, *Charters of David I*, nos 120 and 121 (datable to 1143×7). On the protracted process of foundation, with an initial act of donation preceding by a number of years the foundation-charter, the establishing of conventual life, and the consecration of the church, see most recently Marie Therese Flanagan (ed.), *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), 26–7.

3 Richard Fawcett (*apud* Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, 76) also draws attention to David's relationship to Waltheof, monk of Rievaulx, his kinsman by marriage.

promotion of religious life in Scotland. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that it was formally created only months after the first campaign by David I and his son, Henry, to extend their power deep into the north of England — a campaign whose military effort had faltered at the gates of Durham, but which had nevertheless led to significant concessions by King Stephen when he met King David at Durham itself in February 1136.[4]

Melrose, indeed, was initially only a 'Scottish' foundation in the limited sense that its founder and patron was the king of Scots. Its roots were firmly in the history of the old Northumbria which had once stretched from the Forth to the Humber in the east and across to the Solway Firth in the west. Although the abbey is situated just under two-and-a-half miles or four kilometres from the site of the seventh-century monastery of Melrose, the fact that it was known from the beginning as 'Melrose' Abbey shows that it was intended as a restoration of the ancient convent.[5] It was not unusual for a new monastery to be founded on the site of an old ecclesiastical establishment. The name of Melrose would, however, have had a particular resonance for the Church in the north of England, for it was at Melrose, as testified by Bede, that St Cuthbert entered the monastic life and was later prior.[6] The choice of Melrose may have been influenced particularly by the movement sixty years earlier to revive the principal Northumbrian monasteries which survived only by name in the pages of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* ('Ecclesiastical History of the English People'), and so recreate for the north of England that golden age of the Church immortalised by Bede.[7] An attempt had, indeed, been made around 1076 to renew the monastic life at Old Melrose itself, but this had soon been abandoned under pressure from the king of Scots, Mael Coluim III mac Donnchada (1058–93), and from Walcher, bishop of Durham (1071–80).[8] But St Cuthbert was much more than merely a name in a famous book: he was, in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the pre-eminent saint of the north of England, including the old Northumbrian lands in southern Scotland. The church of Durham, the centre of his cult, exercised a unique authority in the region, and had a special relationship with Mael Coluim III and his family.[9] Yet the founding of Melrose Abbey was not conceived as an

4 Thomas Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1882–5), ii. 287; Richard Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884–9), 146; *SAEC*, 171–3. It should be pointed out that Melrose's foundation is dated to 1 April 1135 in one source of uncertain authority (a list of Cistercian foundations in BL Cotton Faustina B. VII, fos 36r–39v, England, *saec.* xii/xiii: W. de G. Birch, 'On the date of foundation ascribed to the Cistertian abbeys in Great Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 26 (1870), 281–99, 352–69, at 284).

5 It is possible that the monks originally settled at Old Melrose, but migrated shortly afterwards. Such minor migrations soon after foundation were not uncommon.

6 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV.27; Bertram Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (eds and trans), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 430–3.

7 William M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), 131–6.

8 *Ibid.*, 135.

9 G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', in David Rollason, Margaret

extension of the Durham-based cult. On the contrary, the monks of Durham were persuaded to give up the church of Melrose in exchange for St Mary's, Berwick.[10]

By assigning this key part of Cuthbert's heritage to monks of Rievaulx, David I created in Melrose a powerful combination of the ancient and the avant-garde in the monastic world of greater Northumbria. Its novelty would have been immediately apparent to all who saw the first stone church: it was not only an impressive edifice, but represented a new, more austere approach to monastic life. Only parts of the original west front survive, testifying to a building devoid of decoration.[11] The excavations in 1923, however, revealed that Melrose was in most respects typical of an early Cistercian church, with one notable exception: the inner chapel on each transept extended further east than the other transept-chapels. This 'highly uncommon' plan is shared both with Rievaulx and with Fountains Abbey, Rievaulx's sister-house in the vanguard of Cistercian monasticism in northern England, pointing to what has been described as 'a particularly close architectural relationship between these three abbey churches'.[12]

If it was as an ancient site associated with Cuthbert that Melrose would have been instantly recognisable, it was obviously as a Cistercian house that Melrose's connections with the north of England were to be fostered and maintained, particularly through its intimate ties with Rievaulx. In Melrose's extant foundation-charter the beneficiaries are described as 'God and St Mary of Melrose and the monks of Rievaulx serving God there'.[13] One of Melrose's most celebrated abbots, St Waltheof, stepson of David I, was recruited from Rievaulx in 1148. In turn, a few monks of Melrose ended their careers as abbots of Rievaulx, including Ernald, abbot of Melrose 1179–89, who as abbot of Rievaulx commissioned William of Newburgh to write his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* ('History of English Affairs').[14] The relationship could be less congenial, however. This is suggested by one of two accounts in the Melrose Chronicle of how Matthew, abbot of Melrose, ceased to hold office in 1261. In the near-contemporary version we are told that Matthew

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Harvey & Michael Prestwich (eds), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), 311–23; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, 227–67, discussing the estates regarded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the patrimony of St Cuthbert at 13–22 (with maps at 14 and 20).

10 Barrow, *Charters of King David I*, no.52.

11 Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Abbeys and Priories* (London, 1994), 33–4; Richard Fawcett *apud* David Robinson (ed.), *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men* (London, 1998), 144–8. The original church was substantially destroyed by English troops in 1385, and subsequently rebuilt in perpendicular style.

12 Fawcett *apud* Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, 78–9.

13 Barrow, *Charters of King David I*, nos 120 and 121.

14 William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, vols i and ii; P. G. Walsh & M. J. Kennedy (eds and trans), *William of Newburgh: The History of English Affairs Book I* (Warminster, 1988) (see 26–7 for dedicatory letter to Ernald). For a different title, *Historia Anglorum*, see John Gillingham, 'Two Yorkshire historians compared: Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 12 (2002), 15–37, at 16.

resigned due to infirmity. A rather different version, however, was given in material added to the chronicle sometime after Easter 1286. In this account Abbot Matthew was deposed in his absence by the abbot of Rievaulx in the chapter-house of Rievaulx 'without counsel or knowledge of any living soul in Scotland', despite Matthew's blamelessness in the eyes of the Melrose community.[15] There is a strong suspicion that the earlier version was a face-saving formula adopted in the chronicle to preserve the reputation of a popular abbot. If the later account is nearer the truth, then it is an awesome witness to the power of an abbot of Rievaulx (or any other Cistercian mother-house) over a daughter-house, for there is no doubt that Matthew ceased to be abbot, whatever anyone in Scotland may have wished.

Most of the abbey's future relationships and opportunities, however, developed within the Scottish kingdom. Its abbots would have expected to enjoy close links with the abbey's patrons, the kings of Scots, and were sometimes called upon to play a prominent role in the king's affairs. William I (1165–1214) looked to two abbots and a monk of Melrose to fill the office of bishop, each at a critical juncture in the development of royal authority in the areas concerned.[16] Also, it was in the chapter-house of Melrose that King Alexander II (1214–49) received the homage and fealty of barons from Yorkshire on 11 January 1216; and it was at Melrose that Alexander II chose to be buried.

In the wake of the material and moral support of kings came the munificence and favour of lords and landowners both great and small. In the hundred years after its foundation Melrose had established relationships with families of local and regional significance across the south of the kingdom.[17] These relationships ranged across the whole spectrum of landholding society. They included magnates who exercised power over more than one area, such as William de Morville, lord of Lauderdale and Cunningham.[18] It also included the retainers of magnates, like Alan son of Ælfsige (or Æthelsige), who held the toun of Thirlestane from William de Moreville for the service of one knight (and may also have been his lord's sheriff at Lauder).[19] Beneath Alan son of Ælfsige there were those like Eógan (or Owain) son of Gille

15 Faustina B. IX fos 60v, 62v; Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 118, 122. For translations, see *ES*, ii. 600–1.

16 Abbot Jocelin (1170–4) as bishop of Glasgow (1175–99); Abbot Adam (1207–13) as bishop of Caithness (1214–22); and Reinald/Ronald as bishop of Ross (1195–1213): Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 78, 188, 346. The political context is explained by Richard Oram *apud* Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, 29–30, where attention is also drawn to the significance of Alexander II's appointment of Gilbert, monk of Melrose, as bishop of Galloway in 1235 (Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 169).

17 See Nigel M. Webb, 'Settlement and integration: the establishment of an aristocracy in Scotland (1124–1214)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 25 (2003), 227–38, at 234–8.

18 For a summary of the lordships and lands acquired in Scotland by William's father (Richard) and grandfather (Hugh), see G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 71–2.

19 G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the eleventh to the fourteenth Century*, 1st edn (London, 1973), 297–9; 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003), 264–5; Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era*, 129.

Mícheil who held land within Thirlestane; Eógan's relationship with Melrose was that a rent of a pound of wax had been assigned in perpetuity from his land by Alan son of Ælfsige to provide light before the altar of St Mary in the abbey church.[20]

Although these relationships were more prevalent in the south-east, Melrose had also developed close associations in the south-west, including the highlands of what was then understood as Galloway (before the term came to be restricted to the lordship of that name). Their ability to function effectively there contrasts with their fellow Cistercians from Vaudey, (Lincolnshire), who early in the thirteenth century had been granted Carsphairn, a hill farm in the northern edge of Kirkcudbrightshire, by Thomas 'the Scot' de Colville.[21] About eight years after the original grant, the monks of Vaudey declared that the land was of little use to them and, indeed, hazardous, 'both on account of lack of order and due to intimidation by a barbaric people' (*tum propter defectum discipline tum propter barbarice gentis insidias*); as a result it was given to Melrose, whose abbot was not only unfazed, it seems, at the prospect of dealing with the local population, but agreed to pay 4 merks annually to Vaudey for the farm.[22] There are some indications, however, that the monks of Melrose were less at home in the north of Scotland. Prior Hugh was elected abbot of Deer (Aberdeenshire) in 1234, but returned to Melrose the following year not only because of his infirmity, we are told, but also because of the 'asperity' of the climate.[23] The sacrist of Melrose, Adam of Smailholm, lasted a little longer as abbot of Deer, but resigned in 1267 after five years because (according to the official record) he preferred the 'sweetness of Melrose' to the 'hovel' of Deer.[24] An earlier part of the chronicle (probably written into the manuscript in 1218 or soon

20 BL Additional Charter 76747.

21 There is a pair of charters recording Thomas de Colville's grant: *Melrose Liber*, i. nos 192 and 193. The first has William abbot of Melrose as a witness (either William de Courcy, abbot from 16 November 1215 to 31 August 1216, or William, 1202–6). The second (and later, given the reduction of the *ferme*) includes Walter Steward as a witness, who probably succeeded his father as a minor in 1204: it has been observed that 'there is no evidence that he took any active part in the royal household or in government until the reign of Alexander II' (1214–49): *RRS*, ii. 35.

22 *Melrose Liber*, i. no.195, a chirograph dated 1223. See Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era*, 31–2 and nn., for these transactions, for the monks of Vaudey at Carsphairn obtaining victuals from Ireland in 1221, and also for Thomas de Colville. The reference to Gallovidian barbarity in this document is discussed in the context of Cistercian (and particularly Rievaulx's) attitudes to Galloway by Keith J. Stringer, 'Reform monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, *c.*1140–*c.*1240', in Edward J. Cowan & R. Andrew McDonald (eds), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, 2000), 127–65, at 133–4.

23 Faustina B. IX fo.43r–v; Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 83–4. For translation, see *ES*, ii. 495–6.

24 The words are *dulcedo* and *tugurium*: Faustina B. IX fo.66r; Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 129. The passage is translated in *ES*, ii. 659–60. This is in material written into the manuscript sometime after Easter 1286. It may advisedly be called the 'official' account because an alternative version of events (later erased) was earlier added in the lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.60v (possibly in or soon after 1267) in which (insofar as it can be deciphered) the emphasis is on the opposition of the monks and lay-brothers of Deer 'as one' to Adam as abbot. See Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, lxiv, for discussion.

thereafter) reveals that, from Melrose's point of view, a journey as far as Aberdeen was to go into *profunda Scotia*, 'inner Scotland' — the dark interior of the country north of the Forth.

In comparison to the deep and fruitful associations which Melrose enjoyed in the south of the Scottish kingdom a couple of generations after its foundation, its links with the north of England through donations of lands, revenues and privileges seem disappointingly meagre for a place of such potential significance within the context of greater Northumbria.[25] True, there were among Melrose's benefactors those who had considerable land and influence in both the Scottish and English kingdoms. Their munificence to Melrose and involvement in confirming the gifts of their dependants was, however, concentrated on their Scottish lordships. Melrose, nonetheless, did have some important English interests, not least its daughter-house of Holm Cultram, which found itself south of the border after King Henry II of England (1154–89) persuaded Mael Coluim IV, king of Scots (1153–65), in 1157 to surrender David I's gains in the north of England. Melrose also acquired land in the barony of Wooler which was particularly suited to grazing sheep; Melrose also had houses in Carlisle (giving one to Holm Cultram), and joined with Holm Cultram in building lodgings in Boston (Lincolnshire), where monks from both monasteries could reside when selling their wool at the Boston fair.[26]

The distribution of so much of Melrose's land in the high pastures of southern Scotland meant that the abbey was able to play a sizeable part in the production and export of wool. It was here, perhaps, that Melrose maintained its most immediate and regular ties with England, where wool could be sold for manufacture in what was a growing industry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[27] Trade in wool also led inevitably to close links with the Low Countries, the hub of cloth-manufacture in northern Europe and an expanding emporium. The significance of this connection is immortalised in a charter of Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders (1168–91), surviving as an original single sheet,[28] in which the monks of Melrose were freed from making any payment to the count's men on their goods, and protected from harassment should any dissension arise between the merchants of England and Flanders.[29] Nearly a century later, around 1270, fleeces from Melrose were of a sufficient quality and quantity to appear in a list of prices drawn up for merchants of Douai.[30]

25 In Oram's listing and discussion of Melrose's estates and possessions, Northumbria merits only a couple of pages: Fawcett & Oram, *Melrose Abbey*, 209–42, at 241–2.

26 Melrose's lands and interests in England are expertly summarised in Keith Stringer, 'Identities in thirteenth-century England: frontier society in the far north', in Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant & Keith J. Stringer (eds), *Social and Political Identities in Western History* (Copenhagen, 1994), 28–66, at 52 and n.77, and 55.

27 See A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 513–14.

28 NAS GD 55/14 (*Melrose Liber*, i. plate opposite p.13), datable to ×1185, because it was confirmed by Pope Lucius III (1181–5) in a privilege dated 17 April (*Melrose Liber*, i. no.15).

29 *Melrose Liber*, i. no.14; see Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom*, 513.

30 David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom,*

Melrose's most intimate connection with the Continent, however, was with the abbey of Cîteaux in Burgundy, from where the Cistercians took their name. Like all members of the Cistercian federation, Melrose was enjoined to conform to the practices of Cîteaux. By the end of the twelfth century a 'constitution' and mechanisms for its enforcement had matured.[31] The key institution was the annual General Chapter of Cistercian abbots in which the conduct of its members was discussed and regulated. Adam of Maxton, abbot of Melrose, was deposed by the General Chapter in 1267 for acting without its consent when he in turn had deposed the abbot of Holm Cultram. Earlier, Hugh of Clipstone resigned as abbot of Melrose at the General Chapter of 1215. The abbot of Melrose, like other Scottish abbots, was not expected to attend every year, because they were so far from Cîteaux; when he did, however, the General Chapter would have reinforced Melrose's membership of a community of hundreds of monasteries spread across the whole of Latin Christendom.

Overall, it can readily be appreciated that Melrose interacted on a number of levels which brought it into contact with different kinds of people and different places. As the recipient of royal and lordly patronage it had deep and enduring links across the south of the Scottish kingdom; as an exporter of wool it belonged to trading networks along the east coast of England and across the North Sea to the Low Countries; and as a Cistercian house it shared a closely-regulated standard of religious life with monasteries spread across Latin Christendom, and particularly with its mother-house of Rievaulx and its own daughter-houses in Scotland and Cumbria. This picture of diverse relationships seems also to be reflected to some extent in the meagre evidence about the origins of the monks. There are those identified with places not 20 miles or 30 kilometres east of Melrose, such as Adam of Smailholm, Reginald of Roxburgh and William of Duns; there is also Jocelin (monk, later abbot 1170–4, and then bishop of Glasgow 1175–99), whose family exercised lordship in Dunsyre, about 30 miles or 50 kilometres to the west of Melrose.[32] We may speculate that Adam (prior, later abbot 1207–13,

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c.1215–1545, vol.i, *Religion, Culture and Commerce* (East Linton, 2000), 164–5.

31 Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000). For a discussion of Berman's arguments in an insular context see Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Irish royal charters and the Cistercian Order', in Marie Therese Flanagan & Judith A. Green (eds), *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), 120–39, at 122–6, pointing out that the charter for Newry refers to *ordo Cisterciensis* (although she cautiously observes, at 126, that this 'cannot … be unambiguously interpreted as signifying an institutional affiliation'). The charter (datable to *ca* 1157, and surviving in seventeenth-century copies) is published and discussed in Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters*, 107–24, 291–305. The earliest explicit evidence for Melrose's identification of itself as part of a filiation originating in Cîteaux is the original chronicle of 1173×4 where the founding of Cîteaux (1098), Rievaulx (1132), Melrose (1136), and also Kinloss and Holm Cultram (1150), are written in red (but not, however, Newbattle in 1140 or Coupar in 1164).

32 Norman F. Shead, 'Jocelin, abbot of Melrose (1170–1174) and bishop of Glasgow (1175–1199)', *Innes Review*, 54 (2003), 1–22, at 2. Jocelin's brother granted the church of Dunsyre to Kelso.

and then bishop of Caithness 1214–22), who hailed from Cumbria, was not the only member of the community from the northernmost English counties.[33] There are also those from further afield, such as Adam the Yorkshireman, whose designation speaks for itself, and Adam of Lennox, whose name refers to an earldom in the west, north of Glasgow, whose people (as in Galloway) were predominantly Gaelic-speaking. The special relationship with the royal family that brought David I's step-son, St Waltheof, from Rievaulx to be Melrose's second abbot would also explain how Waltheof's kinsman, Simon de Tosny, began his career as a monk of Melrose before becoming abbot of Coggeshall (Essex) and later bishop of Moray.[34] It has been suggested that Simon's grandfather may have been Raoul IV de Tosny, great-uncle of Mael Coluim IV and William I through his marriage to a sister of Matilda, David I's wife and St Waltheof's mother.[35]

All these associations are visible in the range of material recorded in the Melrose Chronicle in the century or more when it is a contemporary (or near-contemporary) witness to the events being described. Items of local and regnal significance are found alongside notices of the deaths and appointments of leading members of Melrose's mother-, sister- and daughter-houses, as well as other ecclesiastical leaders in Scotland and England; there is also information on the deeds of kings of England and of France, of popes and emperors, and particular attention is given to crusades. But the beam of light shed by the chronicle on Melrose's world constantly changes direction. There are moments when Melrose's property-rights are given particular attention, and other periods when international affairs are treated at length; some stretches are predominantly Scottish in scope, and others devoted to papal-imperial relations or crusading disasters; certain scribal stints are concerned mainly with English episcopal successions, and others with Scottish kings. The choice of items for inclusion can, indeed, appear to be capricious. There are also occasions where the chronicle ceases to be a contemporary witness, and becomes instead a depository of copied texts: these are principally letters, but also include a major item such as the *Opusculum* ('little work') on Simon de Montfort as well as a versified king-list.

This inconsistency is a fundamental characteristic of any extensive annalistic work that has been maintained by generations of scribes. In the case of the Melrose Chronicle, the physical evidence of the manuscript makes it possible to identify 50 'strata' or distinct layers of activity: some very brief, others covering many pages. This is not the same as 50 layers of composition; but it does serve to emphasise the complexity of the chronicle's make-up. These 50 strata can be grouped under 16 headings in the order in which they occurred over a period of more than a century, each exhibiting a particular mix of interests and approaches to chronicling. (These headings correspond to the sections in chapter VIII, and are simply a tool for

[33] Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 78; *HRHS*, 150; Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon de Lanercost, M.CC.I.–M.CCC.XLVI.*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1839), 29.

[34] *ES*, ii. 155.

[35] Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn, 291.

navigating a way through the detail of the manuscript's development.) A brief list of these headings gives a sense of the stop-start history of the chronicle, and how this varied from sustained periods of contemporary recording to occasional notices of a specific recent event, and also included insertions of items into earlier parts of the chronicle, copies of documents, and material drawn from the chronicle itself (such as the list of burials).

I: The creation of the Melrose Chronicle (AD 1–1171) in 1173×4, with a copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* preceding the annals.[36]

II: Addition of items to the existing text during the last quarter of the twelfth century. These relate chiefly to the period 1096–1169.

III: In or near the first decade of the thirteenth century the chronicle is extended with annals for 1171–97.

IV: At different stages during the 1210s (certainly before 1222) the chronicle is extended with annals for 1198–1217.

V: In or between mid-September and early November 1222, the chronicle is extended with annals for 1217–22.

VI: Between *ca* 1225 and 1233 (or soon thereafter) the chronicle is extended fitfully with material relating to 1221–33.

VII: Probably early in 1240 a single campaign brings the chronicle's coverage up to 1239.

VIII: During the 1240s and 1250s the chronicle is continued no further than the annal for 1240. There are a number of campaigns to enter items to the existing text, including successions of Scottish kings, English bishops, and abbots of some Scottish houses.

IX: Before 1259 the chronicle is extended to 1245, but chiefly with copies of letters relating to Emperor Frederick II and the Holy Land.

X: The chronicle is extended to the annal for 1258, sometime in or soon after 1259; and then, in or soon after 1264, it is extended by the same scribe to the annal for 1263.

XI: By *ca* 1275 the chronicle comes to a halt: an occasional item is added, and a list of abbots of Melrose.

XII: Half-life of the chronicle from *ca* 1275 into the 1280s, with the sporadic addition of items relating to this period inserted out of chronological position earlier in the manuscript.

XIII: In the late 1280s (sometime after 14 April 1286) annals for 1260–1 and 1263–70 are added, including an account of saintly Melrose monks and the *Opusculum* on Simon de Montfort.

XIV: The occasional item is added to the existing text, probably *ca* 1290.

XV: The codex is bound (perhaps at Melrose as early as May 1291), including inserted fos 14 and 54.

XVI: The final item is added in the first half of the fourteenth century at Thorney Abbey (Cambridgeshire) or at its cell, Deeping St James (Lincolnshire). The text of the chronicle ceases as a living entity: the later history of the manuscript is discussed in chapter IX.

[36] See 66–7 (chapter V) for discussion of the combination of Hugh's *Chronicle* with annals.

If the Melrose Chronicle is typical of its genre in its varying range of interests and piecemeal growth, it is also a unique witness to a fundamental change in how its community viewed its world. In the first couple of generations of its existence, the chronicle shows that the monks of Melrose regarded themselves as English. By the time of the last major work on the chronicle (XIII), they identified themselves as Scots. This change can be traced through incidental references to Scotland and Scots in the chronicle's text. It can also be seen in the way the chronicle was initially conceived and subsequently revised.

The Englishness of the original Melrose Chronicle is revealed in the opening sentence of London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. IX, in a passage probably composed by Scribe 5 himself:[37] Bede, he tells us, is 'the honour and glory of our people' (*decus et gloria nostre gentis*). The way the Scots are treated later in the chronicle also suggests that the monks of Melrose did not regard themselves as Scots, even as late as 1259. In the annal for 1235, for example, the perpetrators of an atrocity against the abbey of Tongland in Galloway are identified as Scots who are described as wicked madmen:[38] the language and detail, however, have been drawn verbatim from an account of earlier depredations by Scots in the annal for 1216.[39] The readiness to recycle this material suggests that the Scots of 1235 were deemed to be behaving 'according to type' as far as Melrose was concerned. This would be unlikely if the monks of Melrose regarded themselves, too, as Scots. The use of a negative stereotype of Scots is also found in the annal for 1258 (probably written into the chronicle not long afterwards). Here the Scots and the Galwegians are paired together as unruly and violent elements in Alexander III's army, who ravage the country near Melrose and eat meat on Good Friday.

It is not until material entered into the chronicle no earlier than 14 April 1286 that there are references to a monk of Melrose or anyone hailing from

37 See 49–51 (chapter IV).

38 Faustina B. IX fo.43v; Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 84; *ES*, ii. 497. The perpetrators of this outrage were under the command of the earl of Menteith, whom Alexander II had left in charge of Galloway. The soldiers were presumably largely infantry from Menteith.

39 Faustina B. IX fo.33r (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 63) reads: *Scotti quidam, non magistri milicie sed ministri malicie ... tam nefaria et scelera dementia expoliauerunt ut etiam monachum in infirmitorio in extremis positum calicio superpositum quibus indutus erat denudarent...*; these words are repeated at Faustina B. IX fo.43v (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 84): translation adapted from *ES*, ii. 407–8 and 497. The similarity of the two passages was pointed out in *ES*, ii. 497, nn.2 and 3, and in Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 248 (where it is observed by Croft Dickinson that 'probably all this account [in 1235] is artificial'). It has been suggested that in the 1216 account the *Scotti* on the rampage were 'probably Gallovidians to whom raiding in Cumbria was not unfamiliar': G. W. S. Barrow, 'The army of Alexander III's Scotland', in Norman H. Reid (ed.), *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III, 1249–1286* (Edinburgh, 1990), 132–47, at 136 (the attack was on Holm Cultram). But this does not seem likely in the light of other specific references to Scots in the chronicle where they are either from the north or explicitly distinguished from Galwegians.

the south of the kingdom as a Scot.[40] This was the culmination of a process of 'Scotticisation' that is first detected in the annal for 1215 (entered into the chronicle in or shortly after 1218), in which both the south-east and Galloway are referred to as within 'Scotland'. Although there is no simple reference to Melrose as in England, it is likely, given their identity as English, that the monks of Melrose before the thirteenth century would have agreed with Adam of Dryburgh, writing only a few miles from Melrose in 1180, that he was in 'the land of England, and in the kingdom of the Scots'.[41]

There is no doubt that Melrose Abbey readily acknowledged itself to be within the kingdom of the Scots. The kings of Scots were its patrons, so it is natural that Melrose would identify with them. This is seen most vividly in the chronicle when the Quitclaim of Canterbury was reported as releasing the kingdom from the 'heavy yoke of domination and servitude'.[42] There is no suggestion that the monks of Melrose thought that, because they were English and in part of England, they should also be in the kingdom of England. There was, even at the beginning of the thirteenth century, no expectation that kingdom, country and people should coincide. But this was not to last much longer. During the thirteenth century the increasing reality of royal authority in Scottish society — and in particular its growing capability to act as a guarantor of peace and property — was ideal for the notion to take root that country, people and kingdom were different aspects of the same entity. Given Melrose's close association with the kingship, and the preponderance of its fixed resources and long-term relationships within the kingdom's bounds, it would have been natural for its monks, in such a situation, to regard themselves as in part of Scotland, and in due course as Scots themselves.[43]

This development is also apparent in the most significant changes to the chronicle's content. It should be no surprise that Melrose, with its English identity and religious affiliations, should have looked to English sources when the chronicle was created in 1173×4; it was almost inevitable, therefore, that the resulting text (from 731, at least) was concerned largely with English history, and that very little mention was made of Scotland or of Scottish kings. It is striking, nonetheless, that a careful attempt was made by Scribe 5 to blend the main annalistic source from the north of England with

40 The examples are Reginald of Roxburgh (a monk of Melrose), and Guy de Balliol, a member of a Roxburghshire family, who died fighting with Simon de Montfort at the Battle of Evesham: Faustina B. IX fos 66r, 67r (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 129 and 131).

41 Adam of Dryburgh, *De Tripartito Tabernaculo*, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64), cxcviii, cols 609–792, at col. 723: *...in terra Anglorum, et in regno Scotorum...*

42 *dominationis et seruitutis iugum graue*: Faustina B. IX fo.25r (repeated at fo.54r); Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, 47 (repeated at 105); translated in *ES*, ii. 322. For an edition and translation of the Quitclaim, see E. L. G. Stones (ed. and trans.), *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328* (Oxford, 1970), 12–17.

43 See further Dauvit Broun, 'Becoming Scottish in the thirteenth century: the evidence of the Chronicle of Melrose', forthcoming.

Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* ('History of the English'), which contained information on southern England as well as the north.[44] It was not until the late 1240s or 1250s that another self-conscious attempt was made to design the chronicle's content.[45] An initial effort to insert notices of Scottish kings was soon followed up by a carefully conceived campaign to provide the chronicle with a complete series of kings of Scots from 731. This not only involved the tricky procedure of calculating the date of each entry from a king-list, but also took the form of pieces of poetry on each reign entered piecemeal into the manuscript from a versified king-list. In this way the Melrose Chronicle, created as essentially an English chronicle by men who identified themselves as English, became (among other things) a Scottish chronicle in response to the needs of a community that was itself in the process of becoming Scottish.

[44] See 49–51 (chapter IV).
[45] See 149–51 (chapter VIII).

II

CISTERCIAN CHRONICLING IN THE BRITISH ISLES

Julian Harrison

Between the second half of the twelfth century and the first decades of the fourteenth, annalistic chronicles were maintained at more than twenty Cistercian abbeys in the British Isles, to judge by the surviving witnesses. The Melrose Chronicle is the most impressive member of this group, standing out in two important respects. First, the record in question was seemingly the first of these annalistic texts to be created, with the possible exception of that from Coupar Angus (published as the 'Chronicle of Holyrood').[1] Secondly, the Melrose Chronicle is notable for its intensive scribal activity, attesting to its upkeep and repeated consultation for a period exceeding a hundred years; in this regard it is paralleled only by the Waverley Chronicle. It is crucial, nonetheless, that our Melrose text is not treated in isolation. Examination of the Cistercian annalistic corpus as a whole illuminates the methods by which these works were compiled, and the varied functions they performed.

Before analysing these Cistercian records, it is necessary to define what constitutes an annalistic chronicle.[2] The most fundamental feature of annalistic texts is the arrangement of their entries in a year-by-year format, with each notice being assigned to a specific year. This criterion excludes those works in which events are organised by recourse to arbitrary divisions of time (such as the reigns of abbots), or are chronologically imprecise. Next, every year is invariably noted in an annalistic chronicle, regardless of

[1] In this survey, the term 'creation' will be applied strictly to the moment when a chronicle first came into being, ignoring subsequent continuations; 'compilation' refers to the whole process of production, and more specifically to the copying of annalistic entries from existing written sources; while 'composition' is reserved for notices of contemporary events, communicated directly to the chroniclers, and described in the monks' own language.

[2] Previous attempts to define this genre include Michael McCormick, *Les Annales du haut moyen âge*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 14 (Turnhout, 1975), especially 11–21; Bernard Guenée, 'Histoires, annales, chroniques: essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age', *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 28 (1973), 997–1016; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 203–7; and Antonia Gransden, 'The chronicles of medieval England and Scotland', in her *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), 199–238, 330–2, at 199–201. Also invaluable are the studies by Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 74 (Turnhout, 1995), and David Dumville, 'What is a chronicle?', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999* (Amsterdam & New York, 2002), 1–27. A different approach is advocated by Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220* (Turnhout, 2002), 175–7.

whether there was anything to be recorded. Individual annals are therefore either 'fruitful' (when an entry was made) or 'barren' (when no entry was made). Thirdly, annalistic texts are typically terse and factual, although the length of individual entries often increased when events were reported contemporaneously. The subject-matter is normally diversified, there seldom being a logical connection between a sequence of notices; and so it is unusual for the narrative to be continued from one year to the next. Finally, annalistic chronicles are frequently composite works, compiled in stages by members of the same institution, and with the potential to be revised and continued indefinitely. Multiple authorship distinguishes this form of chronicle from most other historical texts, which are often credited to one person alone. It is also noteworthy that the authors of annalistic works are rarely identified by name, emphasizing the collaborative nature of the process of compilation.

At present, the production or ownership of annalistic texts can be assigned to at least eleven Cistercian convents in England, either six or seven in Wales, three in Ireland, three in Scotland and one in the Isle of Man.[3] The majority of these works survive in their original manuscripts, which can sometimes be regarded as autographs, since certain of their scribes also performed an authorial role. A handful of these Cistercian records are preserved in medieval copies (Newminster and Strata Florida) or an early modern transcript (Graiguenamanagh), or can be identified in chronicles compiled at other religious houses (those from Boyle, St Mary's Dublin and Tintern). At least one Cistercian annalistic chronicle is now lost, but was recorded in the thirteenth century (Kingswood); a further example may have been destroyed by fire in 1731 (?Combe). The abbeys from which these texts are attested bear witness to a broad spectrum of monastic life, encompassing prominent members of the Cistercian federation (St Mary's Dublin, Furness, Melrose, Tintern, Waverley), together with other lesser lights (Boyle, Croxden, Culross, Grace Dieu, Rushen). Every Cistercian filiation in the British Isles is represented. Melrose Abbey belonged to the family of Clairvaux, as did Boyle in Ireland, Coupar Angus and Culross in Scotland, Louth Park and Newminster in England, and Margam, Strata Florida and Valle Crucis in Wales. Annalistic chronicles were maintained at all of these houses.

[3] Nine of these works were known to Kassian Haid, 'Zur Annalistik der englisch-schottischen Cistercienser im späteren Mittelalter', *Cistercienser Chronik*, 19 (1907), 91–5, at 91–3 (Coggeshall, Dore, Furness, Hailes II, Margam, Melrose, Stanley, Strata Florida, Waverley); ten to John Taylor, *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 42 (Leeds, 1952), 10–13 (Croxden, Hailes I and II, Louth Park, Margam, Melrose, Rushen, Stanley, Tintern, Waverley); and seventeen to David N. Bell, *An Index of Authors and Works in Cistercian Libraries in Great Britain* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), 102, 151–2, 172–82 (omitting those from Coggeshall, ?Combe, Culross, Furness, Kingswood, Newminster, Strata Florida and Ireland). Two annalistic chronicles have survived from Hailes, bound in the same manuscript.

England

Coggeshall	London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel 11, fos 45v–51v (*saec.* xiii[1]); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 343, fos 24r–28r (*saec.* xiv)[4]
(?)Combe	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius D. XVIII, fos 1–49: destroyed by fire in 1731[5]
Croxden	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. VI, fos 41r–91r (*saec.* xiv[med–ex])[6]
Dore	London, British Library, MS. Egerton 3088, fos 118r–134v (*ca* 1243; continued *ca* 1362)[7]
Furness	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra A. I, fos 4r–208v (*ca* 1298)[8]
Hailes I	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra D. III, fos 3r–59v (*saec.* xiv[in])[9]
Hailes II	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra D. III, fos 60r–73v (*saec.* xiii/xiv)[10]
Jervaulx	Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 516, fos 213r–214v, 216r–217v (*saec.* xiii/xiv)[11]
Kingswood	attested in 1291[12]
Louth Park	Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.6.15, fos 222r–245r (*saecc.* xiii[ex]–xiv[med]); London & Oslo, The Schøyen Collection, MS. 1373 (*saec.* xv[1]); Norwich, Norfolk Record Office, MS. NCR 17b, fos 110r–114r (*saec.* xv[med])[13]

4 AD 1065 (*recte* 1066)–1225: unedited.

5 AD 1–1272: an unprovenanced chronicle preceded the cartulary of Combe Abbey, damaged in the same fire.

6 AD 1–1374: an edition and translation has been prepared by Dr Philip Morgan.

7 AD 1–1362: edited in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, XXVII (Hanover, 1885), 514–31 (AD 687–1362 only).

8 British prehistory–AD 1298: edited by Richard Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I.*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884–9), ii. 503–83 (AD 1199–1298 only).

9 AM 1–AD 1314: edited by Margaret Nesta Blount, *A Critical Edition of the Annals of Hailes (MS. Cotton Cleopatra D.iii, ff. 33–59v) with an examination of their sources* (University of Manchester, M.A. dissertation, 1974) (AD 1099–1314 only).

10 AD 1–1292 (an Easter-table chronicle): edited in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, XVI (Hanover, 1859), 482–3 (excerpts only).

11 (?)AD 1208–1249, (?)1296–1298: unedited.

12 An extract from the Kingswood Chronicle was sent to the royal chancery in 1291, being paralleled by entries in the Waverley Chronicle and the Margam Chronicle. See E. L. G. Stones & Grant G. Simpson (eds), *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290–1296: An edition of the record sources for the Great Cause*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1978), i. 149, ii. 306, where it is supposed that the *cronice monasterii de Kyngeswode* refers to that convent's report, rather than an annalistic work.

13 (?)AM 1–AD 1342, continued to 1413: edited and translated (from Schøyen 1373) by Edmund Venables & A. R. Maddison, *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude: The Chronicle of Louth Park Abbey with Appendix of Documents* (Horncastle, 1891) (AD 1066–1413 only).

Newminster	London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 26, fos 1r–8r (*saec.* xv^{med})[14]
Stanley	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 11, fos 149r–187r (*saec.* xiii^{2})[15]
Waverley	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XVI, fos 24r–200v (*saec.* xiii^{in-ex})[16]

Wales

Grace Dieu	Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 507, fos 2r–13v (*saec.* xiii$^{2/4}$)[17]
Margam	Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.2.4 (1108) (*saec.* xiii$^{2/4}$)[18]
Neath	London, The National Archives, MS. E 164/1, pp. 29–35 (*saec.* xiii/xiv)[19]
Strata Florida	London, The National Archives, MS. E 164/1, pp. 2–26 (*saec.* xiii/xiv)[20]
Tintern	London, British Library, MS. Royal 14 C. VI, fos 254r–259r (*ca* 1323)[21]
Valle Crucis	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 20, pp. 65–302 (*saec.* xiv^{1})[22]
Strata Florida or Whitland	Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3514, pp. 507–519 (*Cronica de Wallia*) (*saec.* xiii^{ex})[23]

[14] (?)AD 1094–1323: copied for a northern English lawyer, unedited.

[15] British prehistory–AD 1270: edited by Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ii. 506–58 (AD 1201–1270 only).

[16] AD 1–1291: edited by Henry Richards Luard, *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1864–9), ii. 129–411.

[17] AD 1066–1235: edited by Marvin L. Colker, 'The "Margam Chronicle" in a Dublin manuscript', *Haskins Society Journal*, 4 (1992), 132–41 (AD 1232–1235 only).

[18] AD 1066–1233: edited by Luard, *Annales Monastici*, i. 1–40.

[19] AD 600, 1066–1298: edited as 'Chronicle of the thirteenth century: MS. Exchequer Domesday', *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd series, 8 (1862), 272–83.

[20] AM 1–AD 1286: copied at Neath Abbey, edited by John Williams (ab Ithel), *Annales Cambriæ*, Rolls Series (London, 1860) (the B-text).

[21] AD 1305–1323: transcribed at Holme St Benets, edited by Henry Richards Luard, *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1890), iii. 328–48.

[22] AD 681–1332: edited by Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20* (Cardiff, 1941), and translated by Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff, 1952). For other copies, see Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest Version*, 2nd edn (Cardiff, 1973), xx–xxxviii, and Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons: BM Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW MS. 7006* (Cardiff, 1971), xv–xxv.

[23] AD 1190–1266: edited by Thomas Jones, '"Cronica de Wallia" and other documents from Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 12 (1946–8), 27–44, and attributed to Whitland Abbey by J. Beverley Smith, 'The "Cronica de Wallia" and the dynasty of Dinefwr: a textual and historical study', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 20 (1962–4), 261–82. The case for Whitland is questionable: Strata Florida is an equally good candidate for the home of this chronicle.

Ireland

Boyle	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus A. XXV, fos 2r–35v (*saec.* xiii^{med})[24]
St Mary's, Dublin	Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 175, fos 2v–13v (1427); Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 804, pp. 309–314 (*saec.* xvii); London, British Library, MS. Additional 4787, fos 29r–33v (*saec.* xvii)[25]
Graiguenamanagh	Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 578, pp. 16–18 (*saec.* xvii); London, British Library, MS. Lansdowne 418, fos 61v–63v (*saec.* xvii)[26]

Scotland

Coupar Angus	(?)London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 440, fos 122r–132v (*saec.* xii^{ex}), later transferred to Culross; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS. 345, fos 1r–13v (*saecc.* xiii–xiv^{med})[27]
Culross	London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 440, fos 122r–132v (*saec.* xii^{ex})[28]
Melrose	London, British Library, MSS. Cotton Julius B. XIII, fos 41r–47v (1173×4), + Cotton Faustina B. IX, fos 2r–75v (1173×4–*saec.* xiv^{1})[29]

Isle of Man

Rushen	London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius A. VII, fos 31r–52r (*saecc.* xiii^{2}–xiv^{ex})[30]

[24] AM 335–(?)AD 1228: transcribed and continued by the Premonstratensians of Trinity Island, edited by A. Martin Freeman, 'The Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A.xxv', *Revue celtique*, 41 (1924), 301–30; 42 (1925), 283–305; 43 (1926), 358–84; 44 (1927), 336–61 (omitting other entries potentially preserved in the *Annals of Connacht*, the *Annals of Loch Cé* and the *Annals of Ulster*).

[25] (?)AD 1–(?)1238: copied by a canon of St Werburgh's, Dublin, edited by John T. Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: with the Register of its House at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1884), ii. 241–92. The transcripts are possibly derived from the original St Mary's manuscript.

[26] AD 1167–1532/3: surviving in two early modern transcripts, edited by K. W. Nicholls, 'Late medieval Irish annals: two fragments', *Peritia*, 2 (1983), 87–102, at 92–102.

[27] 40 BC (*recte* 55 BC)–AD 1187, continued fitfully in Karlsruhe 345 to 1355: edited by Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood*, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 3rd series, xxx (Edinburgh, 1938).

[28] 40 BC (*recte* 55 BC)–AD 1163: edited by Anderson, *A Scottish Chronicle known as the Chronicle of Holyrood.*

[29] AD 1–249, 731–1270, with occasional annals to 1282: edited and translated by Dauvit Broun & Julian Harrison, *The Chronicle of Melrose: A Stratigraphic Edition*, Scottish History Society, volumes ii–iii (in progress).

[30] AD 1000 (*recte* 1017)–1377: edited and translated by George Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius A.vii*, 2nd edn ([Douglas], 1995).

According to John Taylor, with reference to the fourteenth century, Cistercian annalistic writing was unambitious in scope, reflecting that federation's perceived isolation from secular life: 'unlike the greater Black Monk houses, such as Bury and St. Albans,' he wrote, 'the Cistercian foundations were never to the same extent great autonomous powers immersed in their own problems and controversies, nor were they situated at or near centres of population and pilgrimage. In the majority of cases they lacked both the desire and the facilities to set down a continuous view of the history of their day.'[31] It is certainly true that no Cistercian community in the British Isles possessed historians of the calibre of the St Albans school, or produced historical texts as diverse as those composed at Bury St Edmunds between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.[32] On the other hand, it can be argued legitimately that the Cistercian chronicles in question belong to a separate genre from the writings of authors such as Matthew Paris (d.1259) and Jocelin of Brakelond (d. *ca* 1215), with which they were compared unfavourably by Taylor. It will be argued here that these Cistercian records were designed as works of reference, being intended strictly for internal consumption, and having no pretension to literary merit. Nor were the Cistercians alone in creating such annalistic texts, the function of which was probably identical wherever they were compiled.

Taylor further characterised these Cistercian works as 'predominantly concerned with the local fortunes of their house'.[33] The Croxden Chronicle was singled out for attention: 'it makes little attempt to deal at length with the greater events in Church and State ... the chronicle is in fact a record of events at Croxden, stiffened by entries on the Church, wars, and pilgrimages'.[34] It cannot be denied that the annalistic texts maintained by Cistercian monks in the British Isles are devoted to their own convents, noting the succession of abbots, the acquisition of property, the burial of benefactors and the construction of new buildings; but their perspective is frequently broader than Taylor surmised. Many of these works describe events at the papal curia and in the Holy Land, and touch on the affairs of France, Germany and Spain, recognition that Cistercian politics transcended national boundaries. In contrast, few Cistercian chroniclers took the trouble to identify individual monks, especially of junior rank, or to dwell on the minutiae of domestic life, such as the cycle of divine worship or the instruction of novices. Even more intriguingly, the majority of these annalistic texts (with the exception of those from Croxden and Margam)

31 Taylor, *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, 14.

32 On St Albans and Bury, see in particular Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, i, *c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), 356–403, and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, ii, *c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982), 118–56, 371–86.

33 Taylor, *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, 14. A similar picture was painted by C. R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian libraries: the first century', in his *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973), 328–45, at 339: 'The historical writings of English Cistercians show the same marked tendency to be insular. Some, indeed, purport to be annals of general history, but their compilers emphasise local events, as at Coggeshall, Waverley, and Margam.'

34 Taylor, *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, 14–15.

manifest little interest in economic activity beyond the cloister, such as the sheep-farming for which the Cistercians were justly renowned. Perhaps such activity was taken for granted: it does at least imply that certain of our chroniclers had a narrow field of vision.

The authors of these annalistic works invariably remained anonymous, since the process of compilation would usually have been a collaborative venture. Among the insular Cistercian corpus, only one monk can be associated securely with an annalistic record. This was William of Shepshed, whose contribution to the Croxden Chronicle is disclosed in an accompanying list of monastic professions: the monks' names were noted *ad memoriam mortuorum*, 'for the remembrance of the dead', while the chronicle was said to be produced *ad solacium fratrum uiuorum*, 'for the consolation of the living'.[35] Certain notices in the annalistic text undoubtedly emanated from William's pen, including his tonsure at that abbey (11 September 1288), his ordination as priest (26 February 1294), and the death of his mother (1295).

William of Shepshed's official position at Croxden Abbey is unspecified; but there is compelling evidence to associate annalistic writing at other religious houses with the role of the cantor. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the posts of cantor and *armarius* ('librarian') gradually merged, until their functions were often performed by the same person.[36] The officer in question would have been responsible for the communal book-collection, and for recording the deaths of the brethren, in addition to his liturgical duties. There is little explicit testimony to identify the authorship of our Cistercian chronicles with any office-holder. A Cistercian cantor would have nonetheless kept the list of professions, supervised the monastic scribes, and reported obituaries; every Easter he was instructed to display the year of the Incarnation and other computistical data, demonstrating his interest in chronology.[37] The cantor of Cîteaux also compiled an official list of Cistercian houses, with their dates of foundation: copies of this document were utilised by several Cistercian chroniclers, one version being embedded

[35] The full notice (BL Cotton Faustina B. VI, fo.93v) reads *Willelmus de Schepisheued. Qui hec nomina ad memoriam mortuorum et cronicas sequentes ad solacium fratrum uiuorum compilauit. Et hoc ideo dixit, ut apud legentes mutuum laboris optineat, quatinus pietatis affectum dare digneretur. Anima illius per misericordiam Dei requiescat in pace. Amen.* 'William of Shepshed. He compiled these names for the remembrance of the dead, and the following chronicles for the consolation of the living. And he therefore declared this before his readers (since it might be deemed worthy to inspire the love of piety) in order that he might obtain a loan of their labour. May his soul rest in peace, through the mercy of God. Amen.'

[36] Margot E. Fassler, 'The office of the cantor in early western monastic rules and customaries: a preliminary investigation', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 29–51, at 44–51.

[37] Danièle Choisselet & Placide Vernet (eds and trans), *Les Ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XII^me siècle* (Abbaye d'Œlenberg, Reiningue, 1989), §cxv, 322–6. The computistical data was to be written on a small piece of parchment (*cartula*) and affixed to a wax tablet (clause 37), a recess for which survives in the cloister wall at Rievaulx, adjoining the south transept: Glyn Coppack & Peter Fergusson, *Rievaulx Abbey* (London, 1994), 18.

in the later witnesses of the Louth Park Chronicle.[38] Taking this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, the obvious candidate to maintain these annalistic texts would have been the cantor, aided by his assistants.

Although annalistic chronicles are regarded conventionally as simplistic historical records, such texts could also have liturgical, computistical and administrative applications. The liturgical function of these works is not always obvious, though they sometimes supplied the date of Easter, or contained information to complement missals and obituary calendars. In the Melrose Chronicle, for instance, the dominical letter *D* is noted under the years 957 and 968, while a series of Golden Numbers (pertaining to a nineteen-year Easter cycle) is supplied in the margins beside the annals for 1147–65. These annalistic records also provided the opportunity for liturgical developments to be registered: the Waverley Chronicle is notable for describing amendments to the Cistercian liturgy during the period 1238–61, undoubtedly reflecting one of its authors' preoccupations.[39] Such chronicles are also intimately connected with the study of chronology, and the observation of astral phenomena.[40] On occasion, several Cistercian chroniclers purportedly witnessed the same solar eclipse: that of 23 June 1191, for example, was recorded by the monks of Margam, Melrose, Strata Florida and Waverley, though the wording of certain accounts suggests their derivation from other reports. Some annalistic chronicles accompany computistical texts: the Dore Chronicle is preceded by a number of scientific treatises, including Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*; while the codex which contains the Waverley Chronicle begins with a calendar and a set of Paschal tables.

Annalistic works also provide testimony to the monastic record-keeping mentality, being akin to cartularies, inventories, account-books, letter-collections and library-catalogues. The chronicles in question functioned to large degree as works of reference, and were arguably deposited in the monastery's archives rather than with the communal book-collection. Their period of creation is coterminous with the compilation of other Cistercian records, from the final third of the twelfth century to the middle of the fourteenth. Annalistic texts and cartularies alike were anonymous productions, receiving contributions from several members of the community over a number of decades. Furthermore, the physical appearance of these chronicles has much in common with bureaucratic texts. Such annalistic works should be regarded as administrative rather than literary productions: they lack stylistic merit; they sometimes incorporate extracts

38 Venables & Maddison (eds and trans), *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude*, 30–2. A list of Cistercian foundations, probably from Grace Dieu Abbey, is BL Cotton Vespasian A. VI, fos 55v–60r (*saec.* xiii^{med}).

39 Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, ii. 319, 337–8, 348–9, 351–3, 357–8.

40 Robert R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (Baltimore, MD, 1972). Of relevance to Melrose is the study by Lord Cooper of Culross [Thomas Mackay], 'Solar eclipses and the Scottish chronicles', in his *Selected Papers 1922–1954* (Edinburgh, 1957), 309–23.

from charters and other documents; and they were never designed to be read from cover to cover. Certain Cistercian annalistic texts have also been transmitted in combination with other records: the Croxden Chronicle adjoins two lists of that convent's abbots and monks; while the Rushen Chronicle is followed by a territorial survey of part of that abbey's property.

It is probably no coincidence that Cistercian monks created annalistic works at the same period that their archives were being reorganised. The compilation of monastic cartularies in the British Isles reached the height of its popularity during the thirteenth century, being designed to cope with an increase in documentation as new property was acquired. The oldest-surviving insular Cistercian cartularies date from the final decades of the twelfth century (Garendon and Rievaulx) and the first half of the thirteenth (Kirkstead, Nun Coton, Pipewell, Stoneleigh, Thame and Warden).[41] Most were arranged either in chronological order, on a topographical basis, or according to the benefactors' status (with the deeds of patrons and royalty being given precedence); and some were provided with tables of contents, as attested in the cartularies of both Rievaulx and Kirkstead. The earliest Cistercian book-lists from the British Isles (compiled at Flaxley and Rievaulx) also belong to the end of the twelfth century, and were frequently classified by subject-matter or press-mark.[42] In turn, the first annalistic text known to have been created by these Cistercians is the Melrose Chronicle, datable to 1173×4. The Coupar Angus Chronicle probably belongs to the final quarter of the twelfth century, but survives in one copy of undetermined origin, acquired by the Cistercians of Culross (London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 440), and a second of later date (Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek, MS. 345).[43] Scribal evidence determines that the Waverley Chronicle came into existence during the first decade of the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as 1201; its counterparts from Coggeshall and Margam were compiled between 1225 and 1235; while the majority of the other texts under consideration had their origins before 1300. This supports Elisabeth van Houts's observation that most institutional chronicles were produced some three or four generations after the house in question was founded, when it became necessary to replace the collective memory of that community with a permanent, written record.[44] In the case of Melrose

41 G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), nos 431, 519, 726, 774–5, 811, 936, 957, 998.

42 David N. Bell (ed.), *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* (London, 1992), 15–26 (Flaxley), 87–140 (Rievaulx), and plates 1, 3–4.

43 Lambeth 440 may have been made at Coupar Angus, but the text unfortunately ends due to the loss of one or more leaves *s.a.* 1163, and therefore makes no mention of Coupar Angus (founded in 1164) or Culross (founded in 1217). This Chronicle was presumably created between 1163 and 1187 (where the first phase of annals ends in the complete witness, Karlsruhe 345). Another candidate for creation in the twelfth century, the Boyle Chronicle, also survives only in a thirteenth-century copy.

44 Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 19.

Abbey, founded in 1136, the annalistic record was in existence within fifty years of the monks' arrival.[45]

Although much of the documentation has been lost, it would seem that a typical Cistercian convent in the British Isles possessed a substantial archive, comprising individual letters and charters (sometimes copied into cartularies and registers), together with account-books, rentals and other administrative texts, and augmented at many abbeys by an annalistic chronicle. In some cases, as at Rushen and Valle Crucis, only the annalistic record has survived; other convents are represented by cartularies or equivalent compilations, but no annalistic work. The chronicles maintained by Cistercian monks are a fundamental witness to this bureaucratic mentality: their chronological arrangement ensured that each event in the abbey's history could be pinpointed to a particular year, and sometimes to a specific date; while their simple format enabled information to be found with the minimum of inconvenience. It should not be assumed that such texts were produced at every Cistercian house. Whenever an annalistic work was compiled, however, it probably served as one component of a larger reference collection.[46]

The handwriting of the Cistercian annalistic corpus reflects the bureaucratic origins of many of these works. Medieval scribes conventionally adapted their handwriting to the type of text being copied, employing different styles of script for books, glosses and documents. Formal bookhands are characterised by their legibility and uniformity, exemplified in the gothic letter-forms which emerged towards the end of the twelfth century; in contrast, charters at this period were often written in a cursive hand, containing extensive abbreviation and receiving little or no decoration. By the thirteenth century, this more current form of script was often adopted in the British Isles for use in lower-grade books, as scribes succumbed to the pressures placed upon them: it is this cursive bookhand which was utilised for many of the Cistercian chronicles under consideration.[47] Indeed, the evolution of handwriting in the British Isles can be charted in the manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle itself. The opening sections of that work are written in a number of protogothic and gothic bookhands, datable in the first instance to 1173×4, and with a significant period of updating in the early decades of the thirteenth century. In the remainder of the chronicle, the deployment of a script strongly influenced by documentary practice is a marked feature of those annals consisting chiefly

[45] For the foundation of Melrose, see 1 and nn.1 and 2 (chapter I).

[46] From Melrose there also survive two cartularies, one *saec.* xiii^{2} (NLS Adv. 34.4.11), the other *saec.* xv^{ex} (BL Harley 3960), plus a significant number of original charters, mostly deposited at NAS GD 55, and edited by [Cosmo Innes], *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros. Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros*, 2 vols, The Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1837).

[47] The history and features of this script are described by M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500*, rev. edn (London, 1979).

of copies of letters, emphasising that the style of handwriting was often conditioned by the contents.[48]

The Margam Chronicle, created during the 1230s, is an important witness to the relationship between annalistic writing and monastic administration. Almost the whole of that work can be assigned to a single scribe, who also produced twenty-eight surviving charters issued in the name of Margam Abbey, plus an endorsement and a handful of enrolled copies. His script has been described as 'a consistent thirteenth-century semi-cursive business hand', and the monk himself categorised as a 'secretarial scribe, filing clerk, archivist-copyist, and in a qualified sense, author'.[49] The handwriting of many Cistercian chronicles has much in common with that made at Margam, with two notable exceptions: the Dore Chronicle was written in a minute bookhand, whose compression recalls the script used for contemporary glossing;[50] while the principal scribe of the Rushen Chronicle, writing during the 1260s, employed a traditional if slightly archaic bookhand, perhaps reflecting the provincial location of that abbey.[51]

Some Cistercian annalistic works should nonetheless be regarded as fulfilling an historical function in addition to their administrative role. Most notable in this respect are the manuscripts of the chronicles from Melrose and Culross, which both form part of a wider historical compilation. In the case of the Melrose Chronicle, the annalistic text is supplemented by a copy of the *Chronicle* of Hugh of Saint-Victor (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XIII, fos 2r–40v): together they supplied an invaluable compendium of Biblical, Christian and imperial history (in the case of Hugh's handbook) and a 'national' record focusing on English affairs (in the case of the annalistic chronicle).[52] The Culross Chronicle, in turn, is preceded by a copy of Hugh of Fleury's *Chronicon* (London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 440, fos 2r–121v), both items being transcribed and decorated at the same centre, perhaps to be identified as Coupar Angus Abbey.[53] In each instance, it can be posited that the creators of the annalistic chronicles

48 For detailed analysis of the script of the Melrose Chronicle, see chapters VII and X (4).

49 Robert B. Patterson, 'The author of the "Margam Annals": early thirteenth-century Margam Abbey's compleat scribe', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 14 (1991), 197–210, at 203, 208–10, and plates 1–4; Robert B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan: Secretarial Administration in a Welsh Marcher Barony, c. 1150–c. 1225* (Woodbridge, 2002), 23, 55–6, 63–6, 92, and plates XVIc–d.

50 See Ron Shoesmith & Ruth Richardson (eds), *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey* (Little Logaston, 1997), fig. 8 (reproducing the annals for 1201–40).

51 A facsimile of this Rushen text has been published as *Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum: The Chronicle of Man and the Isles. A Facsimile of the Manuscript Codex Julius A. VII in the British Museum* (Douglas, 1924); the front cover of Broderick's edition also reproduces fo.33r. The manuscript of the Rushen Chronicle (to the best of my knowledge) is the sole surviving specimen of handwriting from that abbey, so the provincial nature of its script remains open to question.

52 Harrison, 'The English reception', 7–8; Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 269–71. For the Melrose Chronicle as a work of 'English' history, see 11–12 (chapter I).

53 The copy of Hugh of Fleury's *Chronicon* seems to have been transcribed first, probably in the 1170s, and the annalistic chronicle produced soon afterwards.

regarded themselves to some extent as the heirs to an existing historical tradition.

It is often difficult to determine when these Cistercian annalistic texts were created, because the narrative frequently opened in the distant past, rather than with the events of their authors' own times. Certain of these works begin with the Creation (those from Hailes and Strata Florida, as well as their counterparts from Louth Park and Boyle, the opening pages of which have been lost); others take the Incarnation as their starting-point (Croxden, Dore, Melrose and Waverley); while four Cistercian chronicles (from Coggeshall, Grace Dieu, Margam and Neath) commence with the Norman conquest of England. The chronological scope of these Cistercian chronicles is conditioned by their dependence on older documentation. For instance, the annalistic record assigned here to Coupar Angus (and surviving in a second copy from Culross) opens with the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar, because its first section is based on the recapitulation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (v.24), starting with the same event.

A substantial number of these annalistic works make extensive borrowings from earlier historical texts. The Coggeshall Chronicle spans the period from 1066 to 1225, and essentially summarises the contents of the more famous *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Ralph of Coggeshall (who resigned the abbacy of that house in 1218).[54] Most significantly, the authorial copy of *Chronicon Anglicanum* (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian D. X, fos 46r–131r) contains an inserted leaf (fo.112) supplying brief entries for the years 1206 to 1212, replacing an account of the Interdict which had either been lost or (more plausibly) was removed by Ralph. All other copies of *Chronicon Anglicanum* reproduce the edited version, whereas the Coggeshall Chronicle provides a much fuller description of those events, arguably abbreviated from Ralph's original wording.[55] It was equally possible for these Cistercian annalistic records to be copied on behalf of other religious communities. For example, the Benedictine monks of Holme St Benets (Norfolk) used the Tintern Chronicle (the original of which has not survived) to extend their own manuscript of *Flores Historiarum*, the Tintern entries comprising the entire narrative for the years 1305 to 1323.[56]

Each annalistic work produced by Cistercian monks in the British Isles contains notices unique to that text, predominantly concerning the abbey where it was maintained. However, many of these chronicles also share entries in common, attributable either to contact between individual convents, or to the transmission of the same source-material within a particular region or Cistercian filiation. The extant manuscript of the

[54] For the annalistic format of *Chronicon Anglicanum* to AD 1186, see Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, 182–6.

[55] Another witness to Ralph of Coggeshall's original text, appended to a copy of the *Chronicle* of Ralph Niger (BL Royal 13 A. XII, fos 88v–89r), was edited in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, XXVII, 355–7.

[56] Julian Harrison, 'The Tintern Abbey chronicles', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 16 (2000), 84–98, at 85–91.

Margam Chronicle, for instance, was demonstrably copied during the 1240s for use at another house, identifiable as Grace Dieu on the basis of an addition incorporated within the new work.[57] Both chronicles are related in turn to annalistic texts compiled at Neath (some 8 miles or 13 kilometres north-west of Margam) and Dore (the mother-house of Grace Dieu), with the last-named work being the parent of an Easter-table record from Hailes: all five abbeys were located within a 40-mile (65-kilometre) radius, in Glamorgan, Gwent and western England. Similar relationships have been documented for other annalistic texts produced by the Cistercians. The Strata Florida Chronicle (itself surviving in a copy from Neath Abbey) and *Cronica de Walkia* both bear witness to an earlier Latin exemplar, which was also translated into Welsh, most probably at Strata Florida, during the complex creation of *Brut y Tywysogyon* ('The Chronicle of the Princes'); the fourteenth-century Croxden Chronicle borrows extensively from its thirteenth-century Louth Park counterpart; the opening portion of the Rushen Chronicle is repeated almost verbatim in the Melrose Chronicle; this Melrose work also contains parallels with the Coupar Angus Chronicle; while the Waverley Chronicle has similarities with the annalistic records compiled at Hailes, Margam and Stanley, even though none of those other houses belonged to the Waverley filiation.[58] The loan of leaves from the Melrose Chronicle to an abbot or abbots of Dundrennan may have provided the opportunity for the existing work to be copied, even though no annalistic text can be traced to Dundrennan Abbey.[59] A feature of the Melrose Chronicle is the repeated marginal note *scribatur*, presumably designed for the attention of a copyist.

It was also common for annalistic records to incorporate the texts of other documents. Letters and charters were regularly copied verbatim into these works, together with information derived from newsletters and personal informants. The Melrose Chronicle contains excerpts from a number of letters, including a report sent from captivity by the abbots of Cîteaux, Clairvaux and La Piété-Dieu (1241), whose insertion the chronicler justified *quia longum est cuncta narrare*, 'because it is tedious to relate everything'. Other Cistercian annalistic works from the British Isles testify to the circulation of newsletters. An early example of the use of such source-material is the account by Arnaud, archbishop of Narbonne (and formerly abbot of Cîteaux), of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (16 July 1212), entered in the Waverley Chronicle.[60] It has also been postulated that

57 The basis for this identification is discussed by Julian Harrison, 'The troubled foundation of Grace Dieu Abbey', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 14 (1998), 25–9, revising Patterson, 'The author of the "Margam annals"', and Colker, 'The "Margam Chronicle" in a Dublin manuscript'.

58 A common denominator may have been the lost Kingswood Chronicle, produced at a daughter-house of Waverley Abbey, situated 10 miles (16 kilometres) east of the Bristol Channel.

59 Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 176.

60 Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, ii. 271–3. Another example preserved in the longer Hailes Chronicle has been published by E. L. G. Stones & Margaret N. Blount, 'The surrender of

newsletters lie behind parts of the Melrose Chronicle, an explicit example being the list of French captives taken by the English in 1217, communicated by the abbot of Warden to his counterpart at Rievaulx (the mother-house of Melrose).[61]

It is equally likely that some Cistercian chroniclers learnt of the deaths of important clerics from mortuary briefs and mortuary rolls, or were indebted to the bearers of those documents for the transmission of other recent news. One of the earliest examples of this practice from the British Isles is the roll circulated in memory of Ralph Simplex, abbot of Thorney (d.1216), of which only a fragment remains (London, British Library, MS. Royal 15 A. X*): the surviving portion includes entries made at six Cistercian convents in Yorkshire and the north Midlands (Byland, Fountains, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Rievaulx and Rufford).[62] The circulation of such documents was possibly beneficial for the compilers of many annalistic works, even if much of the evidence has now disappeared. The testimony of travellers and personal informants would have been invaluable for chroniclers confined to the cloister.

A distinctive feature of the Cistercian annalistic tradition is the presence of vernacular chronicling, attested at one convent in Ireland and two in Wales.[63] Annalistic entries had arguably been composed in Irish since the first half of the ninth century, which language ultimately came to dominate such reporting in Ireland.[64] It is by no means unusual, therefore, that the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth-century chronicle created by the Cistercians of Boyle Abbey comprises notices in the vernacular as well as in Latin, because this reflects contemporary usage.[65] In contrast, the monks of Strata Florida were breaking new ground when they compiled *Brut y Tywysogyon* in Welsh, towards the end of the thirteenth century. The original version of that work possibly extended no further than 1282, in which year Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last native ruler of Gwynedd, was killed in a skirmish with English troops. The creation of this chronicle, translated predominantly

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King John of Scotland to Edward I in 1296: some new evidence', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48 (1975), 94–106.

61 Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 152–3, 159–61, 166–7, 174.

62 Edward Maunde Thompson *et al.* (eds), *The New Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts, etc.*, First Series (London, 1903–12), ii. 4, plate 72. The oldest-surviving example from the British Isles is described by Julian Harrison, 'The mortuary roll of Turgot of Durham (d. 1115)', *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004), 67–83 and plates 17–20.

63 The Waverley Chronicle is also based for the years AD 1000–1121 on a Latin translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (composed in Old English), most closely resembling the version transcribed at Peterborough Abbey during the twelfth century (Bodl. Laud misc. 636).

64 David Dumville, 'Latin and Irish in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 431–1050', in Dorothy Whitelock *et al.* (eds), *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), 320–41.

65 For a list and translation of the Irish entries, see Freeman, 'The Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A.xxv', part iii, 360–84. The work in question survives in a copy made (and continued) by the Premonstratensian canons on neighbouring Trinity Island (Co. Roscommon).

from Latin source-material, was perhaps conceived in response to the subjection of Wales by King Edward I: one recension was subsequently continued at Valle Crucis Abbey, terminating in the year 1332.[66]

Some Cistercian chronicles also contain entries in verse, examples of which are found in the annalistic works from Hailes, Strata Florida and Waverley. The longer of the two chronicles from Hailes Abbey incorporates seven such passages, marking the imposition of the Interdict during the reign of King John (1208) and its subsequent relaxation (1214), together with the deaths of Richard, earl of Cornwall (1272), and other members of his immediate family, including King Henry III, his brother. Richard had founded that monastery in 1246: much of this verse therefore commemorates the chief supporters of the community. The Waverley Chronicle likewise contains numerous snippets of poetry throughout the annals 1201–40, the authorship of many (if not all) of which can be attributed to the monk Simon.[67] The poetic content of *Brut y Tywysogyon* is less marked, but one version does supply two Latin elegies for Rhys ap Gruffudd (d.1197), lord of Deheubarth and protector of the Cistercians: the deceased was compared (in Latin verse) to Julius Caesar, Arthur and Alexander, and separately (in Welsh prose) to Hercules, Achilles and Solomon, among others.[68] Another superb example of this phenomenon is the verse account of the events preceding the signing of Magna Carta, embedded in the Melrose Chronicle for the year 1215. The passage in question opens with the words *Ordinem preposterum Anglia sanxiuit. Mirum dictu dicitur tale quis audiuit?*, 'England has ratified a perverse order. Who has heard such an astonishing event be told in verse?' Certain of the poetry added to these Cistercian chronicles may have already existed in its own right, the elegies for Rhys being an obvious example; but some of this verse may have been composed specially for insertion in these annalistic texts. It is clear that several Cistercian chroniclers did not recognise the modern distinction between prose and verse in this context, and were happy to utilise any source-material which came to hand.

Medieval annalistic chronicles were invariably the product of collaborative enterprise, their upkeep being dependent on the perseverance of their authors and scribes, and the goodwill of their informants. The creation of these works was therefore suited to close-knit religious

66 Thomas Jones argued that the three Welsh recensions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* were each translated from a separate Latin exemplar, based ultimately on a single Latin original: Jones (trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, xxxvi–xxxix. However, it seems more likely that this complete Latin witness never existed, and that *Brut y Tywysogyon* was compiled from several Latin sources (including the Latin exemplar of the Strata Florida Chronicle and *Cronica de Wallia*), woven together and translated into Welsh. For the later entries, see G. & T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS. 20', in Tegwyn Jones & E. B. Fryde (eds), *Ysgrifau a Cherddi cyflwynedig i Daniel Huws/Essays and Poems presented to Daniel Huws* (Aberystwyth, 1994), 293–305.

67 Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, ii. 253, 285, 304, 309–12, 315, 321, 327.

68 Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, 138–41; Jones (trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, 76–8.

communities, and especially to monastic organisations (such as the Cistercians) which promoted regular communication among their members, and made other records of their activities. Cistercian annalistic writing arguably served many, complementary purposes. At its most basic level, this form of reporting enabled the monks to discover what had happened to previous generations, besides ensuring that notable events in the chroniclers' own lifetimes were recorded for posterity. Such chronicling activity should also be seen in the context of the bureaucratic revolution between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries: the resulting annalistic texts facilitated the study of other records and, in certain instances, may have been compiled by the same individuals. However, it should not be supposed that annalistic writing merely performed a practical function in those Cistercian abbeys where it was undertaken. It is likely that the production of these chronicles promoted corporate identity, engendered pride in the monastic federation to which each Cistercian community belonged, and reminded the monks of their place within Latin Christendom.

III

EDITING THE CHRONICLE OF MELROSE

Dauvit Broun

This edition is a fundamental departure from previous editions in two ways. First, it is not confined to London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, which has hitherto been regarded as containing the Chronicle of Melrose in its entirety. It is now clear that the unique manuscript of the chronicle was split in two, of which Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 is the second part.[1] The first part is London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XIII fos 2–47, and consists of a copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* (fos 2r–40r, with the text updated at a later stage on fo.40v) followed by annals for AD 1–249.[2] The second way in which this edition is different is only fully apparent in the volumes containing text and translation. Instead of following the run of text as it is found in the manuscript, the edited text and translation will be divided up and presented as blocks or snippets in the order in which these were entered into the manuscript. The reason for doing so, and the principles on which it is based, are discussed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter. The importance of analysing the layers of growth behind a complex manuscript is widely recognised. What is new is to make the archaeology of a manuscript's development the basis for an edition of its text. This is what is meant by a 'stratigraphic edition'.

The editorial challenge

The Melrose Chronicle is significant not only as a unique source of information from the mid-twelfth to the late thirteenth centuries (and the principal contemporary source for Scottish history in that period), but because the original manuscript survives as an extraordinary witness to over a century of chronicling. The chronicle was initially created in 1173×4,[3] and has been expanded bit-by-bit and the text extended and added to over many generations. The last annalistic material by monks of Melrose can be dated to sometime after Easter 1286 and probably before May 1291.[4] Overall, 54 of the manuscript's extant 120 folios were added in over a century of organic

1 See 40–8 and 177–81 (chapters IV and IX).

2 The text and translation in volume ii of this edition is limited to the material within a predominantly annalistic framework beginning at Julius B. XIII fo.41r. It is apparent from a memorandum in Faustina B. IX fo.11v (see 45–6, chapter IV) that the entire manuscript (Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 + Faustina B. IX fos 2–75) was thought of by a Melrose monk as the 'Chronicle of Melrose'. From a modern perspective, however, an edition of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* is best regarded as a separate venture.

3 See 53–5 (chapter IV).

4 See 168–9 (chapter VIII).

growth. A total of 44 scribes have been identified (not including those found only on inserted folios) who made additions to the original text of 1173×4, making it a particularly rich example of the process of annalistic chronicling. Most were engaged either in continuing the text 'lineally' (with one block succeeding another in due chronological order), or by expanding it 'laterally' (by inserting material into existing text: more than a hundred items have been added into earlier annals).[5] As a result, the chronicle is a remarkably complex artefact which exhibits an exciting (not to say alarming) array of codicological, palaeographical and textual phenomena for the ardent student of chronicles and manuscripts to relish. It is not for nothing that it has been described as 'something of a freak'.[6] Although it is not the only example of a chronicle-manuscript which has grown over many generations, it certainly provides an exceptional opportunity to appreciate in detail the development of a chronicle as a text through the physical evidence of script, layout on the page, preparation of folios for writing, and make-up of the manuscript.

The attempt to capture the complexity of the Melrose Chronicle's growth in a transparent way on the printed page represents a considerable challenge. As far as 'lineal' growth is concerned (that is, the updating of the chronicle in due chronological order), it might be thought that a simple solution would be to indicate in the edited text (rather than in the apparatus) where each new scribe's stint begins. But this is not the same as highlighting stages in the chronicle's development, which is a more complex task (as will become apparent). The greatest challenge is how to deal with 'lateral' growth, where material has been added to existing text.[7] Happily, this is no longer regarded simply as an irritant that should be purged from an edition. It is an essential aspect of a chronicle's life: as David Dumville has put it, 'chronicles seem positively to have invited interpolation from other sources'.[8] But, if it is to be valued, how is this to be achieved without becoming a distraction? It cannot be represented (in the case of the Melrose Chronicle, at least) by the usual repertoire of brackets and fonts without creating an unreadable clutter. A standard compromise would be to present a text in which all subsequent accretions and alterations are removed to the apparatus or appendices. There are two immediate problems with this. The first is that, if accretions are

5 If those active in 1173×4 are included, a total of 52 scribes were involved in the text of the chronicle and/or Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* (to say nothing of other scribal activity, such as the provision of rubrics and the addition of notes and comments in the margin): see 98–118 (chapter VII) (and 87–8 for definitions of different kinds of scribal activity witnessed in the manuscript). Only two were probably not from Melrose: Scribe 50 may be identified as from Dundrennan and Scribe 52 from Deeping St James or Thorney.

6 N. Denholm-Young, review of the Andersons' facsimile edition, *Medium Ævum*, 5 (1936) 129–31, at 129.

7 A distinction is drawn between scribes who inserted material into existing annals and those who acted as correctors working in conjunction with one of the scribes of the main text. These corrections are treated as part of the lineal stratum to which the main text scribe's work has been assigned.

8 David Dumville, 'What is a chronicle?', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999* (Amsterdam & New York, 2002), 1–27, at 19.

confined to the apparatus, this would inevitably make it very hard to appreciate how they might relate to each other: for example, if a number of items by the same scribe were identified as such they could not be seen together in the same place. This particular problem could be met by assembling material of this kind in an appendix. This, however, brings us to the second problem, which is how to show when and at what stage additional items were written into the chronicle. To some extent the numbering of scribes and dating of their script could act as a rough guide. In a good modern edition, however, this kind of information is typically to be found in the introduction, along with a full treatment of other elements exterior to the text, such as an analysis of the manuscript's make-up and an account of how the writing is laid out on the page. Readers are left to piece together for themselves the information of the chronicle's development as this relates to any particular part of the chronicle. Finally, there is the question of how to deal with scribes who engaged in both lineal and lateral growth. Again, it would be desirable to see all their work in one place.

Previous editions

Despite such practical limitations, a new edition according to best modern practice would be an important advance on previous attempts to reproduce the text of the Melrose Chronicle. The first was published by William Fulman (1632–88) in the first volume of *Rerum Anglicanum Scriptorum Veterum* (Oxford, 1684), at pp.133–244. This was then superseded by the edition by Joseph Stevenson (1806–95) published in 1835 for the Bannatyne Club. In each case the chronicle is displayed as an undifferentiated block of text; only occasionally did Stevenson point out in a footnote that a specific entry was in a later hand. In neither edition is the reader able to gauge when a particular passage became part of the chronicle, either within a specific date-range or in relation to other material in the chronicle.[9]

Stevenson's work was not given much credit by the Andersons. In the preface to their facsimile edition they described both Fulman's and Stevenson's editions as 'mischievously inaccurate', and cited eight serious errors in Stevenson's text.[10] Stevenson's edition should be acknowledged, though, as a landmark in scholarship on the Melrose Chronicle. Not only was it the first to be based on Faustina B. IX, but it cleared away some profound confusion arising from Fulman's edition. Fulman's text is simply Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208, fos 1–66, in print, a manuscript written by

[9] Special mention must be made of the unpublished edition and translation by James Waddell of Melrose (see 229, 230, chapter X), a fine example of the traditional approach. Like Stevenson, he copied the text as it stood (much as would have happened in a medieval scriptorium), without separating out the work of different scribes; like Stevenson, though, Waddell did occasionally note where passages had been inserted in a later hand.

[10] Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, ix. Alan Anderson's attempt to have the facsimile edition published by the Scottish History Society seems to have fallen foul of the Society's rule at that time that it did not publish texts that were already in print (see A. O. Anderson to J. Robb, Secretary of the Carnegie Trust, 6 October 1928). It would be understandable if, in these circumstances, he thought it necessary to emphasise the shortcomings of this policy by highlighting the faults of previous editions of the chronicle.

Raph Jennyngs, a professional copyist, who was paid £3 for his labour by a Mr Bee on 10 January 1651.[11] Not only have the textual notes, added (presumably by Fulman) to Jennyngs' copy, been reproduced, but the manuscript itself is adorned with the printer's marks to indicate how the text was to be divided into fascicles and pages.[12] One important consequence was that Fulman unwittingly perpetuated Jennyngs' decision to omit from the chronicle the Scottish king-list (derived principally from the 'Verse Chronicle') which had been added piecemeal into gaps in Faustina B. IX in the mid-thirteenth century.[13] Fulman knew independently of this king-list from a copy made by James Ussher (1581–1656) which he obtained from Ussher's grandson, James Tyrrel (1643–1718), and published at the end of the volume some 350 pages adrift from his edition of the Melrose Chronicle.[14] He explained that it was derived from 'Melrose annals' in a manuscript from the Cotton library,[15] but this did not dispel uncertainty about the status of Fulman's text of the Melrose Chronicle itself, especially when it was compared with the abbreviated version of the chronicle made by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (1600–57), who appears to have worked directly from Faustina B. IX.[16] Balfour's manuscript spawned a number of copies,[17] and was regarded by many (mainly Scottish) commentators as more authentic than Fulman's edition simply because it appeared to have more material on Scotland.[18] It was not until Stevenson placed the text in Faustina B. IX centre-stage that this sorry state of confusion was finally resolved.[19]

11 Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1852), ii. 82. Fulman's source was identified by Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, v–vi and n., where it is observed that Fulman's emendations sometimes unwittingly restored the readings of Faustina B. IX.

12 The other items in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208, were also published by Fulman in the same volume as the Melrose Chronicle.

13 See 149–51 (chapter VIII) for this material.

14 [William Fulman] (ed.), *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, vol.i (Oxford, 1684), 595–8. Ussher's copy of the Scottish king-list material from Faustina B. IX is Bodl. Add. C. 296, fos 136r–137v.

15 [Fulman] (ed.), *Rerum Anglicarum*, i. 595 note *a*.

16 Glasgow, University Library, MS. Gen. 237. The manuscript's only other item is a text on William Wallace purporting to be by Arnold Blair.

17 As well as the two noted by Stevenson (NLS Adv. 35.5.6 and Adv. 35.6.10) there is a copy made by Robert Sibbald (NLS Adv. 33.3.25, fos 1r–15r), supplemented by material extracted from Fulman's edition (fos 15r–18v; 21v–23r) and including a copy of John Jamieson's 'critical notes' on Fulman's text (fo.25r–v). All these manuscripts also contain copies of the text on Wallace attributed to Arnold Blair. Only NLS Adv. 35.6.10 is simply a copy of Balfour's manuscript: NLS Adv. 35.5.6 includes the extracts from Fulman's edition found in Sibbald's manuscript. Robert Wodrow, librarian of the university of Glasgow 1698–1703, started copying Balfour's manuscript on 23 September 1700, and it was ready to be sent to Edinburgh on 11 March 1701: L. W. Sharp (ed.), *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698–1709*, Scottish History Society, 3rd series, xxiv (Edinburgh, 1937), 112, 137. (NLS Adv. 35.6.10 does not, however, seem to be in Wodrow's hand.)

18 The most influential advocate of this view was probably William Nicolson in his *The Scottish Historical Library* (London, 1702), 79–82; see also appendix, 347–50. The most recent discussion is Jean Whittaker, *William Nicolson and the Making of Scottish History* (York, 2005), 90–2.

19 Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, ii–v.

Stevenson also established that the chronicle was compiled by the monks of Melrose, refuting Fulman's notion that up to 1235 it was the work of the abbot of Dundrennan.[20]

The publication of the Melrose Chronicle was put on a more scholarly footing altogether in the facsimile edition by Alan Orr and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (in close collaboration with William Croft Dickinson) published in 1936.[21] Not only does this contain a true photographic rendering in collotype of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, but it also includes a detailed analysis of hands and a minute description of alterations and additions to the text, as well as an account of the different layers of rubrication.[22] This milestone in scholarship on the chronicle has made work on this new edition very much easier than it would have been otherwise. The Andersons did not, though, attempt a coherent account of the chronicle's physical development. Indeed, in their brief discussions of 'stages in the chronicle' and its composition, the emphasis is almost wholly textual, focusing on sources and the existence of drafts, and on a statement of the chronicle's extent given in a memorandum on fo.11v of Faustina B. IX.[23]

Although the facsimile edition of 1936 made it possible for specialists with the necessary palaeographical skills to see whether any particular item was in a text hand or a later addition (Dickinson's index also used italic page references to indicate most of the insertions), the only way to gauge where a passage might be placed in the development of the chronicle as a whole was by studying the Andersons' analysis of hands. They ordered the hands (assigning a hand or group of similar hands to a letter) according to their first appearance in the manuscript as it is currently bound[24] — a perfectly logical approach to adopt. As a result, however, it is not immediately obvious to the reader that hand Q is earlier than E, or that E1 is more than twenty years later than E2.

A stratigraphic approach

The heart of the problem with previous editions, and with current editorial best practice as this might be applied to the unique manuscript of a chronicle on the scale of the Melrose Chronicle, is that the physical evidence of the text's development is not made immediately accessible to the reader. As a

20 *Ibid.*, vi–ix. Fulman took the idea of the abbot of Dundrennan's authorship from Raph Jennyngs' copy of the chronicle; Jennyngs, in turn, had followed the title given by Richard James (d.1638), Sir Robert Cotton's librarian, in the list of contents (Faustina B. IX fo.1r).

21 *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum*, with an introduction by Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, and an index by William Croft Dickinson, Studies in Economics and Political Science no.100 (London, 1936).

22 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xxvi–lxxxi.

23 See 40–3 (chapter IV) for further discussion.

24 Except that a hand, or a group of hands, which appeared first in an additional entry, and only later as a text hand, is assigned a letter according to where it was first found as a text hand (for example, the first appearance of the group designated as E is in an addition on Faustina B. IX fo.2v during A's stint as a text hand); its only appearance as a text hand is on fo.14v (continuing from where D2 left off).

way of meeting this challenge a new way of presenting text will be adopted in this edition. The key concept here is the stratigraphy of the chronicle's physical growth, with the text divided according to each stratum within a chronological sequence. The fundamental idea is borrowed from archaeologists, although 'stratigraphy' is also a term that would be readily recognised in the field of manuscript studies.[25] What is proposed here, however, is not simply the stratigraphy of a codex, but the stratigraphy of a text as revealed by a detailed study of the manuscript — a small but significant shift in emphasis.[26]

It is especially appropriate to call archaeology to mind because the stratigraphic way of presenting the text in this edition gives priority to the chronicle as an artefact. It focuses exclusively on the physical expansion of the text in the manuscript, as distinct from how the text itself was actually composed. The two are not unrelated, of course. It should probably be assumed (in the absence of any indications to the contrary) that material was normally drafted in some way before being entered into the chronicle.[27] Each stratum typically signifies merely the final stage in which text that already existed in some form was written into the chronicle. The presentation of the text according to strata is not concerned with how the words came into being: it is intended solely as a way of offering readers a clear way of orientating themselves within the complexity of the physical evidence.

How, then, are strata to be identified? Reference has already been made to how text might be divided up according to scribe, but this cannot be the whole story. In the case of what I have called 'lineal' growth, it can be assumed that, if there were no blank pages available, additional parchment had to be prepared for writing in order to take the text with which the chronicle was to be continued. This crucial evidence for the chronicle's physical growth must be factored into any identification of strata. The way text is presented on the page is also a vital clue. For example, a scribe's stint could include an initial series of annals with a regular spacing between them, followed by more annals which exhibit a different pattern. This could also coincide with a change in the way the initial capital *A* of *Anno* is presented, or a change in the kind of text-division sign deployed occasionally between items. It would be a mistake to regard all of this scribe's stint as a single

25 See, in particular, J. Peter Gumbert, 'Codicological units: towards a terminology for the stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex', *Segno e testo*, 2 (2004), 17–42.

26 This is discussed further at 197–8 (chapter X). The immediate inspiration for the approach adopted here is Daniel Huws's pioneering analysis of the corpus of poetry in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 6680B (the 'Hendregadredd Manuscript'), in which the work of forty hands is assigned to three strata: Daniel Huws, 'Llawysgrif Hendregadredd', *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru*, 22 (1981–2), 1–26 (translated into English, with appendix and additional note, in Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 193–226). It has also been an inspiration to collaborate in honours and postgraduate teaching with Stephen Driscoll and Ewan Campbell in the Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.

27 It is apparent that the orderly process of drafting and incorporation of text envisaged in the famous account in two chronicles from Reading and Worcester (discussed in Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, i, *c.550 to c.1307* (London, 1974), 319–20) was not applied systematically at Melrose.

stratum. There are also a few cases in which scribes have clearly worked together. This can be seen where they take over from each other in mid-sentence (they may swap over more than once), which suggests that they were both employed in copying a draft into the manuscript; this may additionally be confirmed by the presence of substantial editorial interventions across the work of both scribes. It would be a mistake in these instances to regard each scribe's work as a separate stratum (and decidedly clumsy to divide the text up accordingly). The stratum can instead be identified as the section in which the scribes worked in tandem. Another way in which scribes worked together is where one acted as a corrector systematically checking the work of the other scribe and making alterations and additions as required.

But there are limits to how far an analysis of this kind can go. For example, if the work of a scribe is made the basis for defining a stratum, what is to be made of variations in his performance? One scribe's stint is often equivalent to more than one of the 'hands' in Alan Anderson's analysis. Should this be enough on its own, without any other evidence, to determine that this be regarded as more than a single stratum? The problem here is that variations in performance need by no means reflect a new campaign of entering text into the chronicle: changes in pen from day to day, for example, could have the same effect, as well as the fact that the register of bookhand used by most scribes in the Melrose Chronicle permitted a degree of inconsistency.

All this depends on what a stratum means in relation to scribal activity. Instead of thinking of it as a specific moment when text was entered into the chronicle, it can be regarded simply as a campaign by a scribe which is clearly defined by the physical evidence, regardless of how much time or how many separate sessions with the manuscript this may have involved. Strata can be identified by placing particular emphasis not only on handwriting, but also on how this can be corroborated or refined by significant changes in layout, in the preparation of folios for writing, and in the manuscript's make-up. This is not to deny that an element of interpretation is involved; the grounds for identifying each stratum are explained in detail in chapter VIII. Although the stratigraphy cannot therefore aim to be a minute record of each and every occasion of entering material into the chronicle, it *can* claim to give a full account of the relationship between handwriting, layout, preparation and the disposition of gatherings and freestanding bifolia or singletons. As such, the division of the text according to strata offers an immediate guide to the most compelling physical evidence for the chronicle's growth.

A stratigraphic edition: outline of layout and organisation

A stratigraphic edition, then, is where an analysis of scribes and other aspects of the physical evidence is used as the basis for assigning text to strata, and for presenting the text in discrete blocks per stratum. The blocks of text range from some minor additions and brief updatings of the main text, to

large sections embracing one or more gatherings.[28] All this hinges not only on identifying strata, but also on placing them in a relative chronology. This can be difficult for strata consisting only of 'lateral' growth. Where it is impossible to decide the order of a couple of strata, a simple expedient is to assign them an equal place in the relative chronology by designating one with a number (e.g., 26) and the other with the same number with suffix 'A' (e.g., 26A). The stratum denoted by the number alone is the one whose place in the relative chronology is more secure.

So far so good, it might be said. Not only does the division of the text according to strata bring the physical dimension immediately into the foreground, but it also enables additional items by a particular scribe to be made accessible. They are each presented as constituting a stratum, thereby permitting the material to be read together as easily as the main text. It is also possible to place them in relation to other additions, and in relation to the development of the Melrose Chronicle as a whole. In this way there is no longer a need to prejudice an appreciation of 'lateral' growth (represented by additional items) for the sake of achieving clarity for the main text.

If material is divided into chunks like this, however, how is it going to be possible to know how they relate to each other textually? Strata of lineal growth present no problems in this regard, but it is important to retain some idea of how strata of lateral growth intersect with the material to which additions are being made. There are two steps to take in order to deal with this. The first is to divide the edited text into two parts:[29] strata of lineal growth and strata of lateral growth.[30] Even though it is useful to bring additions out from the shadows of the apparatus, the distinction between 'main text' and additions remains useful and important. The second step is to divide each annal in the manuscript into its constituent parts, as determined by sense and syntax. This excellent practice has become commonplace in editing Irish chronicles ever since Freeman's edition of the *Annals of Connacht* published in 1944.[31] Freeman presented the annal for 1490 as follows:[32]

28 In the case of a leaf (Faustina B. IX fo.38) which already contained some text when it was added to the chronicle, the physical incorporation of the folio constitutes a stratum, and its pre-existing text is presented in the edition at that point (regardless of when the text was actually written onto the folio, because at that stage the folio was independent of the chronicle). Two other leaves with pre-existing text (Faustina B. IX fos 14 and 54) have been inserted; they do not appear to have been regarded as part of the chronicle when a memorandum describing its extent was written on Faustina B. IX fo.11v sometime after the chronicle had reached its current proportions (see next chapter for discussion). They probably only became unambiguously part of the chronicle when it was first bound in its entirety, and have been identified as a stratum only at that point.

29 At the end of the day a slightly more elaborate scheme needs to be applied, as explained at 199 and outlined in 200–7 (chapter X (3)).

30 Their relative chronological order is kept clearly in view because each stratum is identified by a number in a single series.

31 A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *Annála Connacht. The Annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224–1544)* (Dublin, 1944), vii–viii.

32 *Ibid.*, 593, 595.

1490

1. First of January, the age of the Lord one thousand four hundred four score and ten years.
2. Toirrdelbach Oc son of Toirrdelbach O Baigill died after a fall this year.
3. Mac Domnaill of Scotland, the 'Young Lord', the best man in Ireland and Scotland, was unfortunately killed by an Irish harper, Diarmait O Cairbre, in his own room.
4. Dillon, that is Edmund son of Thomas son of Gerald, died.
5. O Conchobair Ruad, Feidlim Finn, died.
6. O Cathain, that is Sean son of Diarmait son of Aibhne, was captured by a ship which came from Scotland.[33]

Although Freeman mainly followed the division of annals into paragraphs which he found in the manuscript, he should be credited with the device of numbering each section. This has rightly been described as 'a revolution in precision of reference',[34] making it possible to refer effortlessly to a specific item (e.g., 1490.6).

The division of each annal into its constituent parts is not entirely straightforward, though. The tendency to refer to each element as an 'entry' could make one think that each originated as a separate entity, calling to mind something like entries into a logbook.[35] Occasionally a text-division sign shows that these were indeed thought of as discrete textual units; but this is not a widespread feature in the Melrose Chronicle. The practice adopted here is to refer to the constituent parts of annals as 'items', not entries. This at least has the merit of highlighting that these are often a matter of editorial convenience, and should not be held necessarily to imply anything about the process of composition.[36] Once each annal is subdivided into items, it then becomes possible to refer to additions according to their place within the annal, and to include cross-references to strata of lateral growth in the edited text of lineal strata (the 'main text' if you like).[37]

A stratigraphic edition: text

The fundamental difference between this edition and a more standard modern approach, therefore, is that the physical aspects of the manuscript are an active, not a passive element. They govern the presentation of the text. The goal is not simply to bring the reader closer to the unique manuscript, but to use the physical evidence to provide a ready guide to the more

[33] It should be noted that the edited text actually says *O Cathain d'ecc*, 'Ó Catháin died', but Freeman suppressed this in his translation because he saw it as an error: *ibid.*, 594 and n.3.

[34] David Dumville, 'On editing and translating medieval Irish chronicles: the *Annals of Ulster*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 10 (1985), 67–86, at 77.

[35] I owe my initial awareness of this issue to Dr Colmán Etchingham of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

[36] For some salutary discussion of problems that can arise from editorial decisions about how to itemise the material in an annal, see Dumville 'On editing and translating medieval Irish chronicles', 77–9.

[37] For examples, see 50 (chapter IV).

prominent contours of the chronicle's growth, and to present each layer as discrete units numbered in the order in which they occurred (insofar as this can be established). This strategy should enable the reader to orientate themselves in the often bewildering physical landscape inhabited by the text, allowing them to see immediately the more obvious stages in the chronicle's development and to appreciate where any passage stands in relation to this and to the Melrose Chronicle as a whole.

For all that the physical aspects of the manuscript play an active role in how the text is presented in this edition, however, the ultimate concern is with the text of the chronicle. Not everything written in the manuscript can be regarded as forming part of the Melrose Chronicle, even on quite a wide definition. 'Sign-post' rubrics, notes and comments will therefore be treated differently. Textual considerations also suggest that it would be undesirable if all detectable additions, however slight, were to be assigned to a stratum and, as such, presented in the edition as part of a discrete unit of text (with the possibility that a stratum might consist only of a series of minor corrections). Minor corrections and additions would only be intelligible if the surrounding text was supplied. The best way to treat them, therefore, is by identifying them where they occur in the host text. A workable principle can thus be established: that the only material which will be presented as constituent elements of a stratum are those entries or additions which are the record of an event (e.g., someone's succession to ecclesiastical office), or are otherwise recognisable as statements which were intended by its scribe to be read as part of the text.[38] All minor additions, corrections and alterations will simply be noticed in the apparatus in the normal way at the appropriate point in the text.

The organisation of this edition by dividing the text into strata is not without potential drawbacks. The most obvious is that the 'unity' of the chronicle on the manuscript page is lost. This is a cost worth paying. Such a loss would, of course, be deplorable if the text in question was a more literary composition. Chronicles such as this one are, however, piecemeal affairs with no pretence to compositional unity. It is clear that the compilation of the

[38] The only exception is what appears to have been an attempt by Scribe 44 to copy the sole item by Scribe 36 in the upper margin of Faustina B. IX fo.63r. The text of his contribution therefore has a different status to that of other strata: although Scribe 44's fragment does not therefore appear as a stratum in its own right, it is discussed in the detailed account of strata (see 164, chapter VIII). Scribe 44's activity will be duly noted in the apparatus to the stratum represented by Scribe 36. In exceptional cases, additions which do not meet the criterion of being recognisable as statements which were intended by its scribe to be read as part of the text, but which represent a significant dimension of a particular stratum of items defined in the usual way, will be given as an appendix to that stratum. A grammatically incomplete notice, such as *Florencius electus Glasg'* in the margin of the annal for 1202 (Faustina B. IX fo.27r) which is part of a rubric series will be treated as a rubric, even though it corresponds to nothing in the text. On the other hand, the addition of *Ricardus prior de Melros* in the body of the text (in the annal for 1239, Faustina B. IX fo.44v) following *et monachus de Melr' successit* was, it seems, meant to be read as part of the text, even though it would only fit into the existing sentence if it is assumed that '*i.*' (*id est*) was understood to precede *Ricardus*.

chronicle passed through the hands of a number of editors who had markedly different approaches to the task. Annalistic chronicles, moreover, are inherently unstable, insofar as they are likely to accumulate additional text over time for a variety of reasons. The only desideratum, as far as the chronicle's 'unity' is concerned, is to indicate where additional entries appear in relation to the 'main text': the system of cross-references delineated above is designed to achieve this. It should be added that the digitised images of the manuscript on the DVD, as well as providing a point of reference for the discussions of scribes and strata in chapters VII and VIII, also allow the chronicle's text to be appreciated as it appears on the page.[39]

39 There is also Joseph Stevenson's edition published by the Bannatyne Club, of course, for anyone who wishes to view the Melrose Chronicle simply as a single body of text without having to encounter the manuscript.

IV

RECOVERING THE CHRONICLE OF MELROSE

Dauvit Broun

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 has been regarded universally by modern scholarship as constituting the unique manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle, spanning the years 731 to 1270 (plus a few later annals added spasmodically). It ends in mid-sentence at the bottom of fo.75v, which suggests that at least one folio is missing; but it has not otherwise been seen as incomplete. The possibility that Faustina B. IX is more substantially defective, however, was first raised by Joseph Stevenson in the introduction to his edition of the chronicle (1835). He made the crucial observation that the scribe responsible for the annals AD 1–249 in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XIII fos 41r–47v was 'beyond a doubt' the same as the first scribe in Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r (Scribe 5 in this edition).[1] He noted, furthermore, that the preparation of the written surface in both manuscripts was identical, concluding that it 'might almost lead to the belief that both these manuscripts were originally destined to form one volume'. He considered this to be untenable, however, because Faustina B. IX fo.2r has every appearance of representing the beginning, rather than the middle, of a text. It opens with a prologue; and space has been left for an initial six lines deep (which would have been the largest in the chronicle when it was originally created).

Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 as only part of the original manuscript

Stevenson's rejection of the possibility that the two manuscripts may once have constituted a single volume has not subsequently been challenged.[2] The Andersons noted that the first scribe of Faustina B. IX (whose hand they designated as 'A') was also responsible for Julius B. XIII fos 41–47, and suggested that it had been written 'somewhat earlier', but made no further comment.[3] They did, however, draw attention to another piece of evidence which seemed to indicate that the chronicle had once been significantly larger than just Faustina B. IX fos 2–75. In a memorandum added in the blank bottom half of Faustina B. IX fo.11v it was recorded that the chronicle consisted of 14 quires (*quaterni*) and 119 folios (*folia*) at the time it was borrowed by an abbot of Dundrennan.[4] From this it could readily be

1 Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, xv n.§.

2 Also, the fact that Stevenson confined his observation about the same scribe in both manuscripts to a footnote could readily have contributed to its being overlooked.

3 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xxvii.

4 It may be inferred that the abbot borrowed the remainder of the chronicle after fo.11v.

deduced that at least 45 folios are missing.[5] Alan Orr Anderson, however, took *folia* here to mean pages rather than leaves.[6] He observed that, if what they described as the 'Continuation' (fos 61–2 and 64–75) is discounted, and the inserted fos 14, 38 and 54 are included, plus the list of abbots on fo.63v, then the total number of *pages of writing* is 119 (i.e., 60 folios with the verso of what is now fo.38 still blank).[7] The exclusion of the 'Continuation' seemed to be justified because it can be dated (from a reference to Thomas Stonegrave as abbot of Rievaulx) to sometime after Easter 1286,[8] whereas the memorandum was in the same hand as another memorandum a few lines below on fo.11v, written by the same scribe, noting the marriage of Alexander, son of Alexander III, in 1282.[9] Anderson assumed that this had been written shortly after Prince Alexander's wedding, and that both items could be dated to about the same time. He concluded that 'there can be no doubt that the *Cronica de Melros* at the time when the 1282 note was written was the same as our chronicle ... but did not include the Continuation'.[10]

There was, nevertheless, a fundamental problem with Alan Anderson's interpretation of the figure of 119 *folia*. As N. Denholm-Young pointed out in a review of the Andersons' facsimile edition, the translation of *folium* as 'page of writing' is unsustainable.[11] He also objected that it is impossible to see how Anderson's 60 folios with 119 written pages could have been regarded as consisting of 14 quires.[12] Anderson had attempted to anticipate

5 The memorandum was cited in Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, vi, but only to refute the view perpetuated in the title of Fulman's edition that the abbot of Dundrennan was the chronicle's author. Stevenson did not connect it with his observation that Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX may once have constituted a single volume.

6 It is clear from the Andersons' papers that the discussion of the memorandum was Alan Anderson's work and that he took sole responsibility for it in replying to Denholm-Young's criticisms.

7 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xvi.

8 *Ibid.*, xvii. The Andersons regarded 8 September 1285 as the latest known appearance of Thomas's predecessor, William, as abbot of Rievaulx. It is now known that Abbot William is found as late as Easter 1286 (i.e., 14 April). Thomas occurs as abbot of Rievaulx on 24 May 1286. See David M. Smith & Vera C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, ii, *1216–1377* (Cambridge, 2002), 302.

9 Alan Anderson even suggested (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xvi) that the 'Continuation' may not have been regarded as part of the chronicle even after it had been written. As he put it: 'There is no doubt that the Continuation was intended to carry on the Chronicle of Melrose: but it was probably never completed; and while it was still in progress, it could have been regarded as the beginning of a new work, rather than an extension of the old, and so might not have been counted among the pages of the chronicle'. There seems here to be a tacit recognition that the memorandum could be later than 1282: elsewhere he dated it '1282×, or perhaps in 1282' (*ibid.*, xxxi).

10 *Ibid.*, xvi.

11 N. Denholm-Young, review of the Andersons' facsimile edition, *Medium Ævum*, 5 (1936), 129–31. On reading Denholm-Young's review Alan Anderson wrote to W. M. Lindsay on 4 September 1936 to ask that 'I should like to know whether 119 folia, in the sense of 119 pages, is so exceptional as to have been regarded as an error'; Lindsay replied (7 September 1936) that 'Certainly pagina ought to mean "page" and folium "leaf" (i.e. 2 pages)', but that this was not enough, in his view, 'to overthrow your very natural explanation of the memorandum'.

12 N. Denholm-Young, in his reply to Alan Anderson's response to his review, *Medium Ævum*,

this problem by suggesting that 'probably at least three were single leaves', referring to three folios (fos 14, 38, and 54) which had been inserted into the chronicle.[13] As Denholm-Young observed, however, quires of one folio 'are at this period very rare';[14] and his own study of the manuscript led him to conclude that it 'could not conceivably have been bound 'in smaller fascicles'.[15] It might be added that only one of the inserted folios was definitely regarded as part of the chronicle: fo.38 is described as the first folio in a cross-reference inserted into the text probably in the early 1220s.[16] Denholm-Young concluded that 'the only certainty is that the Abbot of Dundrennan borrowed a work which was more than half as long again [as Faustina B. IX fos 2–75]'.[17]

A serious weakness in Alan Anderson's position was that he had been unable to see the manuscript when it was disbound in 1928 for the purpose of photographing it for the facsimile edition.[18] Deprived of this unique opportunity to examine the manuscript's make-up, his understanding of the number of quires seems to have been grounded entirely on his interpretation of what he called 'the 1282 note', and his belief that the manuscript at that stage contained 60 rather than 119 folios.[19] So deeply held was this

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6 (1937), 76, stated that 'My own examination of the manuscript led me to the conclusion that the 60 leaves in question were never divided into the fourteen quires necessary to Dr Anderson's argument'. The disbinding of Faustina B. IX in 2005 showed that Denholm-Young's objection was perfectly justified.

13 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xi. Anderson gave a fuller account of this point in his response to Denholm-Young' in *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 72–5 (at 73–4).

14 Comment by Denholm-Young, *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 76.

15 Denholm-Young, *Medium Ævum*, 5 (1936), 131. The reference to smaller fascicles is quoted from Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xi.

16 Addition at end of annal for 1219 (fo.37v). The rubbed surface of fo.38v serves to confirm that it was a flyleaf. For the dating of this addition, see 139 (chapter VIII).

17 Denholm-Young, *Medium Ævum*, 5 (1936), 131.

18 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xvi. Alan Anderson took exception to Denholm-Young's observation that the manuscript had not been collated when it was disbound, complaining that this was 'discourteous, since I have said that we were unable to do so' (letter sent by Anderson to the editor of *Medium Ævum*, 5 May 1937, printed privately by Anderson and bound with his offprints of *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 72–6). Anderson depended on support from the Carnegie Trust after his tenure of a Carnegie Research Lectureship at St Andrews came to an end in 1926, and seems thereafter to have had the resources to cover only one trip to London a year. Writing to J. Robb (secretary of the Carnegie Trust) on 5 September 1927 he refers to a 'very short visit to London'; he wrote to J. Robb from a London address on 7 February 1928, and he visited London for a fortnight in April 1929 (Anderson to Robb, 1 October 1929). The disbinding of Faustina B. IX occurred later in 1928. Anderson did not mention the Melrose Chronicle in connection with his visits in 1927 and 1928 (his chief preoccupation seems to have been his edition of the Prophecy of Berchán, published in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 18 (1930), 1–56). Unfortunately his collaboration with Croft Dickinson, although first mooted in a letter to Robb, 3 July 1927, seems not to have seriously got under way until Anderson's visit to London in April 1929 when they discussed 'the methods of producing our facsimile edition' (Anderson to Robb, 1 October 1929), otherwise it might be expected that Croft Dickinson (who worked in London) would have examined the disbound manuscript. (On their collaboration, see 91 n.10, below.)

19 He stated (Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xi) that 'The Chronicle of Melrose

conviction, indeed, that when Anderson responded to Denholm-Young's criticisms, he regarded the latter's certainty that there was 'a work ... more than half as long again...' (as Faustina B. IX fos 2–75) as meaning that Denholm-Young supposed that the memorandum was referring to another manuscript known as *Cronica de Melros*, one which consisted of 119 folios.[20] It is clear in Denholm-Young's retort that he simply envisaged that Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 was incomplete.[21] Unfortunately he does not seem to have been aware of Stevenson's observation that the annals in Julius B. XIII fos 41–47 were written by the first scribe of Faustina B. IX, which could have assisted his argument considerably.[22] Denholm-Young's comments were based solely on the memorandum and the limited amount he could deduce from examining the rebound manuscript.

It is now apparent that Stevenson's understandable rejection of his own deduction that Julius B. XIII fos 41–47 was once part of the same volume as Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, and Alan Anderson's unfortunate interpretation of the figure of 119 *folia* as 119 pages of writing, were both wrong-turnings. The decisive solution to all these difficulties is to be found in manuscript-evidence that has not yet entered the discussion: the item in Julius B. XIII preceding fos 41–47.

Julius B. XIII fos 2–47

It should be admitted at the outset that it is not surprising that no one has hitherto regarded Julius B. XIII fos 2–40 as relevant to the Chronicle of Melrose. Until recently it was thought to be the work of Roger Walden, archbishop of Canterbury (1397–9) and bishop of London (1404–6). It has now been recognised by Julian Harrison as a copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, an early schoolbook consisting of lists and tables relating to the Biblical and Christian past, designed for students to memorise.[23] Hugh's original text finished with a list of popes and emperors (in parallel columns) within a year-by-year chronological frame running from the birth of Christ to the pontificate of Honorius II (1124–30), hence the 'traditional' dating of this work to *ca* 1130.[24] The knowledge that this is a copy of Hugh's *Chronicle* does

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was formerly bound in smaller fascicles', and said that it consisted of fourteen quires before the 'Continuation': in support of this, he simply referred to his discussion of 'the 1282 note', i.e., the memorandum on fo.11v.

20 A. O. Anderson, '*Cronica de Melros*', *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 72–5 (at 72).

21 Comment by N. Denholm-Young, *Medium Ævum*, 6 (1937), 76.

22 In fairness to Denholm-Young he would not have been alerted to the significance of Julius B. XIII fos 41–47 by the Andersons' minimal reference to it. They did not mention that it contained annals, and they did not acknowledge Stevenson as identifying the scribe: had they done so, then Denholm-Young might well have referred to Stevenson's prescient discussion of its possible significance.

23 Harrison, 'The English reception': the trail of misunderstanding and error which led to the attribution to Roger Walden is explained at 7. A revised version is Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', at 269–70.

24 Possible dates of composition of Hugh's *Chronicle* have ranged from 1125 to 1135: see Harrison, 'The English reception', 3 and n.14 (where references are cited for the range of proposed dates); Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 265 and n.15. Harrison gives

not, of course, make Julius B. XIII fos 2–40 seem remotely connected with the Melrose Chronicle. No encouragement is to be found, either, in the fourteenth-century *ex libris* in the lower margin of fo.2r, which shows that this was once in the possession of the priory of Deeping St James (Lincolnshire), a cell of Thorney Abbey (Cambridgeshire), founded in 1139. There is no known link between Deeping (or Thorney) and Melrose.

In the absence of such a connection, the question would have to be raised whether the copy of Hugh's *Chronicle* (fos 2–40) and the annals AD 1–249 (fos 41–47) were originally separate entities.[25] Physically this is perfectly plausible. The matter would appear to be settled beyond reasonable doubt by a note of the death of St Guthlac written about a generation later than the text hand in the left-hand margin of fo.35v opposite the year 715[26] in the final section of Hugh's *Chronicle*.[27] St Guthlac was the patron of Crowland Abbey (Lincolnshire), not far from Deeping and Thorney. This, plus the fact that Crowland is known to have possessed a copy of Hugh's *Chronicle*, naturally raises the possibility that Julius B. XIII fos 2–40 may have been acquired by Deeping (or Thorney) from Crowland.[28]

This possibility can be rejected unequivocally, however. The key which unlocks the origin of fos 2–40 is the handwriting. Three principal scribes can be identified. The first (Scribe 1)[29] was responsible for the prologue only (fos 2r–3v). The second (Scribe 3) has reproduced the rest of Hugh's text (fos 4r–39v), plus a continuation of the chronological frame for the list of popes and emperors as far as 1174 (that is, to the bottom of fo.40r), but without adding any popes or emperors to Hugh's list. The third (Scribe 14) has continued the list of popes beyond Honorius II as far as Innocent III (1198–1216) (fo.40r–v), taking the chronological frame up to 1220, and noting each pontifical year up to 1208 (which was presumably when he made his contribution to the manuscript). He was also responsible for various notes and additions in Julius B. XIII,[30] including the reference to St Guthlac's death added in the margin

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1124×37 as the date-range. In this manuscript Honorius's pontifical years are given, year by year, as far as his fifth (1129). The last emperor is Henry V, who is given a reign of fifteen years (numbered from 1111 to 1125).

25 Credit goes to Harrison, 'The English reception', 7 and n.37, for first recognising the problem of regarding fos 2–47 as a single entity in the light of Stevenson's identification of fos 41–47 as the work of the first scribe of Faustina B. IX. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (London 1964), 57, gave fos 2–47 as constituting a single item. Harrison points out that in this Ker was probably following the list of contents appended on fo.1 of the manuscript by Richard James (d.1638), Robert Cotton's librarian.

26 The note was first observed and its implications discussed in Harrison, 'The English reception', 8 n.40.

27 The list of popes and emperors in a year-by-year frame from the birth of Christ to Honorius II and Henry V.

28 Harrison, 'The English reception', 8 n.40. I am grateful to Julian Harrison for pointing out that the church at Deeping (not the cell) was dedicated to Guthlac (see 175 n.7, chapter IX), and for suggesting that an interest in Guthlac might explain why the manuscript ended up in Deeping.

29 For details, see 98 (chapter VII).

30 See 102 (chapter VII) for details.

on fo.35v opposite the year 715. A few other scribes have made corrections or minor additions.

Of the three principal scribes, the first is not found elsewhere. The second and third, however, can be recognised in Faustina B. IX, and can therefore be identified positively as connected to Melrose. The scribe responsible for Julius B. XIII fos 4r–40r was also the scribe of Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v and 15r–21r (as far as line 22): that is, 1017–1171 of the Melrose Chronicle ('C1' in the Andersons' synopsis of hands).[31] The scribe who continued the list of popes in 1208 in Julius B. XIII fo.40r–v and made other additions, including the note of St Guthlac's death, has particularly distinctive writing, and can be recognised in a number of corrections and additions in Faustina B. IX on fos 10v, 11r, 12r, 17r and 18v, plus the interpolation of an entry on St Guthlac's translation under the year 1136 (fo.18r).[32] This scribe evidently had a personal interest in St Guthlac, even though he may have been a monk of Melrose: we can only speculate on why this might have been.[33] Neither this scribe (Scribe 14), nor the scribe whose hand was designated as 'C1' by the Andersons (Scribe 3), have yet been identified elsewhere.

The fact that two of the three principal scribes of Julius B. XIII fos 2–40 are found in Faustina B. IX (and nowhere else, as far as current knowledge is concerned) suggests strongly (i) that it formed a single unit with Julius B. XIII fos 41–47 — whose scribe (it will be recalled) is the first scribe of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 — and (ii) that this manuscript was created at Melrose.[34] It does not immediately follow, however, that Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 belonged originally to the same volume. The two scribes responsible for significant parts of each (Scribes 3 and 5, respectively the Andersons' hands 'C1' and 'A') could well have been responsible for other manuscripts produced at Melrose. Equally, the later scribe with a particular interest in St Guthlac (Scribe 14) might have been active as a corrector and interpolator in more than one of Melrose's books.

The crucial evidence that Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 formed a single volume is in the memorandum added to Faustina B. IX fo.11v, noting the extent and composition of the book when much of it was borrowed by an abbot of Dundrennan. It will be recalled that the chronicle was stated there to consist of 14 quires and 119 folios. It should be conceded immediately that the figure of 14 quires is impossible to establish. Examining the make-up of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 is especially difficult, given that it has

31 See discussion of Scribe 3, below 98–9. Fo.14 is a later insertion.

32 See account of Scribe 14, below 102, for details.

33 His work in Faustina B. IX was not designated as a hand in its own right in the Andersons' synopsis, and nor was any of his work assigned to another hand.

34 Any reservation about Melrose as the home of these scribes (on the basis that Melrose may have acquired this manuscript rather than created it) can be dispelled by the highlighted presentation (in red ink) of the entries on the foundations of Cîteaux (1098), Rievaulx (1132, Melrose's mother-house), Melrose (1136, in slightly larger writing), Kinloss (1150) and Holm Cultram (1150, both daughter-houses of Melrose).

not been created on one occasion, but has grown in fits and starts over more than a century.[35] (Its make-up as revealed when disbound in 2005 is discussed in chapter VI.) The figure of 119 folios is much more straightforward. A piece of simple arithmetic shows that Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 comprises 46 folios, and that Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 contains 74 folios, giving a grand total of 120 folios. This, of course, is not the same as 119. It will be recalled, moreover, that at least one folio is missing from the end (which may, for convenience, be designated fo.75*). This means that, at the very least, there seem to be two folios too many in the calculation. The solution is to be found in the three inserted leaves. One (fo.38) became a flyleaf, and was regarded as the first folio many years before the memorandum on Faustina B. IX fo.11v was written.[36] If the other two (fos 14 and 54) are subtracted, then Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 would have constituted 73 folios before the loss of a folio at the end (fo.75*). This explanation may be represented as a sum:

74 (fos 2–75) + 1 (fo.75*) – 2 (inserted fos 14 and 54) = 73.

We therefore arrive at a figure which, when combined with the 46 folios of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47, produces a total of 119 folios.

A number of conclusions flow from this:

(i) The manuscript counted by the scribe of the memorandum consisted of both Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 (give or take a few folios: see the next two points).

(ii) Faustina B. IX fos 14 and 54 were not considered to be part of the chronicle by the memorandum's author, either because he did not regard them as belonging to the body of the manuscript (or 'bookblock'), or because these folios had not yet been inserted into the manuscript.

(iii) From the time that the memorandum was written only one folio (Faustina B. IX fo.75*) would seem to have been lost from the end.

Three further conclusions necessarily follow:

(iv) The memorandum noting the chronicle's extent and physical structure was written after Faustina B. IX fos 61–62 and 64–75 (the Andersons' 'Continuation') had been added to the chronicle (not before, as Alan Anderson supposed). It was therefore written no earlier than Easter 1286 (the earliest date-limit of the 'Continuation').[37]

(v) A lacuna after the annal for AD 249 (Julius B. XIII, bottom of fo.47v) already existed by the time this memorandum was written.

(vi) The manuscript was taken intact from Melrose to Deeping St James or Thorney (probably in the fourteenth century, or possibly a few years earlier).

35 See especially the detailed discussion of the manuscript's development, 78–86 (chapter VI).

36 See 139 (chapter VIII).

37 It will be recalled that the Andersons assumed that another item on fo.11v by the same scribe, noting the marriage of Alexander son of Alexander III in 1282, was written shortly after this event, and that it could be inferred from this that the memorandum recording the chronicle's extent was written at about this time. In the note of Prince Alexander's marriage his bride's father is misnamed 'Nicholas' count of Flanders: he was, in fact, Guy, which makes it less likely that the memorandum was written shortly after the event.

Can the last two points be verified? Also, how is the evidence which threw Stevenson off the scent to be explained, namely the fact that Faustina B. IX fo.2r appears so convincingly to represent the beginning of a work? Once these questions have been tackled it will be possible to consider new evidence offered by Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 for the dating of the original creation of the Melrose Chronicle.

The most urgent problem is the lacuna from AD 249. As it stands Julius B. XIII fo.47v ends in mid-sentence, so that it is very likely that some text has been lost. The missing portion could have been quite substantial: the annals AD 1–249 are based largely on Bede's *Chronica Maiora*, a work running from the Creation to the mid-720s,[38] so it is probable that this series of annals continued into the eighth century, almost reaching AD 731, the earliest year in Faustina B. IX. This creates at least a little unease about the validity of the match between the figure of 119 folios in the memorandum on fo.11v and the sum of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 (plus fo.75* and minus inserted fos 14 and 54). It requires either that the missing annals after 249 disappeared before the end of the thirteenth century while the manuscript was (presumably) still at Melrose, or that this part of the chronicle was (inexplicably) never completed in the first place. Any anxiety can be dispelled, however, by a comment in the outer margin of Julius B. XIII fo.30v written by the scribe with a particular interest in St Guthlac (Scribe 14). Unfortunately this has been damaged by cropping. It is linked by a line to AD 249 (in the year-by-year frame for the list of popes and emperors), and reads: *hoc usque ad annum* [ ]*c.xxx*^{m}*.i*^{m}*. nulla* [ ] *sequentibus est conti*[ ] *set interrumpitur* [ ]*d iii*^{m}*.dc*^{orum}*. 7* [ ] *annorum* [ ] *bxxxiiii anni.* The last part is too mutilated to be recovered with confidence. The purport of most of it is clear enough, though: that in the next section there is a lacuna from 249 to a year ending '31'. The key passage may thus be reconstructed to read: *hoc usque ad annum <dc>c.xxx*^{m}*.i*^{m}*. nulla <in> sequentibus est conti<nuatio> set interrumpitur*... 'from here [AD 249] as far as the year <7>31 there is no cont<inuance in> the following materials, but it is interrupted...'.[39] It will be recalled that this scribe was active in 1208. It may safely be concluded, then, that by this date the manuscript had lost annals following on from 249 (if, indeed, these were ever written at all), creating a gap from this point up to 731, the earliest year covered in Faustina B. IX.

[38] See Julian Harrison's discussion of the sources of the annals AD 1–249 in the introduction to volume ii.

[39] I am grateful to Prof. A. A. M. Duncan for his assistance in making sense of this passage. The next section probably reads *<a>d iii*^{m}*.dc*^{orum}*. 7* [ ] *annorum*..., 'about three-thousand-six-hundred and [ ] years' (or possibly 'six-thousand...' instead of 'three-thousand...'). I am grateful to Julian Harrison for the suggestion that [ ] *bxxxiiii anni* could read *<ccc>bxxxiiii anni*, '484 years', the gap between AD 249 and AD 733, the point at which the annals in Faustina B. IX resume: the year 731 is not treated as an annal, but is part of the introductory matter copied from the end of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

There can be little doubt that the two parts of the chronicle, Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, were still united when they were removed from Melrose;[40] and presumably they still constituted a single manuscript in Deeping St James, arriving there (along with the additional folios 14 and 54) sometime in the late middle ages. There it must have been discovered by John Leland, whose marginal rubrics are found occasionally in Julius B. XIII fos 2–47,[41] and in profusion in Faustina B. IX fos 2–75.[42] It appears that Leland was responsible for dividing the manuscript in two.[43] The date of the departure of all 119 folios of the manuscript (plus fos 14 and 54) from Melrose must have occurred sometime after it had been returned by the abbot of Dundrennan (presumably no earlier than *ca* 1290), possibly after it had been bound for the first time (perhaps in 1291?),[44] and before the entry on the consecration of Bishop Nigel of Ely was written into Faustina B. IX fo.18v, probably in the first half of the fourteenth century: this is the only chronicle-item that can be assigned to the manuscript's sojourn in England. It is tempting to suppose that the manuscript was removed south in the aftermath of Edward I's conquest of Scotland in 1296. Perhaps the chronicle had already reached safety in England before Melrose suffered during Edward II's campaign in August and September 1322.[45]

The creation of the chronicle

The recognition that Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 were once a single manuscript sheds new light on when the chronicle was first created. The bulk of it was the work of Scribes 3 and 5 ('C1' and 'A' in the Andersons' synopsis of hands), and it extended as far as the account of the killing of St Thomas Becket on 29 December 1170 entered under the year 1171[46] (Faustina B. IX fo.21r, to line 22). The final gathering included fo.22 (which has been prepared for writing in the same way as the preceding folios). The manuscript therefore consisted initially of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–13, 15–22 (with the bottom half of fo.21r and fos 21v–22v blank), and originally contained what may be regarded as 'the chronicle proper' (a set of annals AD 1–1171) prefaced by a copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*.

[40] The only other manuscripts which can securely be given a Melrose provenance are two cartularies (NLS Adv. 34.4.11, *saec.* xiii²; and BL Harley 3960, *saec.* xv^{ex}): G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), nos 1167 and 1168. I am grateful to Julian Harrison for pointing out that Bodl. Rawlinson G.38 (*S.C.* 14769) fos 1–57 (*saec.* xii/xiii) is also worthy of consideration as a Melrose manuscript. It contains (*inter alia*) the letters of Gilbert of Hoyland, and a letter of Abbot Ralph of Melrose (1194–1202) announcing the death (in 1199) of Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow, formerly abbot of Melrose (1170–4). It is certainly a Cistercian manuscript, possibly from Scotland, perhaps from Melrose itself.

[41] See fos 26r and 27r.

[42] See discussion by Julian Harrison in 178–80 (chapter IX).

[43] See 177–81 (chapter IX).

[44] See 74–5 (chapter VI).

[45] *Scotichronicon*, vii. 10–11; for comment see 175.

[46] This is consistent with beginning the year at Christmas.

The manuscript was produced in a way which enabled the two principal scribes to work simultaneously. It was constructed as four separate units. The first two are Hugh's *Chronicle* and the annals AD 1–249 (which may originally have extended to the 720s). There was a blank page between them (Julius B. XIII fo.40v, which was untouched until the list of popes was extended in 1208); and the annals were written by a different scribe beginning a new gathering. The next two units are less obviously distinct: the text of Faustina B. IX fos 2r–13v, 15r–21r is a continuous series of annals. Physically, however, there is a clear break. The bottom half of Faustina B. IX fo.11v is blank, finishing with the annal for 1016; fo.12r represents a new gathering with an appropriately enlarged initial (in red), the beginning of a scribal stint which stretches from 1017 to 1171.[47] The first and fourth units are solely or chiefly the work of one of the principal scribes (Scribe 3); the second and third are chiefly the work of the other (Scribe 5).

This piecemeal approach to production is also apparent when the sources of the chronicle proper are analysed. It is not simply a copy of a pre-existing text, or even of a single draft. It appears that at least two of the scribes responsible for Faustina B. IX fos 2r–13v, 15r–21r (Scribes 5 and 6), and probably the other (Scribe 3), created their own abbreviation of material belonging to the same family as *Historia Regum* (attributed to Simeon of Durham) and *Historia post Bedam*, and drew on other sources, too.[48] In the case of the annals AD 1–249 the 'base' was Bede's *Chronica Maiora* which was abbreviated and blended with other material.[49]

The evidence for this 'authorial' role played by each of Scribes 5 and 6 (and, by implication, Scribe 3 as well) is the remarkable coincidence between the sources used and the work of each scribe, which suggests that the text itself was shaped by them individually. The most ambitious and impressive is Scribe 5 whose stint in Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r (breaking off in mid-sentence in the annal for 956) is characterised by a blending of a text akin to *Historia Regum* and *Historia post Bedam* with Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. The following extracts illustrate this: any exact coincidences with *Historia Regum* and/or *Historia post Bedam* are indicated by italics, while precise coincidences with Henry of Huntingdon are underlined. (Occasionally the same words are found in both sources, in which case both italics and underlining is used.) It can be seen that, although there are instances in which adjacent items have been derived separately from each source, material from both has frequently been blended in the same passage:

47 It may be significant that the relationship between the Melrose and Rushen chronicles begins with this new scribal stint. For the Rushen Chronicle, see 17 (chapter II).

48 The identity of the Melrose Chronicle as a member of a family of northern English historical texts will be discussed in the introduction to vol.ii.

49 This will be discussed by Julian Harrison in the introduction to vol.ii.

744.1 *Anno dcc°xl<°>iiii° factum est prelium inter Pictos et Britones.*

744.2 Eodem anno Cudredus rex Westsaxonum et Adelbaldus rex Merciorum pacificati, uiribus coniunctis contra Britannos pugnauerunt.

[744.3 >> additional entry by Scribe 28: see Stratum 21][50]

745.1 *Anno dcc°xl°v° uisi sunt in aere ignei ictus* quasi stellę discurrentes *tota nocte kal' Ianuarii* quod omnibus intuentibus magno fuit monstro.

874.1 A<nno> dcccºlxxºiiiº Aldene cum exercitu suo mouens de *Lindissi*, in *Repedun hyemauit*, ubi congregati sunt ad eum tres alii reges, scilicet Godrun, Osketin, et Andwen; et *expulerunt Burhredum regem de regno* Merciorum, qui *Romam* pergens *ibidem* obiit, *et in ecclesia sancte Marię sepultus est in scola Saxonum*, et *commendauerunt* Daci regnum Merciorum *Ceolwlfo*.

943.1 *<Anno> dcccc°xl°iii°, cum Elfgiua regina sancta regi Edmundo peperisset Eadgarum, sanctus Dunstanus*, tunc abbas Glestonię, post episcopus Wigornię deinde archiepiscopus Cantuarię, *audiuit uoces psallentium in sullimi*, et *dicentium*: *'pax Anglorum ecclesię exorti nunc pueri nostrique Dunstani [tempore]'*.[51]

943.2 *Eodem anno rex* Edmundus *Anlafum regem* Sihtrici filium, tam uiribus cedentem quam uerbis credentem, *de lauacro* salutari *suscepit*, et postea *Reinoldum regem dum ab episcopo confirmaretur tenuit.*

[943.3 >> additional entry by Scribe 28: see Stratum 21]

944.1 *<Anno> dcccc°xl°iiii° rex Edmundus Anlafum et Reinoldum de Norhumbria expulit* quia pacem cum eo factam infregerunt.

945.1 *<Anno> dcccc°xl°v° rex Edmundus terram Cumbrorum* uastauit, et sibi subiugatam *Malcolmo regi Scottorum* commendauit.

In translation:[52]

744.1 *In the year 744, a battle occurred between Picts and Britons.*

744.2 In the same year Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, and Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, were reconciled, and fought against the British after bringing their men together.

50 For explanation, see 36–7 (chapter III); see also 149–51 (chapter VIII) for Stratum 21.

51 *tempore* has been added above the line by the text hand.

52 It is not intended that the translation in volume ii will be marked up in this way: the indication of coincidences with particular sources has been made on this occasion simply to assist in illustrating the point in hand.

745.1 *In the year 745, shots of fire were seen in the sky*, like scattering stars, *during the whole night of 1 January*, which was a great marvel to all who beheld it.

874.1 In the year 874 Hálfdan, moving with his army from *Lindsey*, *wintered in Repton*, where three other kings joined up with him, namely Guthrum, Osketil, and Anwend; and *they expelled King Burgred from the kingdom* of the Mercians — who, proceeding *to Rome*, died *there, and* was *buried in the church of St Mary in the English school*; and the Danes committed the kingdom of the Mercians *to Ceolwulf*.

943.1 *In the year 944, when the holy Queen Ælfgifu bore King Eadmund Eadgar, the holy Dunstan*, then abbot of Glastonbury, later bishop of Winchester and then archbishop of Canterbury, *heard voices of ethereal singing, saying: 'the peace of the English church [in the time] of the boy now arisen and of our Dunstan'.*

943.2 *In the same year King* Eadmund *received King Óláfr* son of Sihtric *from the* wholesome *bath* — as much yielding to men as believing in words —, and afterwards *held King Rögnvaldr while he was being confirmed by the bishop.*

944.1 *In the year 944 King Eadmund expelled Óláfr and Rögnvaldr from Northumbria* because they had broken the peace concluded with him.

945.1 *In the year 945 King Eadmund* ravaged *the land of the Cumbrians*, and entrusted the land subjugated to himself to *Mael Coluim, king of the Scots*.

In Scribe 6's work (annals for 956–1016) Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* is no longer a source. The material akin to *Historia Regum* and *Historia post Bedam* predominates. Scribe 6 alone, however, introduces items relating to the papal succession from a source that has not hitherto been identified. The character of his work may be illustrated by this extract (using italics for verbal coincidences with *Historia Regum* and/or *Historia post Bedam*). This also gives two examples of a distinctive feature of Scribe 6's prose: the use of *consumere*, 'to destroy', with people as the sole agent rather than fire or storm.[53]

[53] This use of *consumere* is exclusive to Scribe 6's stint. Of the four times it is used in this context, three represent Scribe 6's choice of words (rather than simply repeating his source). There are also two occasions in Scribe 6's stint where *consumere* is used in the context of destruction by fire and sword (one representing Scribe 6's choice of words).

980.1 A<nno> dcccc°lxxx° obiit papa Benedictus, cui successit Dionisius c^us^xl.

980.2 *Suthamtoniam a Danicis piratis deuastatur, et eius ciues omnes fere uel occisi uel captiui sunt abducti.*

980.3 *Post*ea *insula Tenet*hb*land*, urbis *etiam Legionum prouintia, a Norwin*e*nsibus piratis* consumitur.

981.1 *A<nno> dcccc°lxxx°i° sancti Patroci confessoris, monasterium in Cornubia*, ab eisdem *piratis* consumtum est, *et in ipsa Cornubia*, et *in Dom*p*nania, circa ripas maris, frequentes predas agebant.*

982.1 A<nno> dcccc°lxxx°ii° obiit Dionisius papa, cui successit Bonefacius, eodem anno obiens, cui successit papa Benedictus.

982.2 *Ad prouincias Dorsetensium* iiii^or^ *naues piratarum applic*antes *Por*d*and uastauerunt.*

982.3 *Ciuitas Lond' igne cremata est.*

In translation:

980.1 In the year 980 Pope Benedict died, and Dionysus, the 140th, succeeded him.

980.2 *Southampton is laid waste by Danish pirates, and almost all its citizens were either killed or led away as captives.*

980.3 *Later the island of Thanet and Cheshire* are destroyed *by Norwegian pirates.*

981.1 *In the year 981 the monastery of St Petroc in Cornwall* was destroyed by the same *pirates, and they made frequent raids in Cornwall itself*, and *in Devon, in the vicinity of the coasts.*

982.1 In the year 982 Pope Dionysus died, and Boniface succeeded him, dying in the same year; and Pope Benedict succeeded him.

982.2 Four *ships of pirates, land*ing *in Dorset-shire, ravaged Portland.*

982.3 *The city of London was consumed by fire.*

When Scribe 3 takes over in the annal for 1017 the chronicle becomes simply a compressed form of a text akin to *Historia Regum* and *Historia post Bedam*, and the strain of papal items from another source disappears. It is not until the end of the eleventh century that other material can be detected to any significant extent. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out at this stage that Scribe 3 was simply copying an existing text, it may be inferred that, if Scribes 5 and 6 drafted their own text, then presumably he did so, too.[54]

This identification of scribes so clearly as the 'authors' of the material which they wrote into the manuscript is rather remarkable. Even when the

[54] The complex relationship between other chronicles and the material in Scribe 3's stint will be discussed in volume ii.

text was completely original (as potentially was the case in contemporary chronicling later in the Melrose Chronicle), it may be suspected that scribes often stood apart from the process of composition — perhaps allowed a little latitude in the choice of words in such circumstances, but still essentially copyists of the draft set before them. It is apparent, then, that not only was the physical production divided between Scribes 3 and 5 (with smaller stints by Scribes 1 and 6), but in the case of Scribes 5 and 6, and probably Scribe 3, the text of the chronicle proper was determined by whoever was writing that section of the manuscript.[55] It appears that the whole project was left in the hands of a team of scribes working with only some general guidance on how to achieve their goal of creating a codex which would embrace a Christian and particularly English conception of the past.

Viewed in this light, it is possible to understand how the striking opening of Faustina B. IX could have come into being. It begins, after a brief explanation of why and how the following annals were written, with the closing section of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Of course, the material which immediately preceded it has been lost (or perhaps was never completed), so it can no longer be determined how well this followed whatever came before. The initial intention, indeed, may have been that the chronicle should be a continuation of Bede's historical work, and that it was only decided subsequently that the annals begin at the Incarnation, and be preceded by a copy of Hugh's *Chronicle*.[56] Be this as it may, once the devolved nature of the manuscript's creation is understood, with its division into four units of production, it becomes possible to explain what Stevenson found inexplicable: how a chronicle could have a 'beginning' in the middle.

The date of the original chronicle

Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 not only sheds light on how the original codex was produced, but also provides key evidence on when this happened. It will be recalled that Scribe 3 was responsible for the copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* in Julius B. XIII fos 4r–39v, and that he extended the chronological frame of the last section of Hugh's work as far as 1174. This involved continuing on to fo.40r and filling it with bare year-numbers until the bottom of the page was reached. The significance of 1174 is not immediately apparent, however. The date of writing cannot be assumed to be 1174 simply because this was the last year in Scribe 3's time-frame. Not only could he have halted here merely because he wished to reach the foot of the page, but it will also be recalled that Scribe 14, who continued the list of popes in this section, took the frame on as far as 1220, even though he was almost

[55] The limited role of scribes is difficult to establish in individual cases. It is sometimes said to be betrayed by inadvertent errors which are diagnosed (perhaps too readily) as of a kind that authors would be incapable of committing. In the case of Scribes 3, 5 and 6, however, each was guilty of what could be regarded as copying mistakes: this may be explained either by the nature of their task — drawing material together from texts which they were, in part, copying — or by the need to make drafts before committing pen to parchment.

[56] But see 65–6 (chapter V), above, for evidence that Scribe 5 worked in chronological order.

certainly writing in 1208. This is not, however, to say that the gratuitous extension of a time-frame like this cannot hold a clue to the date of writing. It would be remarkable for a scribe to undertake this exercise without including the current year, especially when (as in this case) there was ample space for him to do so. The year at which such an extended time-frame stops may therefore be taken to signify at least a *terminus ante quem* of writing.

Hitherto the dating of the chronicle's creation has hinged on a key passage in the annal for 1170 highlighted by the Andersons.[57] Mention is made here of an aunt 'of Earl David of good hope' (*bone spei Dauid comitis*). The Andersons drew the natural conclusion from this that it should be dated to sometime after David, brother of King William, had become an earl, and suggested that David's tenure of the earldom of Huntingdon was probably meant. David received Huntingdon as a 'speculative grant'[58] by his brother in 1173, lost it in 1174, was granted it again in March 1185 and held it securely for the next thirty years: as far as the Andersons were concerned this suggested that the chronicle was created no earlier than March 1185.[59]

It is important to recognise, however, that a date of 1173×4 is perfectly viable. David's comital rank need only reflect the title bestowed on him regardless of whether he yet controlled the earldom of Huntingdon. Keith Stringer has shown, in any case, that David was able to hold court as earl in the early summer of 1174.[60] It must also be doubted that David would have ceased to be 'earl' when he lost Huntingdon in July 1174. Stringer has argued persuasively (i) that David was granted the earldom of the Lennox by his brother, King William, in April or May 1174, shortly after the resumption of hostilities against Henry II, as a way of securing his support (given that the grant of the earldom of Huntingdon could not be guaranteed); (ii) that David's tenure of the Lennox was as complete as any earl's; and (iii) that David surrendered the Lennox as a *quid pro quo* when he was finally granted the honour of Huntingdon in March 1185.[61] This is not inconsistent with the evidence of David's own charters.[62] David, moreover, appears as earl in the

57 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xiv.

58 K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152–1219. A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 21; see 22–5 for Earl David's briefly successful efforts to establish himself in the honour of Huntingdon.

59 A *terminus post quem* of 1185, based on David's title as 'earl', has also been endorsed in Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 147. Note also A. A. M. Duncan, 'Roger of Howden and Scotland, 1187–1201', in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999), 135–59, at 140. Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xiv, inferred from *bone spei* that David was heir presumptive to the throne; they therefore dated this passage to before the birth of Alexander II on 24 August 1198 (and probably, according to the Andersons, before William's marriage in 1186). Their suggested date-limits, therefore, were 1185×98 (1185×6?).

60 Stringer, *Earl David*, 24–6, 233.

61 *Ibid.*, 13–21.

62 David's style in most of his charters is 'Earl David, brother of the king of Scots' (or 'of Scotland'). The comital title, when it is used, is generally found only after 1185, although not all charters with the comital title should necessarily be dated after 1185 in the absence

witness-list of an original charter[63] whose donor, Robert Avenel, died on 8 March 1185, after becoming a monk at Melrose: David cannot have become earl of Huntingdon before 10 March 1185 when the council at Windsor began at which Henry II granted the earldom to William I, who then granted it in turn to Earl David.[64]

If the two pieces of evidence for dating the chronicle's creation are brought together, the result is an earliest date-limit of 1173 for Scribe 3's designation of David as 'earl', and 1174 as the likely latest date-limit, because this is where Scribe 3's extended time-frame stopped. Within these limits it may be suggested that 1174 is more likely than 1173, on the assumption that Scribe 3 would have continued the time-frame beyond 1173 for another year only if he was actually writing in 1174. But this can only be speculation.

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of other dating criteria. There is an original charter in which David appears in the address as earl of Huntingdon which, on all other criteria, seems more likely to belong to 1173–4 than after 1185. There is one charter of William I datable to 1175×8 in which David appears in the witness list as 'Earl David, my brother' (*RRS*, ii. 246, no.190). If genuine (it is a cartulary copy) this would refer to David's position as earl of the Lennox. For all this, see Stringer, *Earl David*, 213–14, and 234–5.

63 NAS GD 55/39, printed in *Melrose Liber*, i. no.39.

64 William Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. And Richard I., A.D. 1169–1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1867), i. 336–7; William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1868–71), ii. 302. It has been suggested, however, that David may have been given the title in anticipation of the grant at Windsor (Stringer, *Earl David*, 214); certainly, it is likely that Avenel's charter was produced when he entered Melrose, which may have been only shortly before his death. David also witnesses as an earl in a chirograph (NAS GD 55/40) in which Robert Avenel and his son Gervase granted pittances to Melrose which were to be paid on the anniversaries of their deaths and the death of Robert's wife, as well as the anniversary of Robert's admission as a monk. On this occasion Robert's death is referred to in the past tense. David again witnesses as earl in the royal confirmation (GD 55/42: *RRS*, ii. no.264) of the charters of Robert Avenel (GD 55/39) and his son Gervaise (GD 55/41); but this could have been shortly after Robert's death.

V

THE ORIGINAL CODEX

Julian Harrison

The Chronicle of Melrose is a multi-layered entity, reflecting its evolution and reorganisation over a period now exceeding 800 years. The active life of this Chronicle — from its creation at Melrose Abbey in 1173×4 to the insertion of its final notice in eastern England in the fourteenth century — may itself have spanned more than 150 years, testimony to its practical value, and to the perseverance of the monks responsible for its upkeep. The present discussion will focus, however, on what constitutes the original codex, as represented today by London, British Library, MSS. Cotton Julius B. XIII, fos 2–47, + Cotton Faustina B. IX, fos 2–13, 15–22.[1] This original compilation comprises two distinct texts, namely (1) a copy of the *Chronicle* of Hugh of Saint-Victor, and (2) our annalistic work from the Incarnation to AD 1171. I shall review the physical features of this twelfth-century codex (including its parchment, layout and decoration), before commenting on the rationale behind the union of the annalistic chronicle with Hugh's historical handbook. Detailed analysis of the source-material used when compiling the Melrose Chronicle will be reserved for volume ii of this edition.

It should be stressed at the outset that the original codex has not survived intact. A major lacuna can be identified after Julius B. XIII fo.47, where our Chronicle breaks off, at the foot of the verso, in the middle of the annal for AD 249. The text resumes with the year 731, at what now marks the beginning of Faustina B. IX (fo.2r); and so an indeterminate number of leaves must have been lost (assuming they were supplied in the first place), containing the annals for AD 250–730. This lacuna is an early feature of the codex, since its presence is already noticed *ca* 1208, in a marginal note added by Scribe 14 to Hugh's *Chronicle* (Julius B. XIII fo.30v).[2] As such, it is highly unlikely that this lost portion of the Melrose Chronicle will ever resurface, given that it had become detached, and perhaps discarded or destroyed, by the opening decade of the thirteenth century. Also in relation to the original codex, it should be noted that this manuscript as it existed in 1173×4 terminated with three-and-a-half blank pages (the lower portion of Faustina B. IX fo.21r and the whole of fos 21v–22v). The Melrose Chronicle ended originally with the annal for 1171; when this annalistic work was subsequently

1 Fo.14 was originally an independent leaf that only unambiguously became part of the Melrose Chronicle when the manuscript was first bound: see 171–2 (chapter VIII).

2 See 47 (chapter IV).

continued, the blank pages in question were filled with text for the years 1171–9, and further leaves attached.

A major feature of the present edition is the recognition that the annalistic record maintained at Melrose Abbey began with the Incarnation and not AD 731 as previously assumed, and that it was united with a contemporary copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*. There are strong codicological grounds for regarding Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–22 (not including fo.14) as originally forming a single codex. The preparation of their parchment is identical; three scribes (Scribes 3, 5 and 14) contributed to both surviving parts of the codex; the decoration of Julius B. XIII is consistent with the corresponding section of Faustina B. IX; and the two halves were both annotated by the antiquarian scholar John Leland (d.1552), implying that they remained together in the 1530s or 1540s.[3]

Parchment

The parchment used for the original Melrose codex is stiff to the touch (a sign of insular manufacture) but of no more than average quality, in part because it retains several flaws. The parchment of the next section, from Faustina B. IX fo.23 onwards, is slightly more malleable than that which precedes it, indicative of a major hiatus in the Chronicle's compilation. Two comparisons can be made with other evidence from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one possibly relating to Scotland, and the other set in a Cistercian context. First, it is recorded that parchment from *Scotia* (either Scotland or Ireland)[4] was acquired on behalf of the abbey at Bury St Edmunds, *ca* 1130, in order to make a magnificent Bible, of which only the first volume substantially survives (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 2).[5] The implication in seeking this parchment so far afield is that none finer could be obtained closer to home, and, by extension, that the best Scottish (or Irish) parchment had an international reputation. This is not borne out by the parchment of the original Melrose codex, from which we can deduce, not unreasonably, that our manuscript was a lesser-grade product than the sumptuous Bury Bible. The second comparison is provided by an account-book from the Cistercian convent of Beaulieu (Hampshire), compiled for the financial year Michaelmas 1269–Michaelmas 1270 (London, British Library, MS. Additional 48978). This account-book discloses that the parchment-maker's produce was divided into eight grades at Beaulieu, the upper four

3 On the identification of Leland's hand, see 177 (chapter IX).

4 Scotland is probably the likeliest candidate for the origin of this parchment. During the vacancy between the death of Bishop Turgot of St Andrews (1115) and election of Eadmer (1120), Alexander I, king of Scots (1107–24), placed the bishopric in the care of William, a monk of Bury St Edmunds, and later returned it to William's administration when relations with Eadmer broke down: *SAEC*, 142.

5 R. M. Thomson, *The Bury Bible* (Woodbridge & Tokyo, 2001), 3, 25–6. Thomson (at 3) describes this parchment as 'of the highest quality, almost free of holes or blemishes', and (at 26) rejects suggestions that it was used only for the major decorated leaves of this Bible. The existence of a fragment from the second volume is reported in Paul Binski & Stella Panayotova (eds), *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten centuries of book production in the medieval West* (London & Turnhout, 2005), no.19.

categorised as vellum or calfskins (*percamenum vitulinum*) and the remainder as the pelts of sheep (*percamenum multolinum*) (fos 34r–35r).[6] The highest grade of vellum was valued in these accounts at 2*s.* 6*d.* for twelve sheets, and the same quantity of the most inferior parchment, made from sheepskins and used for letters and rolls, at 3*d.* That utilised for our Melrose codex would presumably compare to the middle or lower end of this range, to judge by its probable function as an administrative record rather than a library or liturgical book.[7]

The most serious defect of the Melrose parchment is the presence of a number of pre-existing holes, some being found within the written space itself.[8] Such leaves would undoubtedly have been rejected when making a manuscript of superior status.[9] It can nevertheless be deduced that the Melrose scribes maintained high standards when preparing their parchment, because contemporary patches were affixed over these holes in eight instances. On almost every occasion — with the exception of those numbered 1 and 8 below — these parchment patches were deployed prior to ruling: the majority were applied so neatly, and in such discreet fashion, that they can barely be detected.[10]

1. Julius B. XIII fo.12r, lines 16–20: 22mm (high) × 17mm (wide);
2. Julius B. XIII fo.20v, lines 18–23: 23mm × 27mm;
3. Julius B. XIII fo.23r, lines 8–13: 27mm × 24mm;
4. Julius B. XIII fo.26r, lines 17–22: 26mm × 24mm;
5. Julius B. XIII fo.45r, lines 4–11: 42mm × 29mm;
6. Julius B. XIII fo.46v, lines 23–26: 21mm × 20mm;
7. Julius B. XIII fo.47r, lines 17–21: 24mm × 18mm;
8. Faustina B. IX fo.18v, lines 16–22: 32mm × 20mm.

Similar repairs prior to pricking and ruling are sometimes found in other twelfth-century manuscripts, such as a copy of the works of Laurence of Durham from Durham Cathedral Priory (Durham, University Library, MS. Cosin V.III.1, fos 56, 75, 98, 101). A different solution to the problem of

6 S. F. Hockey (ed.), *The Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbey*, Camden Society, 4th series, 16 (London, 1975), 37–8, 195–8.

7 For other observations on the manufacture and appearance of Cistercian parchment, see Anne Lawrence, 'English Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century', in Christopher Norton & David Park (eds), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 284–98, at 291, 293, 295, and Anne Lawrence, 'Cistercian decoration: twelfth-century legislation on illumination and its interpretation in England', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 21 (1995), 31–52, at 33.

8 As noted by Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, CT, & London, 1992), 36, such holes may have been 'caused by wounds or weakening of the animal's hide due to insect bites'.

9 See the discussions by Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London, 2003), 200–2, and Richard Gameson (facs. ed.), *The Codex Aureus: An Eighth-Century Gospel Book. Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek, A. 135*, part i, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, XXVIII (Copenhagen, 2001), 34–7.

10 In these descriptions, 'fo.12r' indicates that the patch was applied to the recto of the leaf, 'fo.20v' to the verso.

dealing with such holes, employed at Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumberland (a daughter-house of Melrose), has been described as 'slips of parchment, set into notched holes, and glued with half the slip on the recto and half on the verso'.[11]

Other, less prominent holes in the parchment remain untreated in the middle of Julius B. XIII fo.37 and the outer margins of fos 2, 3, 6, 18, 20, 40 and 44. More carelessly, similar flaws were left unrepaired within the written space of Faustina B. IX fos 5, 9 and 15, necessitating that the writing of certain annalistic entries be fitted around these imperfections (AD 822, 823, 851, 973, 1066, 1080).

When both parts of our Melrose manuscript were still united, a sizeable piece of the lower, outer corner of each leaf was damaged, perhaps by damp, fire or rodent infestation. This damage applies primarily to Julius B. XIII fos 2–37 (unrestored) and Faustina B. IX fos 2–13, 15–22 (reinforced with post-medieval parchment), and is restricted to the original codex.[12] In other words, the damage to these leaves occurred relatively soon after the codex was made, and before the next quires were added early in the thirteenth century. It is a moot point whether the lost portion of the Melrose Chronicle may have been damaged or destroyed at the same time.

Ruling and layout

The leaves of the original codex have been ruled in leadpoint, being designed to accommodate either a single column of text per page (the prologue of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* together with the annalistic record) or a set of multi-columnar tables (the remainder of Hugh's handbook). Ruling in leadpoint was typical for 1173×4, when our codex was made; this method replaced ruling by hardpoint (the impression of a stylus or similar implement) as the twelfth century progressed.[13] Little sign of pricking (to guide the ruling) is visible in the outer margins of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47, with the exception of fos 17, 18, 23, 27 and 36: it was undoubtedly once present, and has been cropped by a later binder. Outer margin prickings are visible throughout Faustina B. IX fos 2–13, 15–22; the pricks for the tramlines of the Melrose Chronicle also survive in the upper and lower margins of both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX, while the prickings for the grids of Hugh's tables sometimes remain in the upper and lower margins of Julius B. XIII.

The layout of the Melrose copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* (Julius B. XIII fos 2r–40v) does not correspond to the remainder of the original

11 Laura Light, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, Harvard University* (Binghampton, NJ, 1995), 35. This practice is attested in two volumes of saints' *Lives*, BL Cotton Faustina B. IV, fos 3–179, and Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Harvard Lat. 27.

12 There is no discernible damage to Julius B. XIII fos 38–47. Unfortunately the damage throughout the original codex does not conform to a consistent pattern, so it is unwise to draw any conclusions about the original structure.

13 Pricking and ruling is summarised by N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), 41–4, and Christopher de Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques* (London, 2001), 41–8.

codex. This does not mean, however, that it should be regarded as a separate entity, because the complex nature of Hugh's work demanded special treatment. Hugh's handbook comprises a series of tables, documenting (among other subjects) the days of Creation, the major protagonists in Biblical history, the principal geographical features of the world, the historians of antiquity, and the names of secular rulers from the Incarnation to the time of writing (sometime between 1124 and 1137).[14] Hugh had designed this *Chronicle* to instruct his students in mnemonic techniques, providing a wealth of information which might profitably be committed to memory. The Melrose witness contains the prologue plus a standard set of tables, omitting only the illustration which normally accompanies §i (Creation), and the rarely-attested §vii (*Tres sorores*).[15] In addition, the final chronological table of popes and emperors has been continued in the first instance to the year 1174 (ending on fo.40r), and then again to 1220 (fo.40v), with the papal succession noted as far as 1208, the eleventh regnal year of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).

	prologue	Julius B. XIII fos 2r–3v
§i	Creation	fo.4r
§ii	Restoration (Hebrew chronology)	fos 4r–5v
§iii	Kingdoms of the world	fos 6r–8v
§iv	Creation & Restoration (Septuagint chronology)	fo.9r–v
§v	Lists of Hebrew names	fos 9v–16v[16]
§vi	Geographical names	fos 17r–18r
§vii	The three sisters	omitted
§viii	Table of popes	fos 19r–23r
§ix	Tables of rulers since the time of Christ	fos 24r–27v
§x	Names of historiographers	fo.27v
§xi	Chronological table of popes and emperors	fos 28v–40v

Transcribing Hugh of Saint-Victor's tables must have been an onerous task, on account of the vast number of unfamiliar names, and the fact that certain columns of text stretch across several pages. I have suggested elsewhere that this duty can rarely have been assigned to an inexperienced scribe.[17] The Melrose codex is no exception to this rule: the original tables of

14 For the date, see Harrison, 'The English reception', 3, and Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 265.

15 For the contents of Hugh's handbook, see William M. Green, 'Hugo of St Victor *De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum*', *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 484–93, at 492–3. Only select parts of that work have been edited, as tabulated by Harrison, 'The English reception', 4, and Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 266.

16 The current fo.12 has been bound out of place, and should instead be inserted between fos 16 and 17.

17 Harrison, 'The English reception', 6, 30; Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 268, 288.

Hugh's *Chronicle* (Julius B. XIII fos 4r–40r) are in the hand of Scribe 3, who was also responsible for transcribing a substantial section of the accompanying annalistic text, from AD 1017 to 1171 (Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v, 15r–21r line 22).

The layout of the Melrose Chronicle proper, beginning with Julius B. XIII fo.41r and continuing to Faustina B. IX fo.22r, comprises a single column of text per page, with two vertical bounding-lines on each side, approximately 6mm wide. The writing often encroaches into these right-hand tramlines; those on the left were reserved for the capital *A* (for *Anno*) which begins most annals.

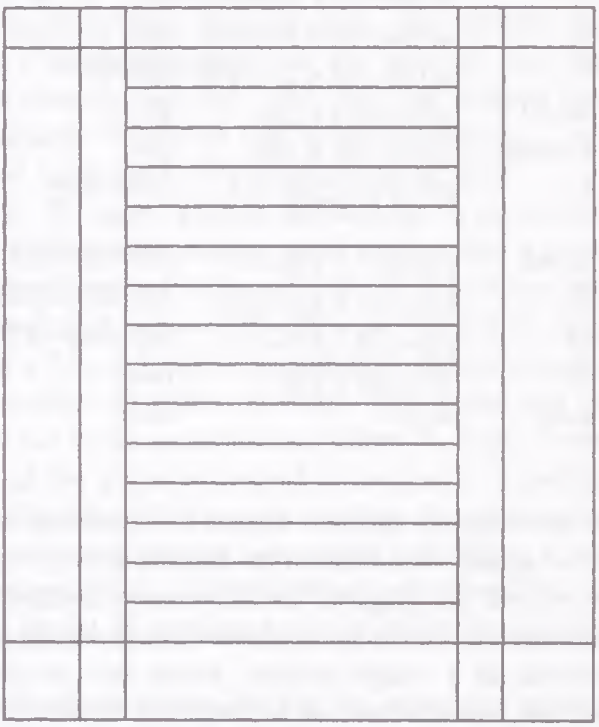

Figure 1: The ruling pattern of the first phase of the Melrose Chronicle

Each page of the Melrose Chronicle in Julius B. XIII was ruled for 42 lines of text, with the first and final horizontal lines extending to the very edge of the leaf. The written space — measuring from the top ruled line to the bottom, and within the inner tramlines — varies from 217–219mm (high) × 136–138mm (wide). By contrast, the pages of Faustina B. IX fos 2–13, 15–22, were ruled for 40–43 lines of text, with the written space varying from 215–223mm (high) × 135–138mm (wide). The difference in ruling, however, is negligible. Those leaves associated with Scribe 5, in particular (Julius B. XIII fos 41–47; Faustina B. IX fos 2–11), were almost certainly prepared simultaneously. The ruling pattern of the Melrose Chronicle is unremarkable. It corresponds, for example, to that of two twelfth-century books which were made for the Cistercians of Buildwas Abbey (Shropshire), namely copies of Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS.

B.1.3 [2], fos 83–140) and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Speculum Caritatis* (Cambridge, St John's College, MS. D.2 [77], fos 12–32).[18] At this period, it was also conventional practice to commence writing the text above the top line, as attested in the twelfth-century portion of our annalistic chronicle.[19]

The layout of the original codex can be summarised as follows.

	columns	*lines/ page*	*written space (mm)*	*contents*	*principal scribe(s)*
Julius B. XIII					
2r–3v	1	36	189–190 × 140–142	prologue	Scribe 1
4r–9v	tabular	36	*ca* 190–195 × 150–155	§§i–v	Scribe 3
10r–16v	tabular	37	*ca* 190–195 × 150–155	§v	Scribe 3
17r–v	tabular	36	*ca* 190–195 × 150–155	§vi	Scribe 3
18r–27v	tabular	37	*ca* 190–195 × 150–155	§§vi–x	Scribe 3
28r–40r	tabular	48–50	*ca* 230–235 × 150	§xi	Scribe 3
40v	tabular	unruled	*ca* 230–235 × 150	§xi	Scribe 14
41r–47v	1	42	217–219 × 136–138	AD 1–249	Scribe 5
Faustina B. IX					
2r–11v	1	40–41	215–217 × 135–137	AD 731–1016	Scribes 5, 6
12r–13v	1	43	219–221 × 136–138	AD 1017–1060	Scribe 3
15r–21r	1	43	218–223 × 136–138	AD 1060–1171	Scribe 3
21v-22r	1	43	219–223 × 136	none	none
22v	none	none	none	none	none

Decoration

The decoration of the original Melrose codex is extremely modest, being limited to a handful of initials with little or no embellishment, together with a number of titles in red ink (in Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*), and a series of significant notices also in red (in the annalistic text). All the initials in this manuscript are painted in a single colour, either red or green. Indeed, monochrome initials are characteristic of a Cistercian desire at this period to restrict the decoration of their manuscripts, primarily on aesthetic grounds. The most pertinent legislation on this subject is a mid-twelfth-century decree issued by an assembly of abbots at Cîteaux, reading *Littere unius coloris fiant, et non depicte*, 'Letters are to be made of a single colour, and unembellished'.[20] It

18 Jennifer M. Sheppard, *The Buildwas Books: Book production, acquisition and use at an English Cistercian monastery, 1165–c. 1400*, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 3rd series, 2 (Oxford, 1997), 16, 78.

19 For a subsequent transition in the writing of books without glosses, datable in the British Isles to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, see N. R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a change in scribal practice', in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London, 1985), 70–4.

20 Chrysogonus Waddell (ed. and trans.), *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses, Studia et documenta, IX (n.p., 1999), 362, 491 (*Instituta Generalis Capituli*, §lxxxii). For further discussion, see Conrad Rudolph, 'The "principal founders" and the early artistic legislation of Cîteaux', in Meredith Parsons Lillich (ed.), *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture III* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1987), 1–45; Lawrence, 'English Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century'; and Lawrence, 'Cistercian decoration'.

is unusual, though not entirely unknown, to find breaches of this regulation in twelfth-century books owned by the Cistercians: of course, some manuscripts which contravene this rule may have been later acquisitions.[21]

In Julius B. XIII, the prologue to Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* contains four initials, arranged in descending order of size, marking the beginning of each major paragraph. These comprise an 8-line *F* (*Fili*) in red (fo.2r); a 4-line *T* (*Tribus*) in green, the copper content of which has corroded the parchment (fo.2r); a 2-line *D* (*Diuinarum*) in red (fo.3r); and a 2-line *S* (*Sex*) in green (fo.3v). The decoration of the Julius B. XIII portion of the Melrose Chronicle is limited to a 3-line red initial *A* (*Anno*), painted with a brush, which signals the year AD 1; the left-hand shaft extends into the inner margin for another five lines (fo.41r). The initials in question can be attributed to a single decorator, on the grounds that they use an identical shade of red (fos 2r, 3r, 41r). This copy of Hugh's *Chronicle* also has red rubrics throughout — but no title at the beginning — with the tables being outlined in red ink (save for that ruled later, fo.40v).

Faustina B. IX opens with an unfilled space, six lines high, reserved for a major initial *P* (*Postquam*), with a small guide-letter *p* having been written in text-ink for the decorator's attention (fo.2r). There are another two principal initials in this first section of the Melrose Chronicle. Scribe 3's stint begins *s.a.* 1017 with a 2-line *A* (*Anno*) in red, the left-hand shaft continuing into the margin for another four lines (fo.12r). This initial can be assigned without hesitation to the same decorator as Julius B. XIII, because the method of brushwork and the shade of red ink is the same. However, the second initial in this stint, for AD 1066, namely a 3-line *A* (*Anno*) with a 7-line left-hand shaft, is more crisp in its execution, employs a restrained form of ornamentation, and is in a slightly richer colour red (fo.15r). This final initial could be the work of another hand, possibly to be identified as Scribe 3 himself.

Scribe 3 was certainly responsible for entering a number of notices which held great significance for the Melrose community, written for special emphasis in a comparable shade of red ink: these are effectively 'red-letter years'. The entries in question record the foundation of Cîteaux, and the capture of Antioch during the First Crusade (*s.a.* 1098); the foundation of Rievaulx, mother-house of Melrose (*s.a.* 1132); the foundation of Melrose Abbey itself (*s.a.* 1136); and the foundation of Holm Cultram and Kinloss, daughter-houses of Melrose (*s.a.* 1150). Certain of the adjacent capitals at the start of each annal were also inserted in red (1133, 1134, 1137, 1138, 1151), perhaps because Scribe 3 had a plentiful supply of this colour to hand, or had simply forgotten to lay down his red pen.

[21] An elaborate initial in what may be an English Cistercian manuscript, in gold leaf and depicting an ass playing a harp, opens a copy of the works of Ennodius, perhaps from Rievaulx Abbey (BL Royal 8 E. IV, fo.1r): see Lawrence, 'English Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century', 292 and plate 178.

Scribal practice

Joseph Stevenson was the first to recognise that the scribe of the Melrose Chronicle for AD 731–956 (Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r) also wrote the annals from the Incarnation to AD 249 in Julius B. XIII (fos 41r–47v).[22] This discovery was granted tacit approval by the Andersons, with their single-line (and unacknowledged) statement that 'the writer of this section [Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r] appears to have written also, somewhat earlier, folios 41–47 verso of Cotton Julius B. xiii'.[23] Dauvit Broun has now demonstrated that the scribal connections between the respective portions of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX are much stronger than has hitherto been realised.[24] Stevenson based his scribal identification on 'the strongly marked character of the handwriting, exhibiting itself in the systematic adherence to peculiarities in the use and function of certain letters and symbols'. Some of the symbols in question will be treated here, demonstrating how transcription of the Chronicle evolved, and highlighting the similarities and differences between the work of individual scribes.

A recurrent feature of Scribe 5's handwriting is the presence of a distinctive 'text-division mark'. This sign comprises a thick vertical stroke with a slight inward lean, capped with a horizontal line which extends to the right and typically curls upwards; immediately adjacent is a second, thinner vertical with an abrupt kink part-way down, much in the manner of a modern angled bracket. The device in question occurs nine times within that portion of Scribe 5's stint which forms part of Faustina B. IX, being used exclusively to denote the run-over of text from one annalistic entry to the preceding or following line.[25] (It was a common practice of medieval scribes to save parchment by squeezing their writing into every available space.) In Julius B. XIII, the same sign is found on fifty-six separate occasions, and, more importantly, has a dual function. First, it occurs eleven times to mark the run-over of text to an adjacent line.[26] Secondly, and more frequently, it has sometimes been inserted at the very beginning of an annalistic entry, or before particular notices within an individual annal.[27] In certain instances, this use of a 'text-division mark' to commence an annal is accompanied by indentation of the entry itself (by as much as 40mm), with the text often placed on the line below the annal-number, as in the following example.

22 Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, xv, n. §. In Julius B. XIII fos 41–47 there is just one intervention by another scribe, who amended the annal-number for AD 48 by writing *viii°* over an erasure (fo.42r) in a distinctly shaky hand which most resembles that of Scribe 14.

23 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xxvii.

24 See 44–5 (chapter IV).

25 *S.aa.* 761, 773, 790, 851, 865, 866, 886, 932, 937.

26 *S.aa.* 29, 34, 36, 40, 94, 136, 199, 203, 217, 222, 235.

27 *S.aa.* 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 72, 74, 84, 94, 99, 102, 103, 107, 111 (×3), 112, 114, 116, 120 (×3), 124, 128, 134, 135, 138, 140, 161, 164, 165 (×2), 180, 187, 199, 203, 211, 219, 220, 222, 224, 235, 239, 249.

AD 120 (Julius B. XIII fo.44r)

A<nno> cxx°.

¶Sancta Sabina uirgo et illustrissima martyrium passa est.

¶Sancta Serapia uirgo martyrium passa est. ¶Aristides beatus uir Atheniensis fide et sapiencia claruit. Qui Adriano imperatori de Christiana relligione libros obtulit, et quod Christus Iesus solus esset Deus, presente ipso imperatore luculentissime perorauit.

The purpose of this second group of signs is uncertain. It is possible that they represent entries derived from a particular source, or were copied from an exemplar annotated in the same manner, perhaps marked explicitly for these notices to be transcribed;[28] but their function in the Melrose Chronicle must remain open to speculation.

The formula used to commence a new annal evolved gradually as the Melrose Chronicle was being transcribed. The first three entries each begin with different wording, reading *Anno quo Deus omnipotens pro hominibus homo fieri dignatus est* (AD 1), *Anno incarnacionis Dominice ii°* (AD 2), and *Anno Domini iii°* (AD 3) respectively. These are followed in turn by the abbreviated forms *Anno iiii°* (AD 4–12) and simply *xiii°* (AD 13–60), before Scribe 5 settled finally on the phraseology *A<nno> lxi°* (AD 61–249), thus avoiding having repeatedly to write out in full the word *Anno*. In Faustina B. IX, the same scribe's stint witnesses a similar evolution, starting with *Anno Dominice incarnacionis septingentesimo xxx°i°* (AD 731), changing immediately to *Anno dcc°xxx°iii°* (AD 732–752), and reduced after just one page to *A<nno> dcc°liii°* (AD 753–956). The same formula was adopted by Scribe 6 (AD 957–1016); Scribe 3, in contrast, was a stickler for writing out the whole word *Anno*, in the form *Anno m°xvii°* (AD 1017–1171), with the single exception of *Anno ab incarnatione Domini m°lx°vi°* (AD 1066), a significant date in English history. The subtle variations described here are not mere scribal niceties, because they signify potential breaks in the process of transcription. For example, those annal-numbers which supply Roman numerals alone, starting with a barren entry on Julius B. XIII fo.41r (AD 13), come to a natural conclusion at the final line of fo.42r (AD 60). It was not necessarily Scribe 5's deliberate policy to omit the initials in question; he may have intended to add them at the end of his stint, but neglected to do so.

The capital *A* for *Anno* was placed consistently in the left-hand tramlines of the Melrose Chronicle, outside the main written space. The design of this capital also changed radically during the first phase of this annalistic record, again indicative of pauses in its transcription. At the outset, Scribe 5 elected to write an enlarged version of lower-case Caroline *a* (AD 2–12), before abandoning this practice temporarily (AD 13–60); on resumption, this first

[28] A parallel is perhaps provided by the Margam Chronicle, the margins of which contain a series of instructions, designed for the attention of another scribe. This text was copied later for the Cistercians of Grace Dieu, probably using this Margam manuscript itself.

style was replaced by a bolder capital *A* with a flat top (AD 61–112);[29] eventually, Scribe 5 came to favour a triangular, rustic capital *A*, which he retained for the remainder of his contribution to the Chronicle (AD 113–249 and 731–956). This suggests that Scribe 5 probably wrote this text in strict chronological order.[30] Indeed, the Andersons observed that Julius B. XIII fos 41r–47v was produced 'somewhat earlier' than Faustina B. IX fos 2r–13v, 15r–21r, without further explanation:[31] the physical evidence suggests that this interval should be interpreted in terms of hours or days rather than years. By contrast, Scribe 6 provided a large Caroline *a* at the start of each annal (AD 957–1016); while Scribe 3 had a preference for a flat-topped capital *A* (AD 1017–1171), stylistically similar to that favoured briefly by Scribe 5, but clearly not Scribe 5's work.[32] At this stage of the Melrose Chronicle, the scribes themselves entered the capitals in their respective stints, normally in the same ink as the text itself.

The contents of the original codex

It is not unusual to find a copy of the *Chronicle* of Hugh of Saint-Victor associated with an annalistic text. There are at least three other examples of this practice from the British Isles, in manuscripts from Worcester Cathedral Priory (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius C. IX, fos 4r–17v), Rochester Cathedral Priory (London, British Library, MS. Royal 4 B. VII, fos 199v–218v), and Dore Abbey (London, British Library, MS. Egerton 3088, fos 99r–112v, 118r–134v) respectively.[33] In all four instances, Hugh's *Chronicle* precedes the annalistic record, assuming, of course, that this was its original position in the Melrose codex; and in three cases (Melrose, Worcester, Rochester) these are the only items in the manuscript in question. The Dore witness is an exception to this rule, since Egerton 3088 comprises a number of computistical and related texts; moreover, the relationship between Hugh of Saint-Victor's handbook and the annalistic chronicle is not so clear-cut in this Dore codex, since there they are divided by several other works (fos 113r–117v). Our Melrose manuscript is possibly the oldest-surviving codex from the British Isles to contain both Hugh's *Chronicle* and an annalistic record, made in 1173×4. The comparable manuscripts from Worcester and Rochester should be dated to the final quarter of the twelfth century (they share a common exemplar, probably made in 1171);[34] while that

29 The initials for AD 65, 74 and 109 are an exception to this rule, foreshadowing the rustic capital *A*s of the next section.

30 For a formal caveat, see 196–7 (chapter X (2)).

31 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xxvii.

32 The right-hand shaft of *A* is frequently vertical or near-vertical (those of Scribe 5 lean outwards), while the left-hand shaft has a tendency to be more exaggerated (those *s.aa.* 1102 and 1105 terminate with an elaborate flourish).

33 Harrison, 'The English reception', 12–21; Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 273–9.

34 For Royal 4 B. VII, see also Stella Panayotova, 'Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium in Genealogia Christi*: the early English copies', in Richard Gameson & Henrietta Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), 327–41, at 331, 336–7, 340–1, who dates that manuscript to the thirteenth

from Dore Abbey is datable *ca* 1243. The Melrose codex also stands out in one other important respect, namely that the annalistic chronicle is on a much more impressive scale than its counterparts, and was continued for several generations after its creation.[35]

I have suggested elsewhere in this volume that Cistercian annalistic chronicles compiled in the British Isles from the second half of the twelfth century onwards were invariably administrative productions.[36] Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, in turn, is essentially an encyclopaedic text, valuable for the purposes of Biblical and historical study, but well-nigh impossible to read from beginning to end. If these two contentions are valid, it becomes all the more obvious why the scribes of the original Melrose codex should have chosen to unite Hugh's handbook with an annalistic work in the same manuscript. It can justifiably be argued that both of the texts in question performed not only an historical role — supplying personal names, place-names and dates — but also functioned to a large degree as works of reference; as such, they would have undoubtedly complemented one another. The creation of our annalistic text may even have been inspired by the initial transcription of Hugh's *Chronicle* at Melrose Abbey; certainly, Hugh of Saint-Victor's handbook had a more profound impact on the writing of history in the British Isles than has often been recognised.[37]

century. For the twelfth-century dating advocated here, see Harrison, 'The English reception', 16–17, and Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 276–7.

35 For a more detailed discussion of the Melrose copy of Hugh's handbook, see Harrison, 'The English reception', 7–8, and Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 269–71.

36 See 20–3 (chapter II).

37 Harrison, 'The English reception', 30; Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 288–9.

VI

THE PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Dauvit Broun

The collation of a manuscript — that is, analysis of its physical make-up — is important evidence for understanding the text(s) it contains. This is especially so in the case of the unique manuscript of a chronicle which was added to by generations of scribes. An appreciation of the physical make-up of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX is crucial for understanding not only the creation of the Melrose Chronicle in 1173×4 but particularly how it grew piecemeal for over a century. Medieval manuscripts consist of bifolia and singletons gathered into quires or gatherings (also referred to as 'sections' or 'fascicles'). The normal arrangement was for three to six bifolia to be brought together into a bundle and folded, creating a quire/gathering of six to twelve folios or leaves. Analysing the make-up of the manuscript of a chronicle which was added to on numerous occasions presents a particular challenge. It cannot be assumed that typical gatherings were added to enable the text to be continued; it may have been more economical at times to add no more than a singleton or bifolium. There are also instances where singletons have been added to earlier parts of the manuscript: Faustina B. IX fos 14, 38 and 54 are each textually self-contained and have been intruded at some point. A further complication is that the manuscript evidently remained unbound throughout its active life at Melrose. It is possible, therefore, that the structure may have been altered at the first binding, especially in those sections where the chronicle had been continued by adding singletons and bifolia rather than gatherings, and where the writing came perilously close to the gutter or fold in the middle of a bifolium. As a result, the collation of the manuscript as it exists today may conceal as well as reveal evidence of its original make-up. The structure of the manuscript when the chronicle was still growing can only come fully into view once the process of binding has been understood.

Binding

The simplest way to establish the collation of a manuscript is to disbind it, allowing it to fall apart into its constituent elements. This should also make it easier to identify modifications in the structure that may have been made during the process of binding. It is very rare for scholars working on a manuscript to have the opportunity to examine it disbound. The Melrose codex, whose 120 extant folios include 54 which were added between the first and last decades of the thirteenth century, is a far from typical specimen however. When the proposal was made to digitise it, the British Library agreed to disbind both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX so that they could

be studied more effectively. We are extremely grateful to the British Library for making this possible, and particularly to Rachel Stockdale, Mariluz Beltran de Guevara and John Mumford for their help and their enthusiasm for the project. Unfortunately the many rebindings which the manuscript has undergone have obscured some of the evidence, and the key question of when the whole codex was bound for the first time has proved especially difficult to settle.

The manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle, because of its complexity, must have presented a particular challenge to its first binder. There are clear indications that the Melrose Chronicle was unbound throughout the period when it was still being actively maintained at Melrose: it may be guessed that it was kept in a box or some form of parchment wrapper. Seven folios were borrowed on one occasion by an abbot of Dundrennan; later (sometime after Easter 1286) another abbot of Dundrennan borrowed everything from AD 1017 onwards.[1] Also, the tally of folios and gatherings made on that occasion on Faustina B. IX fo.11v would hardly have been necessary had it been bound. Another indication that the manuscript was unbound during the thirteenth century is that insertions have been made by two scribes in the deepest reaches of the inner margin.[2] This created special problems for the first binder.[3]

As a preliminary to discussing the modifications made to the manuscript when it was first bound in its entirety, it will be useful to give a brief discussion of its post-medieval binding history insofar as this can be ascertained by investigating the array of holes visible in the gutter of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX after disbinding.[4] I am particularly grateful to Daniel Huws for undertaking this with me: what follows is based on his identification of the holes, and has benefited from discussions both with him and with Julian Harrison.

Both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX were rebound in the nineteenth century (the former on two occasions, in 1839 and 1864, the latter in 1839);[5] Faustina B. IX must have been disbound in 1928 for photographing for the facsimile edition of 1936, although no more information about this has survived.[6] The sewing stations used on these occasions were evidently the same as those employed when the books were in the Cotton library: the

1 See 158–9 (chapter VIII) and 40 (chapter IV); and 169–70 (chapter VIII) for the date.

2 Hands C2 and E4 in the Andersons' classification; Scribes 8 and 28 (100, 110–11: chapter VII).

3 See 72–3. There was also variation in the size of folios, so that when the manuscript was first bound a couple of especially small singletons (Faustina B. IX fos 14 and 47) were mounted.

4 The kettle stitch holes near the head and tail for carrying over whatever ligament was used for binding are not structural, and are not therefore included in the discussion.

5 See 191 (chapter IX).

6 No records of the disbinding of Faustina B. IX in 1928 could be traced. A. O. Anderson, in a letter to J. Robb, Secretary of the Carnegie Trust, 29 September 1928, stated that it had been disbound to make film negatives (which were used to create collotype prints). It is apparent from letters written by Anderson to Robb on 30 March and 1 October 1929 that work on the edition was conducted only from the collotype prints.

addition of flyleaves and the Cottonian habit of identifying them as quire *A* in each case suggests that they were also (re)bound while in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton.[7] Different sewing stations and standards of craftsmanship are in evidence in Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX. In Julius B. XIII a hacksaw has been used at about 40mm, 80mm, 120mm, 160mm and 200mm from the tail.[8] Holes are sometimes as wide as 5mm either side of this, however, and pairs of holes are common at sewing stations (although some of these holes have merged). There is no indication of a consistent series of holes outside these limits, which means that in this case it is not possible to detect (or discount) the existence of a pre-Cottonian binding.

Pre-Cottonian binding is visible, however, in Faustina B. IX. The most recent binding arrangements are represented by a series of five pairs of holes at (i) 53mm and 58mm; (ii) 92mm and 98mm; (iii) 131mm and 136mm; (iv) 167mm and 173mm; and (v) 202mm and 208mm. More holes within these approximate limits are found in subsequent quires, and have sometimes merged. These, then, can be identified as the Cottonian sewing stations. Other holes, however, can be found regularly throughout Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, at approximately 40mm, 80mm, 120mm and 160mm from the tail. Those at 80mm and 160mm are often slightly to the right of the gutter. A spot-check of the remainder of Faustina B. IX[9] shows that, although holes are regularly visible at approximately 40mm and 120mm, there are none equivalent to 80mm and 160mm. Two separate bindings can be identified, therefore: the earliest represented by the holes at approximately 80mm and 160mm, with a later binding represented by the holes at approximately 40mm and 120mm. The latter is structurally incomplete, so it may be deduced that the second binding must have included a hole at approximately 200mm which has been re-used when the manuscript was rebound in the Cotton library (and subsequently). The fact that the rest of Faustina B. IX belonged to John Leland suggests that this second binding was made when the manuscript came into his possession.[10]

Was it Leland who divided the medieval manuscript into the two parts that are now Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75? This possibility receives important corroboration from Julian Harrison's identification of a title given by Leland on Faustina B. IX fo.2r in which the second part of the Melrose Chronicle is described as an epitome of Roger of Howden's *Chronicle*.[11] If Leland regarded Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 as a work with its own identity, then that might explain why he divided the medieval

7 The Cottonian binding stations can be readily seen in quire *A* of Faustina B. IX (fo.1).

8 'Tail' here and elsewhere refers not to the bottom edge of the parchment but to the sewing hole near the bottom. This point is used for measurements because the size of parchment itself is not always consistent. The use of a hacksaw means that, instead of creating holes with a pointed tool, the manuscript has been sawn at the binding-stations, a quick and cheap way of creating holes, but at the expense of quality and durability.

9 Accessibility was restricted by the preservation of sewing within some gatherings.

10 See 177, 181 (chapter IX).

11 See 179 (chapter IX). The title is almost lost as a result of cropping the upper margin.

manuscript in two at this point.[12] Unfortunately this cannot be proved conclusively because the Cottonian and later sewing stations in Julius B. XIII coincide with (or come within a millimetre of) 40mm, 80mm, 120mm and 160mm. This means that it is impossible to say anything about the presence or absence of pre-Cottonian holes in these positions in that part of the original manuscript. It is difficult, however, to imagine that the manuscript was divided before it was acquired by Leland, especially if the item on Faustina B. IX fo.18r added in the fourteenth century *s.a.*1133 on Bishop Nigel of Ely is explained as the contribution of a scribe at Thorney Abbey or its cell at Deeping St James:[13] this, combined with the Deeping *ex libris* on Julius B. XIII fo.2r, would indicate that both parts belonged to Thorney or Deeping, and presumably still constituted a single codex.

The medieval binding

Our identification of the Cottonian sewing holes, together with those attributable to John Leland, suggests that there was an earlier, medieval binding of the manuscript on two bands. It would seem that the binding holes at approximately 40mm and 120mm in Faustina B. IX formed two stations of a three-station binding commissioned by Leland; the holes at approximately 80mm and 160mm may therefore be attributed to a medieval binding. There are two candidates for when and where this may have occurred: (1) at Melrose Abbey itself, probably late in the thirteenth century (remembering, of course, that the manuscript seems to have been unbound during its active life); and (2) at Thorney Abbey or Deeping St James, presumably in the fourteenth century. A further complication to consider is whether the original codex was bound in 1173×4, with the leaves subsequently being disbound when the Melrose Chronicle was continued. These options will all be debated in turn, after discussion of two features of the proposed medieval binding, namely its sewing on two bands, and the preservation of material in the inner reaches of the manuscript.

A statistical survey of surviving medieval binding structures from western Europe has suggested that, although there is no absolute rule, two-station binding was much more likely before *ca* 1200, at least in France, and that more sewing supports were invariably used after that date.[14] The same survey also revealed that in English romanesque bindings (i.e., those before 1200), three supports were as common as two, together accounting for 70% of the surveyed sample.[15] The earliest binding associated with the Melrose manuscript seems to have been on two bands. For all we know, this may

12 Note also Harrison's comments that Faustina B. IX as it stands represents a collection of material predominantly on English history spanning 731–1399: see 181 (chapter IX).

13 Scribe 52: 118 (chapter VII).

14 J. A. Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding* (Aldershot, 1999), 144, 180–1. See also Graham Pollard, 'Describing medieval bookbindings', in J. J. G. Alexander & M. T. Gibson (eds), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), 50–65, at 56.

15 Szirmai, *The Archaeology of Medieval Bookbinding*, 144. Szirmai also noted that there is no correlation between the number of supports and the height of the spine.

have been the practice at Melrose Abbey in the 1290s (or early fourteenth century). There is (needless to say) not enough evidence from other Melrose manuscripts to make it possible to establish the point. Nor can it be ruled out that the entire manuscript left Melrose in an unbound state, in its posited box, and was only bound for the first time when it reached Thorney or Deeping. This second scenario will be discussed below, though it should be mentioned that binding on just two bands does seem rather old-fashioned for the fourteenth century (in England) or even the late-thirteenth century (at Melrose). Is it possible that these sewing stations were re-using holes from an even earlier binding, perhaps when the original codex was made in 1173×4?

Although the technical execution of the first binding of the entire manuscript seems a little old-fashioned and unprofessional, it was in many respects a careful and skilful piece of work.[16] Much effort and some ingenuity was expended in preparing the folios for binding without losing some additions to the text written in the margin, in particular the king-list in elegiac couplets (known as the 'Verse Chronicle') added piecemeal by Scribe 28. The last stage in the binding of a manuscript was cropping the outer, upper and lower margins to square off its edges with those of the boards. In the case of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 the preservation of this additional material was easy enough if only a small part of the outer margin was involved: the relevant section was simply retained as a flap (folded inwards) when the rest of the outer margin was cropped. (On the DVD there is a close-up image of the flap created to retain an item in the outer margin of fo.26r on the succession to the abbacy of Coupar Angus in 1194.) The same procedure has been applied to preserve material added to the outer margin of Julius B. XIII fo.38r. A more serious problem was encountered when there was a large item (or more than one item) in the outer margin, as in Faustina B. IX fos 6v, 7r, 8r, 10r, 16r, 16v, 17r, and 19r. In the case of the bifolium fos 16+19 the solution was to cut it into two folios, crop the inner margins, and create a small overlap: the bifolium was then reconstituted by pasting the innermost parts of fo.16v and fo.19v together, in effect reducing the width of the inner margins and shifting the text-block inwards. As a result, part of the extended left leg of *A* in *Anno* for the years 1151 (in red) and 1155 on fo.19r appears on the other side of the gutter on what is now the inner margin of fo.16v.

The process of preserving items in the outer margins was complicated, however, by the need to retain material that had been added to the text in the inner margin. There was only a small amount to preserve in the inner margin of Faustina B. IX fo.16r: this was achieved by cutting deeper into fo.19 at the point where the overlap and pasting would have obscured what was written.

[16] Holes in the gutter at 80mm and 160mm are indicative of the first binding. In the case of the flap in the outer margin of fo.26r, it is assumed that this belongs to the first cropping, and so was created at the same time as flaps in the inner margin (discussed below). The impression that the binding was a little rough-and-ready is reinforced by the lack of a hole at approximately 160mm from the tail in quires *D* and *F* in Faustina B. IX: the most likely explanation is that the binder through carelessness (or laziness) took his ligature through a kettle-stitch hole near the top.

In the other bifolia where material in the outer margin has been preserved (i.e., fos 6+7, 5+8 and 17+18) there were items in the inner margin to contend with, too. An ingenious solution was to repeat the procedure outlined for fos 16+19, with an additional step. After cutting the bifolium, the inner margins were cropped in such a way that the section of writing was retained as a flap (exactly as if a small item on the outer margin was being preserved). Parts of the cropped inner margin above and below the flap were then overlapped and pasted (as in fos 16+19): the result was that the bifolium was reconstituted with a flap in its gutter. (On the DVD there are close-up images of these flaps in the inner margin of fos 6v and 8v.) This procedure is represented in Figure 1, taking fos 6+7 as an example.

In all these cases the purpose of this procedure was to preserve the 'Verse Chronicle' which had been inserted by Scribe 28 into whatever space was available to him.[17] A similar technique of pasting folios together to create a bifolium can be seen in Faustina B. IX fos 47–53 (i.e., quire *G* minus 'inserted' fo.54). Here, however, it appears that the motive was to restructure an assortment of bifolia and singletons into a gathering so that they could be bound (see discussion of quire *G*).

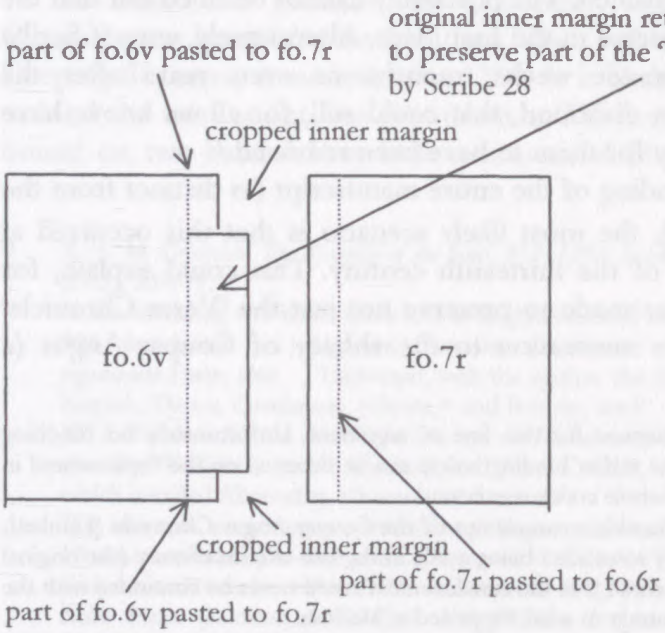

Figure 1: preservation of material in inner margin of Faustina B. IX fo.6v

We know for certain that the Melrose Chronicle was in an unbound state for some or all of its active life in the thirteenth century. However, a nagging problem throughout this discussion of the medieval binding is that two-band bindings seem to point to a significantly earlier date than either the late-thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. An ingenious solution to this would be to

[17] Only one section of the 'Verse Chronicle' in an inner margin failed to be rescued (the extract on Mael Coluim II on fo.10v), with the result that a couplet was lost in the gutter of the binding, and only came to light when the manuscript was disbound in 1928.

suppose that the manuscript was bound when it was originally created in 1173×4.[18] If it had been bound in wooden boards, then it would have been necessary to disbind it in order to continue the chronicle about thirty years later.[19] This could be connected with a change in its status: it may originally have been intended as a library book, but once it became a contemporary chronicle it would probably have been regarded as one of the convent's records and been kept unbound along with its muniments.[20] The use of a two-band structure when the entire chronicle was bound in the 1290s (or early fourteenth century) could then be explained as a re-use of existing binding stations in the original codex, a decision that would be consistent with other indications that the operation was completed either in haste or without much care. It may also be recalled that the original codex suffered substantial damage (by fire, damp or rodent activity) to the lower, outer corners of its leaves sometime before the Melrose Chronicle was extended by the addition of new quires, and consistent with the impression that those leaves were at that stage fixed in some form of rigid structure.[21] The only serious obstacle to this attractive scenario is that, if the original codex was bound, how did it come to lose the annals relating to the period 250–730? This can never be fully explained. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the leaves in question never existed in the first place. Alternatively, even if Scribe 14 noted their disappearance weeks, months or even years after the manuscript may have been disbound, that could still, for all we know, have been sufficient opportunity for them to have been removed.[22]

Turning to the first binding of the entire manuscript (as distinct from the original codex of 1173×4), the most likely scenario is that this occurred at Melrose towards the end of the thirteenth century. This could explain, for example, why an effort was made to preserve not just the 'Verse Chronicle' but also the notice of the succession to the abbacy of Coupar Angus (a

18 I am grateful to Julian Harrison for this line of argument. Unfortunately no clinching evidence either way (such as earlier binding holes) can be detected on the flaps created in the inner margin when the whole codex was bound.

19 A parallel is provided by the oldest manuscript of the Coupar Angus Chronicle (Lambeth 440), which was bound very soon after being made in the late-twelfth century (the original binding survives), with the result that the annalistic text could never be continued with the addition of extra quires, contrary to what happened at Melrose.

20 See 20–3 (chapter II).

21 See 59 (chapter V). We might also question why the lower, inner corners were not affected in the same way, unless they were afforded some protection by being adjacent to the spine of the putative twelfth-century binding.

22 It is unfortunate that the decision to continue the chronicle cannot be dated from the internal evidence of the text more precisely than 17 March 1199×probably 27 July 1214 (see 129–30, chapter VIII), which makes it impossible to say how long before 1208 the proposed disbinding may have taken place (according to this line of argument). Note, however, the observation (at 133, chapter VIII) that contemporary material relating to the period after 1197 may only have begun to be kept for the chronicle from 1205 or 1206, and that from 1208 there are some expansive items. This might suggest that the decision to continue the chronicle was taken no more than a couple of years before 1208, and involved not only the entry of material for 1171–97, but the initiation of a system of contemporary notes with a view to these being drafted and entered in due course.

daughter-house of Melrose) in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.26r. There is a specific occasion when the community at Melrose may have thought it desirable to bind their chronicle. At Norham on the Tweed, on 10 May 1291, Scottish leaders were presented (probably orally) with the evidence collected from English chronicles by Edward I in his effort to demonstrate that he should be recognised as overlord of Scotland.[23] They were given three weeks to refute Edward's claim, and it would not be a surprise if the Melrose Chronicle, not far away, was consulted. This is certainly the most likely occasion for the erasure of key words in two items in the chronicle in which the homage of Scottish kings to Edward I's predecessors had been recorded.[24] Perhaps Melrose's response went further, and it was decided that the chronicle should be bound in order to make it more secure (should it need to be transported) as well as to maintain its integrity.[25] A more compelling circumstantial suggestion that the manuscript may have first been bound in Melrose (probably in the 1290s) is that, although the chronicle could have travelled to Thorney in its (hypothetical) box, it is easier to envisage its making the journey in one piece if the manuscript had already been bound.[26]

We must also consider the possibility, however, that the Melrose Chronicle was bound for the first time (albeit rather inexpertly) at Thorney or Deeping St James, sometime after 1300. Is it likely, however, if the decision to bind the manuscript was first taken at Thorney, that it would have been bound on two bands? Very little is known of Thorney Abbey's library, but

23 A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), 209–19.

24 In the following two items the words in angled brackets have been deleted.
924: *inuictissimus rex Anglorum, Danorum, Cumbrorum, <Scottorum,> Britonum, Edwardus cognomento Senior, obiit…*, 'Eadweard, with the epithet 'the Elder', most invincible king of the English, Danes, Cumbrians, <Scots,> and Britons, died'.
1072: *Willelmus Scotiam intrauit, cui occurrens rex Malcolmus in loco qui dicitur Abernithi <homo suus deuenit>*, 'William invaded Scotland, and Mael Coluim, coming to meet him at a placed which is called Abernethy, <became his man>'.
The source is a text cognate with *Historia Regum* attributed to Simeon of Durham and with *Historia post Bedam* (the first part of Roger of Howden's *Chronicle* is a copy), from which the erased words can be restored: Thomas Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1882–5), ii. 196; William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1868–71), i. 126. In Fulman's edition of the Melrose Chronicle (see 31–2, chapter III) the words *homo suus deuenit* duly appear, but only because they were added to the copy of the chronicle from which his edition was printed (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208: see also 228, chapter X (6)).

25 The scenario of working to a deadline on something of national importance could explain both (i) the care taken to preserve text in the margins (as well as to render fos 47–53 into a bindable structure), as well as (ii) a lack of care in the binding itself (if time was running out), with the station at 160mm missed in quires *D* and *F*. But this can only be regarded as highly speculative.

26 The memorandum on Faustina B. IX fo.11v (stating the number of folios when much of the chronicle was borrowed by the abbot of Dundrennan: see 40, chapter IV) shows that there were no losses between when the manuscript was unbound and its first binding (save for the formal possibility of the lost folio at the end, although this presumably became detached much later).

this can be supplemented by the remarkable survival (albeit damaged) of Thorney's Lenten reading lists for 1324–30 — that is, within (or shortly after) the approximate period during which the Melrose Chronicle may have been acquired.[27] The reading lists have recently been analysed comprehensively by Richard Sharpe, who concluded that they 'do not encourage an elevated view of Benedictine learning at Thorney'.[28] Despite its size and wealth, Professor Sharpe suggested that the abbey may have suffered from competition from being close to Crowland, Peterborough and Ramsey who had greater material and intellectual resources, 'leaving Thorney a backwater'.[29] Such books as there were do not, moreover, appear to have been used intensively: Professor Sharpe has identified a significant degree of absenteeism from the Lenten distribution of books (although, as he points out, some monks may have been assigned to the abbey's cell at Deeping and had separate arrangements for their reading); there was also a rather relaxed attitude to the requirement that books should be read within the year.[30] None of this is evidence for Thorney's lack of expertise in bookbinding, of course. It does, however, paint a picture of a convent where it is not impossible to imagine that if any bookbinding was done on site, it could have been as technically limited and outdated as that found in the earliest binding of the Melrose Chronicle.

If the effort to save parts of the 'Verse Chronicle' from being cropped or from disappearing in the gutter of a binding was undertaken at Thorney Abbey, then this could be testimony to an interest there in early Scottish kings. The first binding of the entire manuscript was also the occasion when inserted fo.14 (chiefly containing an account of Scottish kings from Mael Coluim III and Margaret) was mounted and bound into the codex.[31] A concern for the history of Scottish kingship at Thorney is not inherently unlikely. Not far away a list of kings of Scots from Cinaed mac Ailpín onwards was copied in a Peterborough manuscript of the early fourteenth century, and also in a commonplace book of the mid-fourteenth century which (it has been suggested) may have been compiled for a lawyer in East Anglia.[32] Some interest in the Verse Chronicle itself may be suggested by a version of the Scottish king-list which was probably collated with the Verse Chronicle: this is found in two manuscripts from the north of England datable to the second half of the fourteenth century.[33]

27 Richard Sharpe, 'Monastic reading at Thorney Abbey, 1323-1347', *Traditio*, 60 (2005), 243–78 (244–73 for discussion, analysis and text of the Lenten reading lists for 1324–30). See also 267–73 for discussion of Thorney's library and list of books mentioned in the Lenten reading lists. I am grateful to Professor Sharpe for sending me an offprint of this article.

28 Sharpe, 'Monastic reading at Thorney', 270.

29 *Ibid.*, 269–70.

30 *Ibid.*, 263–7.

31 The other inserted folios (fos 38 and 54) were bound into the manuscript at this stage.

32 Both manuscripts may have shared an exemplar: see Broun, *The Irish Identity*, 139–42; Antonia Gransden, 'A fourteenth-century chronicle from the Grey Friars at Lynn', *EHR* 72 (1957), 270–8, at 270–2 (reprinted in her *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), 279–88).

33 Broun, *The Irish Identity*, 135, 138; Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1980), 58–9, 71–5.

At the end of the day the evidence to hand does not permit a definitive position to be proposed. It is unlikely that more information about the early history of the codex will come to light, or that it will ever be known exactly how unusual a two-band binding would have been in Melrose *ca* 1290 (or Thorney a little later): as far as Melrose is concerned, the survival of manuscripts from Scotland is far too limited to permit even an impression to be formed about typical Scottish bookbinding practice. A preference for a particular option must, in the end, be a matter for judgement. On the one hand, it could be argued that the original codex was bound in 1173×4 and disbound about the first decade of the thirteenth century (perhaps in order for the chronicle to be continued by the addition of new leaves), and that this is more likely than that a two-band binding was employed for the first time about a century later.[34] But it could also be argued that, on balance, it seems more likely that a rather old-fashioned binding structure was employed in the 1290s (or a little later) than that the original codex was disbound in time for some of it to have been mislaid before the lacuna was noted in *ca* 1208.[35]

Collation of the original codex

It will be recalled that, when the codex was first created in 1173×4, the Melrose Chronicle and the copy of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* filled Julius B. XIII fos 2r–47v and Faustina B. IX fos 2r–21r (except for inserted fo.14, and with a section between AD 249 and 731 either lost or never completed). In terms of the Cottonian binding this represents quires *B* to *G* in Julius B. XIII and quires *B* and *C* in Faustina B. IX, with quire *C* extending to fo.22. The current composition of Julius B. XIII quires *B* to *G* and Faustina B. IX quires *B* and *C* can be expressed most simply as follows:

Julius B. XIII fos 2–47:	B^8, *C*–D^9, E^8, F^5, G^7
Faustina B. IX fos 2–22:	B^{10}, C^{10+1} (i.e., plus fo.14)

Apart from the addition of fo.14 (originally the end of a roll and consisting of text that is not integral to the chronicle), Faustina B. IX fos 2–22 consists of two regular gatherings of five bifolia each (some of which have been divided into two and then rejoined by pasting when the manuscript was first bound). Only two of the gatherings in Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 are regular: *B* and *E* consist of four bifolia. *C* (fos 10–18) and *D* (fos 19–27) both have a singleton (fos 17 and 23), each with a stub (now attached to fos 11r and 22r respectively).[36] It may be deduced that these quires were originally intended to have five bifolia, but that a serious error by the scribe made it desirable to cancel a folio. (Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, because it is laid out in columns, makes more than usual demands of a scribe.) After quire *E* only five folios were needed to complete Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* and bring the chronological frame up to date as far as 1174 (the singleton in quire

[34] This is the option favoured by Julian Harrison.

[35] This is the option favoured by Dauvit Broun.

[36] An added complication in quire *C* is that fos 11–12 are a bifolium that has been bound incorrectly: fo.12 would originally have appeared between fos 16 and 17.

F is its first folio, fo.36: the stub is now attached to fo.40v). The first folio of quire *G* (fo.41) is a singleton. There is no stub. Either the scribe at this point cancelled the other half of a bifolium by cutting it away without leaving a stub, or it has been lost through wear and tear.[37]

The collation of the manuscript when it was created in 1173×4 may therefore be represented as follows (using normal codicological conventions: note that 'wants 2' means that the second folio in the gathering is missing):

> I^{8}, II^{10} wants 2, III^{10} wants 5, IV^{8}, V^{6} wants 6, VI^{8} wants 8, [at least one gathering putatively lost], VII–VIII^{10}.

Collation of Faustina B. IX fos 23–75

The remainder of the codex was created piecemeal in the process of updating the work, and requires a more detailed discussion of the physical evidence for its growth. The first stage is to establish the current structure of the manuscript: this appears to correspond to that created when the manuscript was first bound (the only detectable change being in the placing of what is now fo.38, an inserted folio that was once the first leaf of the medieval manuscript).[38] The Cottonian quire-signatures offer a ready point of reference for the manuscript's structure as revealed when the manuscript was disbound in 2005. It is immediately apparent that few modern quires can be regarded as regular gatherings. The composition of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 as it stands today can be sketched in a simple form without at this stage applying normal codicological conventions:

> *D*^{8}, *E*^{8} plus fo.38, *F*^{7}, *G*^{7} plus fo.54, *H*^{3}, *J*^{6} (irregular structure), *K*^{8}, *L*^{4} (4 singletons).

This can serve as a starting-point for an attempt to reconstruct how this part of the manuscript was originally formed, taking each modern gathering in turn. In order to make it easier for the reader to navigate a way through this material, the make-up of the manuscript as it stands today, and (when necessary) as it stood originally, will be represented diagrammatically. Evidence for the original make-up of the manuscript can also be found in the way folios were prepared for writing. There are three aspects of this to be considered. One is 'pricking'. Typically bifolia would be pricked along the outer margins, forming a series of small holes that could be used when ruling

[37] If wear and tear, then this must have occurred before the memorandum on Faustina B. IX fo.11v was written (*ca* 1290). If the scribe removed it himself, the lack of a stub might suggest that he did not expect the manuscript to be bound (unfortunately there are no other examples of cancellations during this scribe's work with which comparison might be made). There is a formal possibility that it was never written on, and has been cut away to be re-used (which would, of course, require that annals for 250–730 were never written).

[38] For fo.38 as the first folio, see 139 (chapter VIII). The evidence for its position when first bound is in the earliest foliation (which appears in the lower margin and differs from the modern pencil foliation: fo.38 = fo.37). (On foliations, see 189, 191, chapter IX.) Inserted fo.38 (pencil) has been altered in the earliest foliation to read '37' by crossing out the '5' of '53' and adding '7', a clear indication that it once followed inserted fo.54 (= fo.52 in the earliest foliation).

each page. Sometimes pricking was also added in the inner margin of bifolia (so that each page could be ruled individually rather than across a bifolium). Another aspect is the number of lines ruled for writing per page. The third is layout: for example, the use of two parallel vertical lines (or 'tramlines') to define the inner and outer limits of the written surface, and the dimensions of the written surface itself. Although all three features might be expected to be part of a single process of preparing folios for writing, there are instances where folios were left unruled after pricking, eventually being ruled according to a different interval between lines. There is also a case where folios have been both pricked and ruled, only for the scribe to rule the folios again in a way that suited the size of his writing. Sometimes there is evidence of more than one series of pricking in the outer margin (although these are typically incomplete due to cropping), as if the parchment has been prepared on two separate occasions: only complete or near-complete series will be noted.

Faustina B. IX fos 23–30 (quire *D*)

This is a regular gathering of four bifolia which has been prepared for writing on one occasion. There are 43 prickings throughout in the outer margins and also in the inner margins (except for fo.30), and the ruled lines correspond to the prickings. There is no reason to doubt that the original structure was the same as it is today.

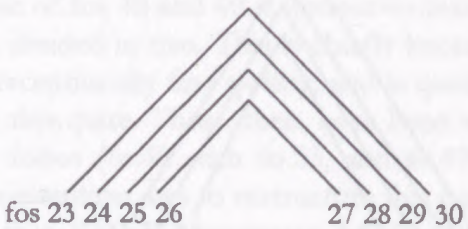

Figure 2: quire D

Faustina B. IX fos 31–39 (quire *E*)

Fo.38 is an independent folio which was originally used as a flyleaf and was later placed between fos 54 and 55 before ending up in its current position. The remainder constitutes a regular quire of four bifolia.

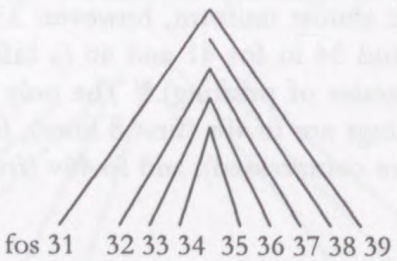

Figure 3: the modern structure of quire E

There are 45 outer margin prickings throughout fos 31–37 and 39. The ruled lines only correspond to the prickings, however, in fo.31r as far as line 17,

fo.31v (except the last pricking is unruled) and fo.32r (assuming that the pattern was maintained in what seems like ten-and-a-half lines that have been thoroughly erased). This matches the work of Scribe 15, except for fo.32r (which was originally ruled in preparation for a stratum which he shared with Scribe 16).[39] The variety in the number of ruled lines in the rest of the gathering suggests that scribes ruled as they went along. This is particularly obvious in fo.34v where only the top 17 lines have been ruled, and in fo.39v, where the top 12 lines have been ruled at 8mm between lines to accommodate the large writing of Scribe 18: the remainder is ruled at intervals of 5mm to 6mm. It appears that when quire *E* was added there was only a limited amount of text ready to be entered (only as far as fo.32r, it would seem). In contrast to the complexity of how text has been entered into it, the original gathering itself can be reconstructed simply by excluding fo.38 from the quire as it stands today.

Faustina B. IX fos 40–46 (quire *F*)

The modern quire consists of seven folios: the first folio (fo.40) is a singleton, and the rest are bifolia. The arrangement is unremarkable, and has presumably survived unaltered from when the gathering was first added to the manuscript.

Figure 4: quire F

It is possible that fo.40 was added first to the preceding quire, and was only associated with the three bifolia when the chronicle was continued at a later stage. There are 33 ruled lines per page from fo.41r to fo.44v, but 35 in fo.40r (the lines on fo.40v are too faded to count). There is a little less regularity at the end (36 lines in fo.45r, 35 in fos 45v and 46r, and 34 in fo.46v). The prickings are almost uniform, however: 33 in the outer margin of fo.40 and fos 42–45, and 34 in fos 41 and 46 (a bifolium which also has the remains of a second series of pricking).[40] The only sections where ruled lines stray from the prickings are fo.40r (first 8 lines), fo.45r (note especially how lines 7 and 8 are more compressed), and fo.46v (from line 23, where the annal for 1243 begins).

[39] See 134 (chapter VIII).

[40] A few prickings have disappeared where the parchment of fo.41 has been damaged, but it would appear to have had 34 prickings originally.

Faustina B. IX fos 47–54 (quire *G*)

The modern structure of quire *G* only becomes fully apparent on close scrutiny of the disbound manuscript. At first sight it appears to consist of four bifolia. Fo.54, however, was originally an independent entity, and has been attached to fo.47. More surprisingly, the other bifolia, too, consist of two singletons attached together: fo.50 has been attached to fo.51, fo.49 to fo.52, and fo.48 to fo.53.

This recalls the procedure noted in Faustina B. IX fos 5–8 and 16–19 in which bifolia were divided and rejoined by making folios overlap across the gutter. Is this what has happened here? Certainly the same overlapping can be seen: prickings in the inner margin (and also some of the corresponding ruled lines) have ended up on the 'wrong' side of the gutter (as can be seen on the DVD in the close-up images of the gutter of fos 48v+53r). But there is an important difference. In the case of fos 5–8 and 16–19 the intention was to preserve items added in the margins that would have been damaged or lost in the process of binding and cropping. No such additional items appear in the margins of fos 47–53. In this case the patching together of folios to create bifolia capable of being sewn must itself have been the intention. The reason for the original use of a series of singletons at this point may have been due to uncertainty about the amount of text that was going to be deployed.

Only in the case of fos 48 and 49 is it more-or-less certain that an original bifolium has been divided in two. This is chiefly because the parchment is of exactly the same exceptionally fine quality, and is quite different from that of the other folios in this quire. These, then, have been separated in order to be attached to other folios (fo.48 with fo.53, and fo.49 with fo.52) — a clear indication that the intention was to restructure this part of the manuscript. It may be inferred that this was necessary because originally there was no gathering as such, merely a sequence of singletons (plus a bifolium, fos 48+49). When it came to binding the manuscript a central opening was required (to which the rest of the folios could relate) so that all of them could be held together by a single sewing. This meant dividing fos 48+49 and joining fos 50 and 51 together to form the central opening. According to this scenario, the original pre-bound structure would have been as in Figure 5. (Fo.47 was presumably attached at this stage to the independent fo.54 to create a bifolium.)

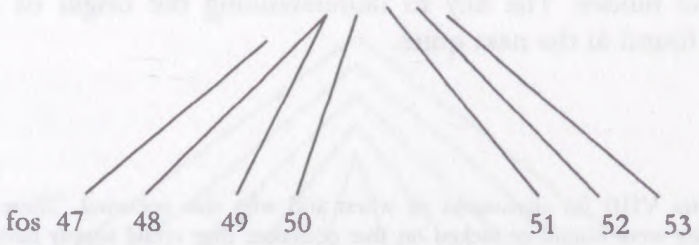

Figure 5: proposed original structure of quire G

The piecemeal nature of the original structure is confirmed by how the parchment has been prepared for writing. Three stages can be identified. The first is fo.47, which was clearly originally a singleton: it is narrower than the other folios, and has had to be mounted in the inner margin in order to be attached to fo.54 and bound with the rest. Like the previous quire it evidently had 33 prickings in the outer margin (a few have been lost); only the first six lines of fo.47r were initially ruled (only the first four correspond to the prickings): the remaining 18 lines of fo.47r were ruled later (with a pronounced slant), and bear no relationship to the prickings. Fo.47v has 39 ruled lines (again bearing no relation to the prickings). It appears, in short, that fo.47 began life as a singleton added to the previous quire. The creation of quire *G* was not the first occasion when fo.47 was grouped with fos 48–53, however: an abbot of Dundrennan borrowed fos 47–53 sometime in the mid-thirteenth century.[41]

The next stage is fos 48 and 49: no pricking survives, but there are 36 ruled lines in fo.48r–v and 37 in fo.49r–v. The writing space on fo.48r–v is 133mm along the top within the tramlines and approximately 205mm down the tramlines to the bottom ruled line; the same figures for fo.49r are 140mm and 205mm, and 140mm and 213mm for fo.49v. The remaining folios, fos 50–53, exhibit a new pattern, and represent the third stage. There are 38 prickings in the outer margin and a parallel series can be seen in the inner margin.[42] These correspond to the ruled lines, of which there are 37 throughout (leaving the bottom pricking unruled), except for fo.50r which has 38 ruled lines. The area delimited for writing is 144mm (143mm in fo.50r), noticeably broader than in fos 48 and 49. The most distinctive feature of fos 50–53 is that the outer and lower margins are bounded by ruled lines about 20mm beyond the outer edge of the written surface and just under 30mm beyond the lowest line ruled for writing.

Faustina B. IX fos 55–57 (quire *H*)

Each folio is a singleton. A series of 30 prickings is visible in the inner and outer margins, and tallies with 30 ruled lines per page. There is little doubt that all three folios were prepared on the same occasion. The dimensions of the surface delimited for writing is bounded simply by a line on the left and right edges which extends the whole length of the page. This would be a curious little quire if it were original. Like quire *G*, however, it has been created by the first binder. The key to understanding the origin of these singletons is to be found in the next quire.

41 See 158–9 (chapter VIII) for discussion of when and why this occurred. There is no indication that they were bound or tacked on that occasion: they could simply have been transported in a wrapper or tied as a parcel.

42 Because the folios have been pasted together, these inner prickings now appear either in or across the gutter, or on the part of the folio which has been wrapped behind another: see the guide to the DVD (detailed images nos 1 and 2).

Faustina B. IX fos 58–63 (quire *J*)

The first three folios of quire *J* have obviously been prepared on the same occasion as fos 55–57. There are 30 ruled lines, and these match the prickings (visible only in the inner margins: the outer prickings have evidently been cropped). Also, the surface prepared for writing is bounded by vertical lines running the full length of the page, and is of approximately the same proportions. These indications of an intimate connection with fos 55–57 are also consistent with the fact that a series of similar alternate blue and red initials in *Anno* (or *Eodem anno* on fo.55v) are found from fo.55r to fo.59r; thereafter there is a blank space where the coloured *A* would be expected at the beginning of each annal.

Both fos 59+60 and fos 58+63 are bifolia. It is apparent, despite the fact that only the first 15 lines survive (because the bottom half has been cut away), that fo.63r has been prepared in the same way as fos 55–60; 30 prickings are still visible in the inner margin. Fo.63v has not been ruled. Fos 61 and 62 are singletons and are clearly a later addition. This is apparent not only from the handwriting (the scribes are different), but in the way these folios have been prepared. There are 32 prickings and corresponding ruled lines, and the surface delimited for writing is about 10mm longer and broader than fos 55–60.

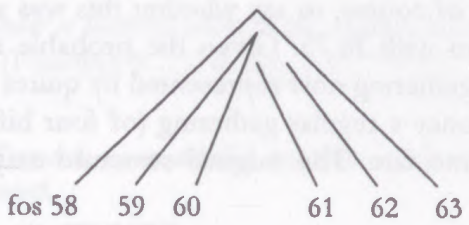

Figure 6: quire J

It would appear, then, that fos 55–60 and fo.63 were originally a single gathering. The removal of the bottom half of fo.63 (presumably because it was blank) is an important clue for explaining why fos 55–57 are singletons. If they, too, had been originally parts of bifolia, and the corresponding parts after fo.63 had been left blank, then these would also have been removed when half of fo.63 was cut away. It is not difficult, therefore, to envisage that fos 55–60 and 63 are the remains of what was a regular gathering of ten folios.

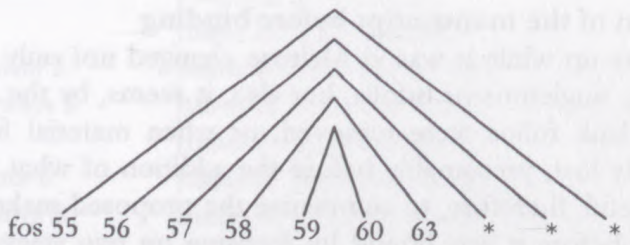

Figure 7: proposed original gathering which partially survives in quires H and J

Faustina B. IX fos 64–71 (quire *K*)
This has always been a gathering of eight folios comprising four bifolia. There are 31 ruled lines: two have been added in the lower margin of fo.71r in order to accommodate an additional line and a half of writing. No pricking is visible.

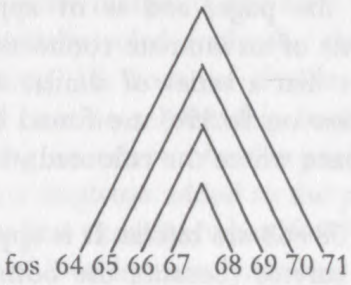

Figure 8: quire K

Faustina B. IX fos 72–75 (quire *L*)
As it stands this is a gathering of singletons which has been pasted together into two bifolia. There are 32 ruled lines on fo.72r–v (with some pricking visible in the outer margin), and 33 ruled lines thereafter (with no extant pricking). It will be recalled that one folio (fo.75*) has evidently been lost from the end: it is impossible, of course, to say whether this was a singleton, or originally formed a bifolium with fo.75. Given the probable removal of blank folios in the case of the gathering now represented by quires *H* and *J*, it is possible that this, too, was once a regular gathering (of four bifolia in this case) that has suffered the same fate. The original structure may therefore have been:

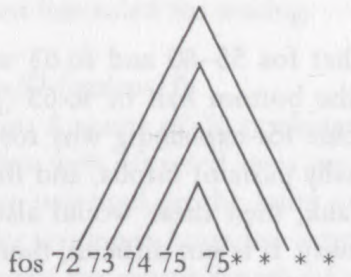

Figure 9: conjectural original structure of quire L

Summary of collation of the manuscript before binding
The manuscript's make-up while it was at Melrose changed not only by the addition of gatherings, singletons or bifolia, but also, it seems, by the loss of folios (either when blank folios were removed, or when material for AD 250–730 was putatively lost, presumably before the addition of what is now quire *D*). It will be useful, therefore, to summarise the proposed make-up of the entire manuscript before it was bound by focusing on two stages in its pre-bound history: (i) before the material represented today by Faustina B. IX quires *K* and *L* and fos 61 and 62 was added, and (ii) after *K* and *L* were

added (and fos 61 and 62 to quire *J*), and the conjectural three final blank folios in quire *L* had been removed. This second stage is how the manuscript would have looked when the memorandum on Faustina B. IX fo.11v stating the number of folios and quires was written.[43] It will be recalled that inserted folios 14 and 54 were evidently not included in the memorandum's tally of 119 folios: what is now fo.38 would, presumably, still have been the flyleaf of the entire manuscript. The usual conventions of representing a collation may be modified to show more clearly the manuscript's make-up at each of these stages as this would have been seen by the monks of Melrose. In particular, it is most unlikely that it would have occurred to them (as it plainly did not to the scribe of the memorandum) to regard bifolia and singletons as quires. As a way of reflecting this, roman numerals will only be used to denote gatherings of more than one bifolium; singletons and bifolia which did not form gatherings will be referred to as $^{+1}$ and $^{+2}$. The collation at each stage can therefore be expressed as follows:

(i) before the material represented today by quires K and L was added:

$^{+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fo.38, *added to the original codex* ca *1220*)[44]
I^{8}, II^{10} wants 2, III^{10} wants 5, IV^{8}, V^{6} wants 6 (Julius B. XIII fos 2–47),
VI^{8} wants 8, VII–$VIII^{10}$ (Faustina B. IX fos 2–22, *not including fo.14*);

the remainder is material added to the original codex (from Faustina B. IX fo.23):
IX–X^{8}, $^{+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fo.40), XI^{6}, $^{+1+2+1+1+1+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fos 47–53),
XII^{10}.

(ii) after K and L were added, and the conjectural three final blank folios had been removed.

$^{+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fo.38),
I^{8}, II^{10} wants 2, III^{10} wants 5, IV^{8}, V^{6} wants 6,
VI^{8} wants 8, VII–$VIII^{10}$,
IX–X^{8}, $^{+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fo.40), XI^{6}, $^{+1+2+1+1+1+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fos 47–53),
$^{+1+1+1}$ (Faustina B. IX fos 55–57), XII^{6}, $XIII^{8}$, $^{+1+1+1+2}$ (Faustina B. IX fos 72–75*).

For ease of reference this can also be represented in tabulated form, along with the Cottonian quiring:

$^{+1}$	Faustina B. IX fo.38	part of Cottonian *E*
I^{8}	Julius B. XIII fos 2–9	Cottonian *B*
II^{10} wants 2	Julius B. XIII fos 10–18	Cottonian *C*
III^{10} wants 5	Julius B. XIII fos 19–27	Cottonian *D*
IV^{8}	Julius B. XIII fos 28–35	Cottonian *E*
V^{6} wants 6	Julius B. XIII fos 36–40	Cottonian *F*
VI^{8} wants 8	Julius B. XIII fos 41–47	Cottonian *G*

[43] See 40 (chapter IV) and 169–70 (chapter VIII).
[44] See 139 (chapter VIII).

VII–VIII^{10}	Faustina B. IX fos 2–13, 15–22	Cottonian *B–C*
IX–X^{8}	Faustina B. IX fos 23–37, 39	Cottonian *D–E*
+1	Faustina B. IX fo.40	part of Cottonian *F*
XI^{6}	Faustina B. IX fos 41–46	rest of Cottonian *F*
+1+2+1+1+1+1	Faustina B. IX fos 47–53	Cottonian *G*
+1+1+1	Faustina B. IX fos 55–57	Cottonian *H*
XII^{6}	Faustina B. IX fos 58–63	Cottonian *J*
XIII^{8}	Faustina B. IX fos 64–71	Cottonian *K*
+1+1+1+2	Faustina B. IX fos 72–75*	Cottonian *L*

This is too complex to allow any certainty about how the writer of the memorandum on Faustina B. IX fo.11v arrived at his figure of 14 quires. It may be speculated that some of the free singletons and bifolia were parcelled or attached together in some way: it should be noted, however, that the disbound manuscript in 2005 showed no evidence of tacking by which quires might temporarily have been held together. Perhaps the statement in the memorandum on fo.11v that the codex consisted of 119 folios and 14 quires need not mean that all 119 folios were divided into quires: if so, then perhaps the sequence of eight singletons and a bifolium between Faustina B. IX fo.46 and fo.58 (which it might be expected were kept together in some way) were held in a wrapper.

Finally, when the manuscript was first bound in its entirety, Faustina B. IX fos 14 and 54 were inserted, fos 47–53 and 55–57 were each constituted as quires, and the remainder, fos 72–75/75*, also became a quire.[45]

[45] It is impossible to be certain that fos 14 and 54 were originally placed where they are found today. Also, it is not clear when fo.75* became detached (although, because this presumably occurred through wear and tear, it is more likely to have happened later in the manuscript's history).

VII
SCRIBES

Dauvit Broun

The extant manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle is witness to a considerable variety of contributions by scores of different scribes. Most were engaged in writing the text of the chronicle itself. The activity of some, however, was extremely limited: an occasional correction or additional word, mark for emphasis, instruction, or 'sign-post rubric' (typically a couple of words in the margin drawing attention to a particular element in the text). The range and extent of these minimal contributions means that it would be impractical to attempt to identify, within a single numerical series, each and every scribe whose pen ever touched the manuscript. On the other hand, it is obviously desirable to draw attention to those who played a distinct part in the production of the chronicle's text, as well as any others whose contributions were of sufficient scope to represent a noticeable palaeographical sample. Within this general remit some consistent and transparent criteria are needed in order to determine which scribes should be given the identity of a number.

Should only those scribes be included who have contributed a minimum number of words? This simple solution would not be as helpful as it seems. It would still require a judgement to be made about whether a tiny sample was the work of a scribe who produced sufficient text elsewhere (and should therefore be included), or was the only contribution of a scribe (who would therefore be excluded). One way or another, the sample would need to be discussed. A more feasible approach is needed which is founded on criteria that embrace the variety and complexity of what is visible in the manuscript. This can be achieved in a transparent way on the basis of the different contexts in which scribal activity has occurred, taking three headings as a general guide: (i) production of the main text; (ii) significant interpolations to the text of the chronicle or to the manuscript; and (iii) incidental or minimal additions.

I: Production of the main text

(a) Writing the main text into the manuscript (i.e., Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, the original annalistic chronicle of 1173×4 and subsequent continuations).
(b) Collaborative correction of the work of one of the scribes engaged in writing the main text. If a scribe was engaged in producing a large amount of text it was not uncommon for a corrector to work with him.
(c) A 'grey area' between producing the main text and making interpolations is the rare case of individual records of events which have been inserted into

blank spaces in the manuscript without regard for their chronological position. (An example is the annal for 1275, containing only a notice of the abbot of Newbattle's death, which has been inserted in a gap in Faustina B. IX fo.60v between the annals for 1261 and 1262.) These are not intended as additions to existing text. Their character as dated notices of events means that they are probably best regarded as disjointed islands of 'main text'.

II: Significant interpolations to the text of the chronicle or to the manuscript

(a) Records of events which have been inserted into existing annals. These are significant not because they are necessarily very long (some are, in fact, very brief), but because they are conceived as contributions to the text of the chronicle itself. They range from the extension of a sentence (e.g., adding the succession to an abbacy onto a notice of an abbot's death) to the addition of a more complex unit of text.
(b) Addition of a folio already containing one (or more) pieces of text. This is not an addition to existing text in the direct sense of (a). It can, nonetheless, readily be recognised as a significant addition to the manuscript, and to the chronicle as a whole.
(c) Addition of compendia of information or other material from the chronicle itself.

III: Incidental or minimal additions to the manuscript

(a) Addition of notes or statements, including extra historical information and comments on the state of the text or the manuscript. Although a few are meant to supplement the main text, they cannot be read as part of it.
(b) Sign-post rubrics in the margin drawing attention to a piece of information in the text.[1] Most belong to a series (e.g., noting each instance of a pope's death). Others refer to a specific event. The most varied are those of John Leland in Faustina B. IX, noting mainly places, events and individuals.
(c) Addition to a sentence. Examples include *ex Agar* (Julius B. XIII fo.10r); *gens* (Faustina B. IX fo.29v); *apud Lond'* (Faustina B. IX fo.33r); and *apud Wedale* and *in ecclesia de Glasgu* by the same scribe (Faustina B. IX fo.42v).
(d) Various signs and instructions, such as the large text-division signs on Faustina B. IX in the outer margins of fos 8v and 9r, drawing attention to the annals for 959, 963, 964, 969 and 973; the instructions to a copyist (usually *scribatur* in the margin);[2] and underlinings to indicate words or letters in the text that should be corrected.
(e) Random words or doodles, evidently pen-trials. These can be invocations (*amen*, Julius B. XIII fo.29r, outer margin, and similarly on fo.21r; *pater*, Faustina B. IX fo.5v, lower margin); cryptic words (Faustina B. IX fo.34r, outer margin); or numbers (Faustina B. IX fo.59r, lower margin). The most extravagant appears upside-down in the outer margin of Julius B. XIII fo.36r.

1 Or particular words in the text, as in *multi pauci* in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.6r.

2 Noted in Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, xxiii. The most obvious explanation is that the chronicle was copied when this portion of the manuscript was borrowed by the abbot of Dundrennan, probably *ca* 1290 (certainly some time after Easter 1286).

The policy adopted here is to number all scribes engaged in the activities listed under headings *I* and *II*, and to endeavour, as far as possible, to place them in chronological order.[3] Any other activity which can be attributed to these scribes will also be noted. Attention will also be drawn to palaeographical features that may be regarded as significant in the history of handwriting in this period.[4] The main series of numbered scribes will not include those whose work is confined to folios which contained text before becoming part of the manuscript (as in heading *II* (b)). The main series is meant first and foremost to act as a guide to the growth of the manuscript (and thereby the Melrose Chronicle), and should not, therefore, involve scribal activity on an originally independent folio *before* that leaf became part of the chronicle (that is, under *II* (b)).[5] Scribes whose contribution is limited to pre-existing text on these folios will be assigned to a separate series prefixed with '+'. Finally, by its nature the activity noted under heading *III* (a) has the potential to include material that might represent a noticeable (albeit limited) palaeographical sample. None of the material under heading *III* (a) can claim to be adding to the text of the chronicle itself, of course, so the scribes involved in such notes and statements will be assigned to a separate series prefixed by 'N'. As for what remains, numbers will not be assigned to scribes whose activity is confined to heading *III* sections (b), (c), (d) and (e).

Having three series of numbered scribes creates its own problems. There are 52 scribes responsible for activities under headings *I* and *II* (apart from *II* (b)); 4 scribes with the prefix '+'; and 10 with the prefix 'N'. A number of scribes in the 'main series' also made contributions of the same kind as those given prefixes. An already complex situation would risk descending into confusion if the same scribe was given two (or more) identities (a potential example would be Scribe 28 = 'Scribe +5' = 'Scribe N11'). In order to avoid this, the catalogue of scribes operates according to a hierarchy, with the main series taking precedence in defining a scribe's identity, followed by the '+' series and then the 'N' series. The 'N' series, therefore, contains only scribes who do not appear in the other two series. Theoretically it would be possible

[3] A full discussion of dating is given in chapter VIII. The dates for each scribe are summarised in chapter X (4).

[4] See, for example, N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960); M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1979); Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London, 1990); Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003); Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd edn (London, 1994), at 91; Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000); Robert B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan: Secretarial Administration in a Welsh Marcher Barony, c.1150–c.1225* (Woodbridge, 2002). The standard guide to medieval Scottish handwriting is, as its title suggests, concerned only with the writing of documents: Grant G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting 1150–1650: An Introduction to the Reading of Documents*, new edn (East Linton, 1998); at 39 there is a brief reference to the Andersons' facsimile edition of the Melrose Chronicle. Simple features will not normally be noted after they become standard practice.

[5] See 139 and 171–3 (chapter VIII) for discussion of when they became part of the chronicle.

to create a different series with its own prefix for activities described under *III* (b), (c) and (d). In the case of *III* (b) and (c), however, only a minority of scribes actually engaged in each form of activity would appear in their respective series, because most examples belong to scribes who have already been given an identity in an earlier series. A point is reached lower in the hierarchy, therefore, at which a series ceases to be a viable guide to that particular category of scribal activity.

This is one reason why no separate numbering series has been created for sign-post rubrics (*III* (b)).[6] There are other reasons why such a series would be inadvisable. Although sign-post rubrics may be more prevalent throughout the manuscript than the limited activity represented by *III* (a), they are restricted generally to the repetition of a couple of words (for example, *Obiit papa* in abbreviated form adjacent to the notice in the chronicle of a pope's death),[7] and therefore typically represent a more meagre palaeographical sample. It is true, of course, that there are instances of scribes whose activity falls under headings *I* and *II* as well as *III* (a) who produced only a word or two, and there are occasional sign-post rubrics which are more than a few words long. But, as explained above, a simple tariff of words is not a viable basis for determining which scribes should be identified by number. Another reason against creating a series relating to sign-post rubrics is that the generally restricted nature of this material means that the process of distinguishing scribes is more uncertain than in the other numbered series. This problem is true, of course, for any scribe in each of the numbered series whose sample is meagre, but at least the type of activity represented by these series is such that, in most cases, the distinction between different scribes can be attempted with confidence (and areas of doubt can be articulated in the discussion). The mere fact of providing a series of scribes engaged only in sign-post rubrics could too easily be read as having much the same validity as the other series. Finally, the Andersons in their facsimile edition provided a full discussion and analysis of sign-post rubrics (see especially lxxv–lxxvii), so that, given the problems of trying to create a series of scribes, little would be gained from repeating the exercise. The Andersons did not, of course, include Julius B. XIII. Nearly all scribal activity in Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 is accounted for, however, by the scribes identified either in the main series or the series prefixed with 'N'. The exceptions are a couple of marginalia by John Leland,[8] *ex Agar* added as a correction to the text on fo.10r[9] and pen-trials on the outer margins of fos 21r, 29r and 36r.

[6] An analysis of sign-post rubric scribes (a more uncertain prospect than for scribal activity higher up the hierarchy, as explained below) would suggest that only a small minority were the work of scribes who contributed nothing else: it is possible, if not probable, that most of the medieval examples can be attributed to Scribe 28. Moreover, nearly all the early modern examples are clearly the work of John Leland, a fact that is discussed elsewhere in this volume (see 177–9, chapter IX).

[7] There are occasional 'one-off' rubrics which are more substantial than most additional notes and comments.

[8] See 178 (chapter IX).

[9] The addition of *ex Agar* to the brief notice of Abraham's sons supplies the name of

The Andersons' synopsis of hands

The Andersons provided a detailed analysis of hands in their facsimile edition of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 (xxvi–lxxiv).[10] Their classification ran from A to Z; most of these sections also had numbered subdivisions (E1, E2, E3 etc.). Their categorisation of one or more hands under a single letter was determined chiefly by the general appearance of the script: hands C1–C4, for example, are similar in style and are from the same period, while there is only one B because the hand is quite distinct. Other considerations were occasionally applied. The only connection between the markedly different hands D1 and D2, for example, is that these were on fo.14 before it was inserted into the chronicle.

The Andersons experienced some difficulty in their treatment of additional entries to the main text. Some were assigned in their synopsis of hands to a letter (e.g., E, Q), or to a subdivision (e.g., I2, K3). Others, however, were classified among the seventeen handwriting 'styles' identified by the Andersons in what they referred to as 'additions associated with rubrics'. These 'styles' were designated by a lower-case letter in a series running from 'a' to 'q' (lxxv). Some represent fresh entries to the text; others are bare notes or very brief comments. What they apparently had in common, as far as the Andersons were concerned, is that they were deemed to be too fragmentary and scattered to permit classification with any certainty as hands. There are also some additional entries which failed to register even in this tentative scheme of 'styles'. They were duly noted, along with every other alteration to the text, in the Andersons' comprehensive account of additions to each of the sections designated by a capital letter in their synopsis of hands. We can only guess that these additional entries were left unclassified both because they were regarded as unique, and because they cannot be treated as 'additions associated with rubrics'. A particularly significant hand overlooked by the Andersons is Scribe 14, one of the three that can be identified in Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX.

Ishmael's mother, Hagar; the text continues by identifying Isaac as son of Abraham *ex Iescha*. Another addition, *xiiii°* to the annal-number AD 48 on fo.42r, is perhaps attributable to Scribe 14.

10 It is formally correct to refer to the synopsis as by the Andersons (Alan Orr and his wife Marjorie Ogilvie), although (as indicated in the preface to their edition) A. O. Anderson and W. Croft Dickinson worked together on it (and the index). The Andersons' papers show that their collaboration was detailed and extensive, but that, in the end, Croft Dickinson seems to have had doubts about the viability of the synopsis, and had his name removed from that part of the work. Anderson wrote to Croft Dickinson on 22 November 1933: 'I do not see how we can put the introduction over my name. You have done a lot towards it; and you have made it possible…'. Croft Dickinson replied on 25 November that he would leave his name off the title-page altogether but for the need for financial support for publication, claiming that he did not have the necessary background in text criticism or palaeographical training. The collaboration was first mooted in 1927, and probably began in earnest when Anderson stayed with Croft Dickinson for a fortnight in April 1929 (A. O. Anderson to J. Robb, secretary of the Carnegie Trust, 3 July 1927 and 1 October 1929).

Another difficulty with the Andersons' analysis is that they were studiously agnostic about the relationship of hands to scribes.[11] Occasionally a firm opinion was expressed by them (e.g., that K1 and K2 were 'certainly written by the same hand': lii), but more commonly they couched their comments as probabilities and possibilities. A degree of doubt is, of course, inescapable where conclusions are based on interpretation. Nevertheless, there is scope for clarification. An important preliminary is to distinguish clearly between 'hand' and 'scribe', reserving 'hand' for what is visible on the page.[12] Recognising that samples of text look different is not the same as identifying scribes. It is not unknown for the same scribe to produce different 'hands', i.e. blocks of writing which are different in appearance. The identification of hand(s) with scribe(s) is a separate process which depends on establishing a profile of specific features which are unlikely to be replicated consistently by another scribe.

As a result of the Andersons' approach to hands and scribes, it is not immediately obvious to a reader whether the subdivisions of a letter are deemed to represent different scribes, or different stints by the same scribe. For instance, the Andersons regarded it as likely that all four divisions of E were probably by the same scribe; they viewed C1, C2 and C3, however, as by different scribes (although C4 was taken by them to be probably by the same scribe as C2). This, and their ambiguity about what is meant by 'hand', can be exacerbated by the Andersons' attempts on occasion to identify divisions according to barely perceptible shifts in style. Minor fluctuations in register are not uncommon, which makes it almost impossible to maintain a consistent analysis along these lines without descending into fruitless fragmentation. The difficulties the Andersons had in steering a course through these choppy waters is particularly apparent in the handling of their section G (xlvi–xlvii). They identified ten divisions (noting that 'probably G7–G9, and not impossibly G1–G9, were written by one man'); even so they were unsure about whether each constituted a 'hand'. For G7, for example, they commented that 'this division may have been written by one hand, but its two parts are not quite identical in style', observing 'a perceptible change

11 This contrasts with A. O. Anderson's willingness at an earlier stage to conjecture that Prior Hugh (afterwards abbot of Deer, 1234–5) was the scribe responsible for the annals for 1223–33, Prior Michael (afterwards abbot of Glenluce 1236–43) the scribe responsible for the first page of the annal for 1234, and Prior Richard (afterwards abbot of Dundrennan from 1239) the scribe responsible for the annals for 1234–9. See *ES*, ii. 491 n.2, 534 n.4. This is presumably what the Andersons alluded to when they observed, in their discussion in the facsimile edition of the chronicle's authorship (xvii), that 'in several instances, a member of the Melrose community left Melrose about the same time when a section of the chronicle ceased to be written'; instead of discussing this further, however, they wisely insisted that 'no safe inferences can be drawn'. There seems here to be a confusion between the 'author' (or should we say, 'the process of composition') and the scribe who copied material into the chronicle.

12 See Malcolm Parkes' very useful distinction between 'script' as the ideal writing in a scribe's imagination, and 'hand' as the actual product of the scribe's pen: Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xxvi. Note also Geoffrey Barrow's comments in the introduction to his analysis of the scribes of William I's charters surviving as single sheets: *RRS*, ii. 85.

of style' which, they surmised, could have been (among other possibilities) caused by the disuse of a maul-stick or by a change of desk. Other subdivisions of G received less comment; for some no explanation was offered at all. In the case of G3, for instance, we are simply told: 'The style fluctuates. The first two lines are more formal; in the last two lines the writing approaches the style of G4' (xlvi). It is tempting to see in such a comment a realisation that the type of minute stylistic analysis they were attempting was unsustainable.[13]

If there are any reservations about the Andersons' approach to their task, it is only to highlight the difficulty of what they sought to achieve. The fundamental importance of their work can readily be recognised: without it this edition would have been much more arduous in its making. A different goal is attempted here: to identify scribes rather than hands. This is not intended to supersede the Andersons' synopsis, but rather to complement it. The analysis of scribes is made much easier to discuss because, thanks to the Andersons, there is a way of referring to changes in handwriting. This is especially important where there is tension between the Andersons' approach and that adopted in this edition, making it easier thereby to lay bare the difficult and contentious decisions in the identification of hands with scribes. In this chapter and the next, any page-numbers in brackets, without further explanation, are references to the Andersons' facsimile edition. (Note that the Andersons referred to the manuscript according to an older ink foliation that is one less than the current pencil foliation.)

Concordance of scribes with hands in the Andersons' synopsis

Before embarking on the identification of scribes and how they relate to the Andersons' hands it will be useful, for ease of reference, to provide a list of scribes along with the corresponding divisions in the Andersons' analysis. A

[13] Anderson was 'very uneasy' about section G (A. O. Anderson to W. Croft Dickinson, 11 April 1933), a feeling shared by Dickinson: '… the more I look at these G hands the more they worry me. We must take the plunge some way, and if necessary indicate our difficulties of separation.' (Croft Dickinson to Anderson, 19 April 1933). On 7 December 1933 Anderson wrote with compelling candour to Croft Dickinson : 'I have not found a single form that is distinctive of any one part… If I had sufficient courage, I would divide G into three, or into two, or leave it undivided'. Both Anderson and Dickinson realised that an attempt to break some sections into hands (in the same manner as section G) was unworkable. For example, Anderson commented that 'C fluctuates greatly … But I cannot group together any of these divergences: they are inextricably mixed up' (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 6 May 1933). Dickinson agreed: 'C is a terrible mess — it seems to change from one hand to another, and back again, very frequently'; and asked: 'Are two hands (or two pens?) inextricably mixed up in C?' (Croft Dickinson to Anderson, 21 May 1933). In the case of sections X and Y, however, Anderson sought to explain 'some patchiness in the hands' in the *Opusculum* by proposing that one scribe would help another by writing 'with the same pen and ink' the occasional word that his companion could not read (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 23 May 1933). Anderson had earlier rejected 'most emphatically' Dickinson's suggestion that Y and X1 were the same (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 23 April 1933), although he talked elsewhere about how X and Y were difficult to distinguish (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 14 May 1933). He later suggested that 'if possible, Y should be undivided' (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 27 November 1933). In the synopsis he decided in the end on a threefold division.

few features of this concordance need to be explained. Scribes whose work was not assigned to a hand by the Andersons are designated by an asterisk in the second column (remembering, of course, that Julius B. XIII was not included in the Andersons' synopsis). Those scribes whose work includes what the Andersons called 'rubric additions' are given the lower case letter ('a', 'b', etc.) used by the Andersons in their classification of 'styles' associated with rubrics (xlii–xliii).[14] Finally, it will be recalled that a separate series designated with a cross in front of each number (e.g., +3) denotes scribes whose work is found only on inserted folios (Faustina B. IX fos 14, 38 and 54). (No scribes with the prefix 'N' are given in the concordance because none were classified in the Andersons' synopsis.)

Scribes	*Hands according to the Andersons' synopsis*	*Contribution to the text (in Faustina B. IX if not specified)*
1	*	Julius B. XIII main text
2	*	Julius B. XIII, corrector of Scribe 1
3	C1	main text in both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX
4	*	Julius B. XIII, corrector of Scribe 3
5	A	main text, additions and corrections in Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX
6	B	main text in Faustina B. IX
7	C3	corrector of Scribe 3 in Faustina B. IX
8	C2	additions and corrections in Faustina B. IX
9	C4	briefly in main text in Faustina B. IX
10	*	additions in Julius B. XIII
11	*	addition in Faustina B. IX
12	*	addition in Faustina B. IX
13	F	main text in Faustina B. IX
14	*	additions, note and corrections in Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX
15	G1–G10	main text (this and the rest all in Faustina B. IX)
16	H	main text
17	I1	main text
18	L	main text
19	K1–K3, K5	chiefly main text
20	I2	addition
21	*	year numbers
22	M	main text
23	N	main text

[14] Only those 'styles' are included that relate to material which was intended to be read as part of the text of the chronicle. (This is in accordance with the principles of the edition explained above, 38 and n.38, chapter III.)

24	O1–O3	main text and additions
25	P	main text
26	K4	addition and main text
27	Q	main text and additions
28	E1–E4, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, p	additions
29	o, q	additions
30	R1–R3, S1–S3	main text
31	T1–T3	main text
32	V1, V2	main text
33	*	addition
34	*	addition
35	*	addition
36	*	main text
37	W	listing
38	*	addition
39	*	addition
40	*	addition
41	*	addition
42	*	addition
43	*	addition
44	*	?copy of annal
45	X1–X5, Y1–Y3, Z3, Z4	main text
46	Z1	main text
47	Z2	main text
48	*	corrector of Scribes 45 and 46
49	*	addition
50	*	addition
51	*	listing
52	*	addition
+1	D1	text on inserted fo.14
+2	D2	text on inserted fo.14
+3	J	text on inserted fo.38
+4	U1, U2	text on inserted fo.54

Terms of reference

The analysis of scribes and their work in this volume is separated into two parts which each have a different emphasis: one (this chapter) focuses mainly on the particular, the other (in sections four and five in chapter X) on matters of general interest. The only exception is the account of decoration at the end of this chapter: this is included here rather than in chapter X because it provides important information for the identification of strata in chapter VIII, and because it serves to complement the analysis of decoration which forms an integral part of the discussion of the original codex of 1173×4 in chapter V.

The chief concern in the current chapter is to assign text to scribes. The discussion of each scribe is therefore largely taken up with the identification of features that might be regarded as distinctive to an individual, as well as giving attention to particular aspects of his writing which could be regarded as innovative or conservative. The profile of each scribe also includes some comment on register and script-type, topics which are revisited more systematically in chapter X (section 4) with reference to specific categories. The main difference in the treatment of these aspects in this chapter and chapter X is that, in chapter X, the analysis is designed to allow for ready comparison with scripts in manuscripts across Latin Christendom, and is necessarily technical and restricted, whereas in this chapter, a slightly simpler and more flexible frame of reference is adopted which is more responsive to the needs of discussing script in a single manuscript in which so many scribes inhabit the same category. This division also has the advantage of making the technical classifications readily available for comparative purposes without the need to plough through each scribe's profile, while at the same time allowing the discussion of each scribe to be couched in a way that is a little less dependent on technical terms and more accessible to the non-specialist. Chapter X (section 4) also includes a summary list of scribes in which each is dated according to the dating of each stratum in chapter VIII, and (in section 5) a discussion of palaeographical developments which draws together the information on innovations noted in each scribe's individual profile.

Before embarking on the main series of scribes it will be useful to provide a brief sketch of the range of handwriting in this period according to the general terms and criteria that will be deployed in this chapter.[15] Two considerations will be foremost. The first is register. At one end of the spectrum is 'highly formal' writing (which is very carefully written and impressive in appearance); at the other end is 'informal' or 'current' writing (where letters are formed less deliberately, usually because they have been written faster). Strictly speaking register is not the same as performance: 'register' refers to the level which the scribe intended to achieve, whereas comments about 'performance' involve making an assessment about the quality of work. The second criterion is the species of writing. It will be easier to begin an account of this in the early and mid-thirteenth century, when two general types of script can be distinguished: the standard 'gothic',[16] which was developed as a script for books, and 'semi-cursive' or 'cursive',[17] which was typically deployed in documents. Gothic is compressed and angular; cursive is characterised by loops, tails and other decorative features which in some

15 This can also serve as general background for the more technical discussion in chapter X (section 2).

16 I use 'gothic' here as a non-specialist term for what specialists call *textura* or *textualis*.

17 Note that the term 'cursive' is often used to include what is described here as 'current'. The distinction between 'current' and 'cursive' is explained and illustrated in Teresa Webber, 'The scribes and handwriting of the original charters', in A. T. Thacker (ed.), *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: a Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough* (Chester, 1991), 137–51, at 148–51. See also Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 123–4.

cases evolved into distinctive letter-forms and abbreviation marks. If we take the two criteria discussed so far, an item may conceivably be described, for example, as a 'formal cursive', and another item as an 'informal gothic'. Gothic and cursive did not, however, emerge as distinguishable scripts until the end of the twelfth century. Their roots both lie in the minuscule which was used and adapted in both books and documents throughout most of the twelfth century. In books there developed an increasing tendency in the twelfth century towards compression and verticality (hence 'protogothic'), which led eventually to gothic, witnessed, for example, in the 'coalescence of opposed curves' (e.g., in *de*, *do*, *po*, *bo*), often referred to as 'biting', which became increasingly common from the end of the twelfth century.[18] Cursive writing emerged out of the growing need for charters and other records to be written currently without diminishing their visual impact as formal documents (for example, by developing loops from elongated and/or forked ascenders).[19] Finally, although bookhand and document (or 'charter') hand are useful labels, the association of a script with the production of either books or documents was far from being hard and fast: in particular, protogothic bookhand was frequently used with barely any modifications in charters in the twelfth century, and from the mid-thirteenth century it was not unusual to find books written in a cursive script. It was also not uncommon for a 'bookhand' to incorporate features associated typically with the writing of documents (such as looped ascenders and elongated tails or legs).

Before turning to the scribes of the chronicle-manuscript itself, it is important to note that it is not the only source for the handwriting of the monks of Melrose. There are also more than two hundred charters surviving as contemporary single sheets which belong to the period when the Melrose Chronicle was being actively maintained. The vast majority is in the National Archives of Scotland (in Gifts and Deposits collection no.55), and these have been sampled extensively to see whether any were obviously by one of the chronicle-scribes.[20] Only one charter was in a hand readily recognised from the chronicle-manuscript, but this was Scribe +1, who never worked directly on the chronicle itself: he is the first scribe on the originally independent leaf that later came to be inserted and bound into the manuscript as Faustina B. IX fo.14. It is surely significant that this leaf is, in fact, the tail-end of a roll —

18 The quotation is from L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents*, 2nd edn (London, 1966), 55. See also Ker, *English Manuscripts*, 38–9; de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 91. For examples of biting in English manuscripts of the 1190s, see Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c.700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library*, 2 vols (London, 1979), nos 401, 521 and 620 (plates 112, 113a and 108). A fourth example from Worcester (no.519, plate 93) should be dated *saec.* xii^{ex}.

19 See, for example, Webber, 'The scribes and handwriting', 151, and plate IV (1207×17).

20 The survey concentrated on non-royal charters in this collection (and elsewhere) on the basis that these were most likely to have been written by Melrose scribes. It was only by special arrangement that the Melrose charters in GD 55 were made available in bulk over a couple of days: I am very grateful to Alan Borthwick for his kindness in making this possible.

the kind of material associated particularly with administrative records. It would be premature, however, to conclude from such a limited investigation that no chronicle-scribe wrote a charter. A proper study of the scribes of Melrose's rich collection of extant original charters would need to be undertaken — a major project in its own right.[21]

Main series of scribes

Scribe 1

Main text Julius B. XIII fos 2r–3v (prologue of Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle*).*

An upright regularly executed protogothic hand. Particularly striking features are that some *m*, *n*, and *i* lack feet, and the body of the headed *a* (*ą*) is squarish; *e* is also rather angular. There is no *e-caudata*, 'tailed *e*' (*ę*). The tironian *et* (which looks like a 7) has a prominent crest on the horizontal stroke, and a flick at the bottom; the ampersand (*&*) is used occasionally. Round *s* is frequent in final position; the shaft of *t* does not protrude above the horizontal stroke; round *r* (looking like '2') is found after *o*; *g* has an open tail which is normally balanced under the body of the letter; capitals are unadorned.

Scribe 2

Corrects text of Scribe 1.

A small neat hand. Minims have pronounced feet; *e* has a protruding tongue. The tironian *et* is a simple '7' finished with a very slight tick.

Scribe 3

Main text Julius B. XIII fos 4r–39v (Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle*), and chronological frame on fo.40r; main text Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v and 15r–21r line 22 (hand C1 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

Compact formal protogothic hand. There are no examples of tailed *e*, although occasionally *æ* appears as the first letter in proper nouns. Distinctive features are the large four-stroke *w* extending below the ruled line; the slightly tilted stretched '3' (for *–us* in *–ibus*) hard against *b*; *g* with an open tail slightly squat and imbalanced towards the left; the upward curve at the end of the stroke through *O* (for *obiit*); the use of two ogee lines as a text-division sign (with the left line sometimes thicker than the right line); and the execution of the tironian *et* and merged *de*. Other features in frequent use include: *e* with projecting tongue, round *r* following *o*, shaft of *t* that very occasionally breaks the horizontal stroke (only slightly), clubbing on tops of minims and serifs on ascenders, and a flat general suspension-stroke (including for *m*). Very occasional features include: round *s* in final position, half-round superscript *s* and an elaborate elongated descender stretching into the lower margin. Items at 1098, 1132, 1136 and 1150 are written in red ink (recording the foundations of Cîteaux, Rievaulx, Melrose, Kinloss and Holm Cultram, and

[21] Apart from NAS GD 55 there are other Melrose charters which survive as single sheets: NAS RH 6/1A, BL Cotton Charters XVIII. 1–11, 13–18, BL Additional Charter 76747, BL Lord Frederick Campbell Charters XXX. 7-8, and Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MS. Grantley B20.

also the capture of Antioch); there is also an enlarged red initial *A* of *Anno* introducing the annal for 1066 (Faustina B. IX fo.16r).[22]

Scribe 4

Corrects Scribe 3's work in Julius B. XIII fos 6r, 7r, 8r, 14v, 15r–18r, probably 26r, 28r, 29v, 37v; gives instructions for addition of material on fo.17r; and on fo.36v (lower margin) comments on a deficiency in the text as copied by Scribe 3 (before this was corrected by Scribe 10).

Distinctive features of this scribe's work are the execution of tironian *et* and merged *de*, and also the tail of *g*. A kind of 'gallows' text-division sign is used (also to indicate where a word is to be inserted from the margin): this is found, in green ink, on fo.17r–v. Note also the use of long *r*, *d* with an angled back, and a tall-headed *a* in final position (fo.26r): all these features recall the style of writing adopted in charters. Presumably he worked with Scribe 3; he was certainly active before the lacuna on fo.36v was made good by Scribe 10 (on fo.37r).

Scribe 5

Main text Julius B. XIII fos 41r–47v, and Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r (hand A in the Andersons' synopsis).

Small compact formal protogothic hand writing slightly higher than the ruled line. Almost certainly performed his stints at the same time as Scribe 3, each working in parallel on separate gatherings. Distinctive features are the text-division sign, and the large *w* (of interlocking 'vv' type) extending below the ruled line (regardless of its place in the word). Other features include: *ð*, tailed *e*, straight *s* in final position, regular use of the ampersand, serifs on top of ascenders (*b*, *h* and *l*), heavy triangular tops on minims, flat general suspension-stroke (including for *m*) and double cross-bar in *N*. The tail of *g* is often closed by an upward flick, and the shaft of *t* does not rise above the horizontal stroke. Occasional features include: *Æ* or *æ* in first letter of names, *e* with projecting 'tongue', half-round superscript *s*, round *r* following *o*.

Scribe 6

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 8v–11v (hand B in the Andersons' synopsis).

Continues from where Scribe 5 ceases in mid-sentence at the foot of a page. A fairly poor protogothic hand: small, rather squat, and with little angularity. Distinctive features are the cramped tail of the *g* which generally sits on the ruled line, and the compact *w*; also the occasional squarish body of a headed *a*. Specific features in frequent use include: straight *s* in final position, shaft of *t* that does not rise above horizontal stroke, *e* with projecting 'tongue', round *r* following *o*, ampersand, slight tick to left at top of ascenders and minims, flat general suspension-stroke (but curved for *m*). Occasional features include: half-round superscript *s* and a flat stroke across the top of ascenders (especially on fo.8v). There are no examples of tailed *e*.

[22] See 63 (chapter V).

Scribe 7

Replaces brief sections of main text, Faustina B. IX fos 18v, 19r and 20r–v (hand C3 in the Andersons' synopsis).

A formal protogothic hand distinguished chiefly by execution of tironian *et* and merged *de*, and by a slight backward slant. It may be inferred from the nature of this scribe's activity that he was associated with the end of Scribe 3's work in Faustina B. IX.

Scribe 8

Additions and corrections throughout Faustina B. IX fos 16v–20v (hand C2 in the Andersons' synopsis). Also includes an item on fo.21r assigned by the Andersons to C4 (see Scribe 9 for discussion).

Compact protogothic hand, similar to that of Scribe 3, varying in register from formal to fair. He may have started as a corrector of Scribe 3's stint in Faustina B. IX and then remained in charge of the chronicle for a while, adding material to the last 75 years of its coverage on more than one occasion. The identity of this varied activity with one scribe is suggested particularly by the execution of three elements: the tironian *et*, the abbreviation for *obiit* and merged *de*.

Scribe 9

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.21r lines 22–23 (hand C4 in the Andersons' synopsis).

A protogothic bookhand akin to Scribe 8. This similarity, and the brevity of this scribe's contribution, has created doubts about his identity. The Andersons commented that the scribe of C4 'was probably the same as C2' [i.e., Scribe 8] (xxxiii). Professor Duncan has taken this further and referred to C4's items (and items which follow) as the work of C2.[23] The view taken here is that the first of the three obits assigned by the Andersons to C4 was probably written on a separate occasion from the others, and that only the first obit has a clear link with Scribe 8 (in the execution of the abbreviation of *obiit*).[24] The other two obits betray differences with Scribe 8, both in the horizontal stroke in the abbreviation of *obiit* (which, unlike Scribe 8's, is balanced on each side of the *O*), and in the merged *de* (which looks like an '8', again unlike Scribe 8's practice).[25] The tironian *et* is also different, but it would be unwise to read too much into this because it is written over an erasure, and may not be typical. According to this scenario Scribe 9 is later than Scribe 8; he may, however, have made his brief contribution between stages in Scribe 8's additions.

23 Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 157.

24 Anderson originally saw a division of hands here, too, although he regarded *Obiit Conanus* as the beginning of his hand F (Scribe 13): A. O. Anderson to W. Croft Dickinson, 11 April 1933. For the eventual limits of C4 adopted in the facsimile edition see Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 6 May 1933.

25 Only once does Scribe 8 come near to this, in *Baldewino* in 1100.9, but there is still a gap between the two parts of the combined form.

Scribe 10

Alters and adds to list of popes in the final section of Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle *in Julius B. XIII: fills lacuna in text (fo.37r); adds and corrects list of popes (fos 37r, 38r); and continues the sequence of popes up to Clement III (fo.40r): all in outer margin.*

Neat hand in black ink. There is very simple infilling of capitals; tail of *g* is very open; round *s* leans slightly backwards. His contribution can be dated to no earlier than the pontificate of Clement III (1187–91) (and putatively during Clement's reign, although he was evidently copying from a list of popes).

Scribes 11 and 12

Additions on Faustina B. IX fo.18v on births of Mael Coluim IV and William I.

Both have angular features, Scribe 12 (William's birth) more so than Scribe 11 (Mael Coluim IV's). These scribes are very difficult to place in a relative chronology. They belong more to the era of Scribes 13 and 14 than earlier; but they could be later still (note the 'doorway' shape of Scribe 12's *N*).

Scribe 13

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.21r line 23 to fo.26r (hand F in the Andersons' synopsis).[26]

A formal gothic hand with angular characteristics and some minor variation in register and in letter-forms (e.g., between compact *w* and interlocking 'vv' type). The Andersons commented that 'the changes are gradual, and characteristic features persist throughout' (xliii). They concluded that 'it is probable that the end of section F was written by the man who wrote the beginning', although he did not work continuously on the chronicle. There are notable serifs and, in more formal work, clubbed tops on minims. There are instances of 'biting'[27] in the letter-combinations *de* and *do* (although this is not pervasive). Some striking features are found only rarely, such as the shaft or hair-line added above the horizontal stroke of *t*, and capitals are elaborated with an extra stroke (e.g., *O*, *P*, *T*). In proper nouns *Æ*, *æ*, *ð* and wyn (for *wh*) are found, as well as yogh (*ȝ*) and thorn (*þ*). Note also tironian *et* (along with occasional ampersand); straight *s* in final position and some examples of final round *s*; round *r* following *o*; and internal use of majuscule *R*.[28]

[26] There is some dispute about exactly where this scribe's stint begins. It has been proposed (Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 157) that it starts with the account of the opening of Waltheof's tomb (beginning at fo.21r line 24); the Andersons (xliii) attributed the previous two items to it (a report of fire on the sea, and a record of a Melrose monk's election and consecration as abbot of Coupar Angus: fo.21r lines 24–26). There is, indeed, a marked change in the aspect of the script where the Andersons propose F (Scribe 13) begins; for example, in the material Professor Duncan would attribute instead to C2 (Scribe 8), there is biting between *d* and *e* and *d* and *o*, a tironian *et* different from any in the Andersons' C category of hands (Scribes 3, 7, 8 and 9) and pronounced angular letter-forms.

[27] See above, 97.

[28] There are instances (fos 21v, 22r, 22v) where this scribe writes the first line of a page below rather than above the first ruled line, a feature which has been dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century: see N. R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a change in scribal practice', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13–16, republished in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London, 1985), 70–4. In each case the new page coincides with a new annal. When an annal spreads from one page to the next

Scribe 14

Marginal note on lacuna in text, Julius B. XIII fo.30v; corrects and adds popes (fo.35r); notes St Guthlac's death at AD 715 (fo.35v); adds dies *(fo.37v) and Victor III (fo.39v); continues list of popes and emperors, taking emperors as far as Frederick Barbarossa (finishing in this column with antipopes appointed by Frederick, listed under 1159), and gives popes up to Innocent III, noting pontifical years as far as 1208 (fo.40r–v); and continues Scribe 3's chronological frame to 1220 (fo.40v). In Faustina B. IX, makes corrections on fos 10v and 11r; adds a papal succession (fo.12r), adds a note on Scone's foundation under 1115 (fo.17r), adds St Guthlac's translation under 1136 (fo.18r), and* electus est *at end of 1141 (fo.18v).*[29]

A striking thin upright hand, slightly elongated and spiky in appearance, with a tendency to lean backwards. Note also the vigorous angled thin down-strokes below the line of writing (e.g., the left leg of *x* and in the contraction for *–um* in *–orum*; note also the finishing down-stroke in the tail of *g*). Other significant features are the curved ascender of *d* which occasionally almost creates a loop; tironian *et* with a flat top and a pronounced tick at the bottom; and the frequent use of a tall-headed *a* (and occasional simple *a*, e.g., fo.17r). This scribe's contribution on Julius B. XIII fo.40r–v can be dated to 1208, which putatively also serves as the date of the rest of his activity.

Scribe 15

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 26v to 31r line 17, fos 31r line 34 to 31v line 30 (hands G1–G10 in the Andersons' synopsis).

A gothic hand varying in register and size. There is biting in the combinations *de* and *do*, extension of ascenders into the upper margin and descenders into the lower margin, some notable serifs on ascenders, round *r* following *o*, tironian *et* (along with occasional use of the ampersand), straight *s* in final position, *t* with hair-lines above the horizontal stroke, and some elaborated capitals derived from the (semi-)cursive script of documents (e.g., *H*, *N*, *Q*, *R*, *S*, *T*). *R* is restricted to initial position. The *w* is usually neither entirely compact nor simply of 'vv' type, but somewhere between the two.

This scribe's work lacks consistency. In their summary of each division of their G section (identified here as all the work of this scribe) the Andersons noted changes in style within them all, except one (G10). They observed that 'the manuscript demonstrates the great variety that was possible about this time in the writing of one hand' (xlvi), and concluded that each G-type hand did not necessarily write its stint all at one time. The Andersons anticipated the possibility that most, if not all, their G-type belonged to a single scribe, commenting that 'probably G7–G9, and not impossibly G1–G9, were

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(fos 24v, 25v), the scribe writes 'above the top line'. The examples of 'below the top line' usage appear therefore to have more to do with this scribe's practice of maintaining clear divisions between annals (see 129–30, chapter VIII) than anything else.

29 This scribe could also be responsible for some corrections towards the end of Scribe 3's stint: the superscript addition of *an* in *Alex\an/drum* (fo.19v, under 1162); the superscript addition of *i* in *Gal\i/is* (fo.20r, under 1165); the addition of *s* in *fal\s/i* (fo.20v, under 1167), and possibly the correction of *quosdam* to *quasdam* (fo.20v, under 1170); and perhaps also the *uiiio* added to the number AD 48 in Julius B. XIII fo.42r.

written by one man' (xlvii). In their analysis, each G-type hand, except for G6 and G7, is divided from the next by the beginning of a new annal or a new page. In the case of G6 and G7, the former begins the annal for 1210, which is continued after the end of a sentence by G7 (Faustina B. IX fos 28v–29r). G6 then takes over again to begin the annal for 1211, finishing at the bottom of the page (fo.29r). The annal is then continued on the next page, in mid-sentence, by G7 (fo.29v). The Andersons observed that this interplay between G6 and G7 'suggest that these divisions might have been written by different men; but that is not confirmed by other evidence' (xlvii).

It can be argued more strongly, in fact, that G1–9, and indeed all the G-type divisions, are likely to be the work of a single scribe. The variations which constitute the Andersons' divisions are (with the exception of G10) of limited significance. The variations within each division, moreover, confirm the strong impression that this is a scribe who was uncertain (or at least inconsistent) about the precise register to use, creating stylistic fluctuation. The to-ing and fro-ing between G6 and G7 can readily be interpreted in this light. If portions of G in the same register are compared there is little or nothing which would suggest that they were not written by the same scribe. For example, the most formal register used by the scribe appears in the first one-and-half lines of G1 and first seventeen lines of G9. There is no character or contraction in this portion of G1 which is not reproduced almost exactly in G9 (except that there is no instance of tironian *con* in G9).

There are also features which can be said to be characteristic of G as a whole. The most obvious is the tironian *et*.[30] This is formed with a horizontal stroke which is typically at least twice as long as the angled descender which follows. The shaft is finished with a turn to the right. The horizontal stroke is usually begun with a slight upward movement. From G4 onwards this is increasingly accompanied by a thin upward flick angled at about 45° above the horizontal stroke: this feature never becomes dominant, however. The nearest equivalent to G's tironian *et* is found in the Andersons' hand J (Scribe +3); but this is untypical of Scribe +3, standing alone in ten examples of his tironian *et*.[31] Another distinctive feature of G is the design of the text-division sign (or 'paragraph sign'). This is of the type that looks like a '9' rather than a 'C' or a pair of wavy lines. Its most unusual feature is the use of dots as decoration: this is not replicated elsewhere in the chronicle.[32]

What of G10 (fo.31r lines 1–17 and fo.31r line 34 to fo.31v line 30)? The Andersons noted that 'the writing is akin to G8 and G9', although it is slightly different in aspect. They observed that it has 'some characteristic

30 Note, though, that there are no examples in G1.

31 Presumably he accidentally omitted to put a horizontal line through the shaft, as was his usual custom. As it happens there is one instance in G9 of a tironian *et* with a stroke through its shaft, but this is different from what appears in J.

32 Again, G1 is an exception: it has one example of a 'paragraph sign' which, although it is of the same type, is decorated differently. Nevertheless, the dotted design, although prevalent, is not universal throughout the rest of G. A lone variant is not enough on its own to threaten G1's identity as part of G.

forms; including a different *a* (xlvii). This different *a* can be detected in the first line of writing: the body of the headed *a* is squarish in appearance, with a straight line on top, unlike the rounded form found in all the previous divisions of G. The round-bodied variety is not abandoned completely, however. The Andersons concluded that 'probably the writer of G10 did not write more than that division of the chronicle'. It is notable, however, that G10 shares the precise forms of tironian *et* and 'paragraph sign' which are the most distinctive features of G generally. This is not all. It has already been observed that G9 on one occasion has a tironian *et* which has been elaborated by running a stroke at an angle through the shaft, and that this stroke was imbalanced, being longer on the left of the shaft than it was on the right. This is also found occasionally in G10, although the unadorned G-type tironian *et* remains more common in G10 as a whole. Perhaps a little time may have elapsed between G9 and G10 during which a tendency to add a stroke to the tironian *et* — barely visible in G9 — had become more prevalent.

Scribe 16

*Main text Faustina B. IX fo.31r line 17 (*in equm*) to line 25, fos 31v line 30 (*vi k' Octob'*) to 35v line 25 (to* coacti*), and corrects/adds to Scribe 15's work fos 29v–31v (and possibly fo.29r) (hand H in the Andersons' synopsis).*

Highly compact formal gothic bookhand, much more consistent than Scribe 15, and usually small. Biting of *de* and *do* is common. Particularly striking features are the use of round *r* following *a*, *b*, *d* and *p* as well as after *o*; the occasional beginning of the shaft of *t* slightly above the horizontal stroke; the use of elaborated capitals (*A*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *H*, *N*, *O*, *Q*, *T*); and the general deployment of a wavy horizontal stroke in the crossed tironian *et*. Straight *s* is predominant in final position, although there is also an occasional round *s* or superscript half-rounded *s*. Compact *w* is common. There is no propensity for elongating letters into the margins.

Scribe 17

*Main text Faustina B. IX fos 35v line 25 (*xiii kal.'*) to 37v, and fo.39r lines 1–10 and 16–18 (*beate Marie*) (hand I1 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

Formal gothic hand. There is frequent biting of *de*, but only occasionally of *do*. There is a marked preference for the ampersand rather than tironian *et*, and very limited use of embellished capitals. Use of round *r* is restricted to when it follows *o*, and a small superscript half-round *s* appears on a number of occasions in final position (round *s* is found only occasionally in final position). The letters *ð* and wyn (for *ch*) appear in proper nouns (the wyn is given a distinct form, like a deep *v* with a dot in its mouth, but with the left side vertical rather than angled). A sideways superscript '8' symbol (for *–ur*) is used (although the '8' is not always closed). As with Scribe 16, the shaft of *t* occasionally begins slightly above the horizontal stroke. The most 'advanced' feature is probably *w*, which can occasionally become the '113' type (e.g., fo.37r). Text-division signs of varying designs and degrees of elaboration are deployed.

Scribe 18

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.39r line 18 (from viii Idus*) to 39v line 12; also responsible on fo.39r lines 9 and 10 for* Huberto de Burc, et consilium, *and the last syllable of* magnatum *(over an erasure) (hand L in the Andersons' synopsis).*

An uneven gothic hand. The intention was evidently to achieve a large, very formal style (reflecting the grave subject-matter, which is almost entirely devoted to the killing of Bishop Adam of Caithness, formerly abbot of Melrose), but this is not maintained consistently. Biting occurs in *de* and *do*. Round *r* follows *b* and *p* as well as *o* (but unlike Scribe 16 it is not used after *a*). The shaft of *t* does not protrude above the horizontal stroke, and elaborated capitals are rare (exceptions are *N* and *P*). A crossed tironian *et* predominates. A sideways superscript '8' symbol (for *–ur*) is used on one occasion (although on three other occasions it is not 'closed'). The most striking feature is the widespread use of round *s* in final position. In general round *s* occasionally becomes a two-compartment *s* (where the top and bottom parts of the letter meet in the middle to create something akin to '8'). Note also the 'rounded' *d* in initial position, where the ascender is bent down so that it projects sideways to the left rather than upwards. There is also a tendency for *l*, and sometimes *p*, to lean backwards.

Scribe 18, as well as his stint in entering a block of text, is also responsible for additions to Scribe 17's work. This includes adding the day of death to Scribe 17's obit of Abbot Alexander of Deer (fo.39r line 18), which can be distinguished, for instance, by the character of the abbreviation used for the last syllable of *Septembris* (the same as the abbreviation regularly used for the last syllable of *–orum*). This appears here at an angle, as elsewhere in Scribe 18's work, unlike Scribe 17 (who, in any event, does not use this abbreviation apart from in *–orum* itself).

This scribe was probably also responsible for adding *N' Nouembrum sicut in primo folio uoluminis huius plenius continetur* at the end of Scribe 17's annal for 1219 (fo.37v lines 4–5); note the *l* leaning backwards, the height and droop of the straight *s*, the final round *s* and the sideways '8' symbol for *–ur*. The main contrast between the addition on fo.37v and Scribe 18's other work is that the former is less angular than the latter, which could reflect a difference in the intended register.

Scribe 19

Additions Faustina B. IX fo.39r lines 10–15 (Eodem anno...exaltari) *and lines 37–39, and main text fo.39v line 12* (Obiit dompnus Gaufridus) *to line 17, and fo.39v lines 24 to fo.40r, and (with Scribe 22) fos 40v–42v (hands K1–K3 and K5 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

Formal and less formal gothic. The Andersons divided K into five hands, and commented that 'section K may have been written by one man, the variations resulting from intervals of time' (liii). They regarded K1 and K2 as 'certainly' written by the same scribe (lii), and observed 'considerable variations in the writing' in K3 (liii). K4 and K5 represent much smaller samples. K4 is here treated as probably a separate scribe (see Scribe 26). It has to be said that the

analysis of the Andersons' K1–5 in relation to scribes has proved to be especially treacherous: what is proposed here is necessarily tentative.

The appearance of K1–K2 (fo.39r lines 10–15 and lines 37–39; fo.39v lines 12–17; and fo.39v line 24 to fo.40r line 5) is generally formal (although not overtly impressive), with a noticeable change from a thicker nib in fo.39v to a thinner nib in fo.40r. K3 is less formal (fo.40v, item for 1227; fo.41r lines 1–3, lines 6–8, line 11; fo.41v lines 1–3; fo.42r lines 1–2, lines 14–15, lines 21–22; fo.42v lines 1–9 and lines 11–14), and features a reduced incidence of biting, as well as occasional elongated letters in the first line of a page. The difference between K1–K2 and K3 can to a large extent be accounted for by a change in their environment. K3 appears as islands of text in large blank spaces, whereas K1–K2 are in blocks of text where space is used more economically, filling the gap on fo.39r (and spilling into the lower margin), although a gap has been left between two annals on fo.39v. Also, K1–K2 is cheek by jowl with the formal writing of Scribe 18, whereas K3 was produced in tandem with the less formal work of Scribe 22. K5 (fo.42r lines 24–25) is a more formal version of the larger script of K3.

The main reason for regarding K1–K3 and K5 as the work of a single scribe is the similarity in the crossed tironian *et* (with a tendency for an initial downward hook which is occasionally pronounced) and some shared letter-forms, such as a particularly small *A* (also found occasionally superscript), *G* with an extended head reaching beyond a following ascender and ending in an upward curve, and the interchangeable use of two types of *g* (one with a broader tail, the other more squat). None of these are on their own exceptionally distinctive; but in conjunction they suggest the work of a single scribe.

A notable aspect of this scribe's work (particularly in the more compressed hands K1–K2) is the widespread use of biting. This is found not only in *de* and *do*, but also *da* and *bo*. Another 'advanced' feature is the occasional joining of the top of ascenders in the combination *ll* (and less commonly *bb*); but this is confined to K1–K2, and may, again, be regarded as an aspect of the more compressed character of these hands. Round *r* is found after *d* as well as after *o*, and majuscule R is used internally. A distinction is made between *I* and *J*. Capitals with minor elaboration are used frequently, especially in K3. K3 also has three examples of *þ* (thorn). An integrated *w* is used throughout. A striking development in the final section of K2 (on fo.40r) is the use in final position of a two-compartment round *s* (where the top and bottom meet in the middle to create something akin to '8'). This is found only occasionally thereafter. It contrasts with an earlier preference for half-rounded *s* in final position (which is still deployed occasionally thereafter). Straight *s* is also found in final position. A particular feature of K3 is the rounded superscript '9' contraction for *–us*; this appears directly above the final letter with its tail tucked in.

Scribe 20

Addition Faustina B. IX fo.39v lines 17–21 (hand I2 in the Andersons' synopsis).

An ambitious gothic hand. Biting occurs frequently in *de* and *do*. The frequent (although not consistent) application of lozenges at the headline and baseline of minims marks this out from other gothic hands in the chronicle, and suggests an attempt at greater formality. The writing is otherwise similar to Scribe 17, but not identical: note, for instance, the downward stroke at the top of the diagonal ascender of *d*, and the projection of the head of *a* over the length of the body with a downward finish, in contrast to Scribe 17, where the head of *a* has a consistently stunted appearance.

Scribe 21

Year-numbers on Faustina B. IX fo.40v and fo.41r.

This scribe's output is confined to the year-numbers for 1226–8. It may seem strange that this should be distinguished from Scribe 19, given that Scribe 19 shows variation which might be deemed to encompass the contrast between this tiny sample and the material assigned by the Andersons to section K. The key difference between this and Scribe 19 is not so much the greater elaboration of the capital *A* of *Anno*. Rather, it arises from a comparison of the formality here as against Scribe 19's work in this register in the hand classified by the Andersons as K5 (on fo.42r), noticing in particular Scribe 21's more angular *c* and his finish on the left leg of *x* (compare also Scribe 19's year-numbers on fo.40r). The *x* is also consistently different to that of Scribe 22. There is also no exact parallel in Scribe 19's work to the pronounced apex of the right lobe of rounded *m*. Finally, it may be noted that the year-numbers for 1226–8 are in brown ink, in contrast to the material surrounding it, which is black (although this can only serve to confirm that they were written on a different occasion from the adjacent material).

Scribe 22

Main text (with Scribe 19) Faustina B. IX fos 41r–42v (hand M in the Andersons' synopsis).

A formal gothic which varies slightly in size. Characteristic features include a curved diagonal ascender in rounded *d*, a 'vv' type of *w* and an occasional preference for *v* rather than *u* in *cui*. A crossed 'z' type of tironian *et* is used. Biting is found in *de* and *do*. Round *r* is only found following *o*. Capitals are occasionally elaborated (e.g., *C*, *D*, *O*). Final round *s* is found as well as straight *s*. The top of the shaft of *t* does not protrude, but there is a hairline rising diagonally from the left end of the cross-stroke. There is no differentiation between *I* and *J*. On one occasion wyn (like a *p* with a slightly open top) is found, used in combination with *h* (for *ch* in *Buchan*).

Scribe 23

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.43r (hand N in the Andersons' synopsis).

An accomplished current gothic hand with advanced biting (*be*, *ba*, *bo*, *pa*, *po*, *og*, *oc*, *he*, as well as *de*, *do*) and some minor cursive features such as the occasional otiose flourish (e.g., the right leg of *m* in final position), a few instances of looped superscript contractions and the form of capital-letter *Q*.

Note also the hair-line link from the base of a descender (especially *p*) and the following letter. Another notable feature is the occasional appearance of *a* with its head drawn down to its body to create a 'two-compartment' *a*. All three forms of final *s* are found. Occasionally the shaft of *t* protrudes just above the cross-stroke. An integrated form of *w* is used, and a crossed 'z' type of tironian *et*. The only elaborated capital-letter is *H*.[33]

Scribe 24

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 43v to 45r line 8 (hands O1–O3 in the Andersons' synopsis), except insertions by Scribe 30; also additions at fo.41v lines 24–25 and fo.42r lines 2–3.[34]

A small formal gothic hand with some variation in size and register. The Andersons commented that, notwithstanding the 'slight variations in the writing of O' which led them to divide O into three, 'the whole section appears to have been written by one hand' (lv). It has biting and extensive use of round *r* (after *d*, *p* and *b* as well as *o*), and embellished capitals (*C*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *N*, *P*, *S*, *T*; notice also *H* in fos 41v and 42r). Distinctive features are the half-round *s* in initial position, the symbols for *–ibus* and *–ur*, the execution of the angled ascender of *d* and of the right leg of *m*. Notice also the frequent joining of the tops of adjacent ascenders (*bb*, *ll*). Very occasionally the head of *a* touches the body to form a two-compartment *a*. There is also a preference for half-round *s* in final position. There is no differentiation between *I* and *J*. The writing becomes more florid and assumes a slight backward slant as the stint progresses. Not only do flourishes below the line become more frequent, but the top of the angled ascender of rounded *d* acquires a pronounced hook; the tironian *et*, however, becomes simpler in the latter part of the stint, and ceases to sport a cross-stroke through its shaft. Towards the end the shaft of *t* begins to protrude above the cross-stroke. Note also the double round *s* in *ossa* in the final item. The material added in fos 41v and 42r has *t*, *d* and tironian *et* which match this scribe's practice in the later part of his main stint: perhaps they were his final contributions.

The most prominent aspect of this scribe's section of the main text is the elaborately decorated penwork initials at the beginning of each section of text. These are also found in Scribe 23's stint.[35]

33 The magnificently ornate *A* which begins each year-section is also found in Scribe 24's stint, and is probably the work of a specialist: see 123 below.

34 I am grateful to Julian Harrison for pointing out to me that these additions on fos 41v and 42r are the work of this scribe. I subsequently discovered that Croft Dickinson had suggested that these items should probably be attributed to hand O in the synopsis (W. Croft Dickinson to A. O. Anderson, 23 April 1933), and that Anderson had tentatively agreed, and had assigned them to 'O3' (Anderson to Croft Dickinson, 25 April 1933 and 12 May 1933). On 12 May, however, Anderson told Dickinson that he was 'greatly puzzled by the O-section, and do not know whether it may be passed as one hand, or whether it ought to be further sub-divided'. In the facsimile edition (at liv) these additions (fo.41v lines 24–25 and fo.42r lines 2–3) were not assigned to O (or to any other section); it was, however, pointed out that they were by the same scribe.

35 See 123, below.

Finally, the scribe's orthography calls for comment on a couple of occasions. *Gedewrȝe* (Jedburgh) on fo.45r shows ȝ for a dental fricative (where 'th' or 'd' would be more common). The most curious spelling is *Balmurinavh* (Balmerino), where final *ch* would be expected instead of *vh*. Bearing in mind Scribe 22's use of wyn combined with *h* to express *ch*, and also Scribe 17's wyn which looked like a deep *v*, the curious *vh* here might best be explained by supposing that Scribe 24's exemplar used wyn (looking like *v*), which he failed to recognise. Balmerino appears elsewhere as *Balmorinac* (twice by Scribe 19) and *Balmurinach* (Scribe 32).

Scribe 25

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 13–16 (hand P in the Andersons' synopsis).

A curious mix of gothic and cursive features. Among the latter there are looped ascenders, particularly in the first line of writing (evidently for decorative effect where there was more space). Note also the pronounced forked top of initial *a* in *abbas* in the first line, in contrast to *abbas* and *Adam* in the second line. The first line also features hair-line extensions below the line of writing in half-rounded *s*, *I* and (less remarkably) final *i*. Elsewhere the writing is more restrained, and there are examples of biting in *de*, *do* and *po*, but a tendency towards looping is not wholly repressed (e.g., in *ll* and *w*).

Scribe 26

Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 26–27; main text fo.45r lines 17–19 (hand K4 in the Andersons' synopsis).

This corresponds to the hand identified by the Andersons as K4, and occurs briefly on fos 41v and 45r. It is a small compact gothic hand which contrasts particularly with the larger writing in the spacious environment of fo.41v. It has none of the particularly distinctive features of Scribe 19 (K1–3 and K5 in the Andersons' synopsis), although the significance of this is vitiated by the limited sample. More telling are the differences between K4 and Scribe 19, notably in the execution of *w*, the dog-leg descender of *x*, the form of superscript *a* (which has a pronounced top-stroke in K4), and of the superscript symbol for *er* (which is more vertical in K4 than it ever appears with Scribe 19). Notable features of Scribe 26 are the *aR* combination, round *r* after *d*, and a pronounced *J* distinct from *I*.

Scribe 27

Correction at Faustina B. IX fo.45r line 17, main text fo.45r lines 19–27 (as far as dolentes*), rewriting and additions on fos 12v and 13v (hand Q in the Andersons' synopsis).*

An accomplished formal gothic hand found in one small section and some snippets. Its most striking features are the consistent appearance of two-compartment *a* and the regular slight protrusion of the shaft of *t* beyond the cross-stroke. These progressive elements contrast with the conservative preference for straight *s* in final position and the restriction of round *r* to follow *o*. Other notable features are the pronounced *J* (distinct from *I*), the occasional tapered extensions below the line of writing, the compressed tail of *g*, the hairline on top of straight *s* and crossed tironian *et*.

Scribe 28

Many series of additions in Faustina B. IX fos 2v–43v, two datable contributions to inserted fo.14, and filling gaps or correcting errors (fos 28r, 42r, 42v) (hands E1–4 in the Andersons' synopsis, and some hands not included in the Andersons' A–Z classification); also probably most medieval sign-post rubrics up to fo.45r.

This scribe's activity is confined chiefly to additions to what had already been written. The most significant is the piecemeal insertion of a verse king-list (the Andersons' division E4). Other additions are a brief series of marginal entries (the Andersons' division E3), and other material described by the Andersons as 'additions associated with rubrics' (see lxxiv–lxxv), including a series of entries on Tironensians (in the Andersons' 'style b'), a pair of entries on Coupar Angus (the Andersons' 'style m'), four individual entries (styles 'f', 'h', 'k' and 'n'), and some additions to existing items (styles 'a', 'c', 'd', 'e', 'f', 'g', 'i', 'p'). On the verso of inserted fo.14 there is also a series of calculations (E2) which have been updated on the same occasion as the pre-existing text on fo.14 was continued (E1). The scribe was also responsible for corrections of earlier work: the figure for Bishop Walter of Glasgow's years in office has been changed (fo.42r, annal for 1232); the omission of a year-date for 1233 has been made good (fo.42v); and a word (*duorum*) has been written over an erasure in the annal for 1208 (fo.28r). The scribe almost certainly contributed many sign-post rubrics (including those in red for abbots of Melrose and bishops of Glasgow). Of the 'styles' classified from 'a' to 'q' by the Andersons (lxxv) he can probably be identified with them all except 'o' and 'q' (for which see Scribe 29), and he was probably responsible for the first two of the three groups of rubrics distinguished by the Andersons.

It must be said that the Andersons would have regarded it as foolhardy to identify a single scribe as responsible for so many hands represented by only tiny samples: in their view, 'any attempt to classify [such hands within their A–Z framework] ... must lead to risk of serious error, and cannot give very positive results' (lxxv). The Andersons themselves, however, pointed the way towards identifying Scribe 28's work: as well as regarding E1–E4 as probably by the same person (xl), they observed that 'the writing of E may be compared with styles b, i, j, k, and especially with m and p' (xliii). They commented on some characteristic features of 'E' (xlii): the use of a three-point placing-symbol (E1 and E4); a grave accent over *i* (E4); *p*ˢ for *post* (E2 and E4); and the omission of *l* after *p* (E1, E2, E4). They observed further that 'mis-spellings are rather characteristic of the E styles; and erasure and rewriting are habitual with E4 and E1' (xlii). The main reason to regard all this material as the work of a single scribe, however, is the handwriting itself. The treatment of letters is simple, not to say crude: a striking example is the cramped extended tail of *g* and alignment of its body well above the line on which the writing notionally rests. The only occasions where letters are linked or combined (excluding standard abbreviations) are rare instances of the *aR* (or *a* followed by round *r*) combination (*Edgaro*, top of outer margin on fo.16v, and *armis* and *Carduille*, inner margin of fo.17v) and a few rare examples of biting in *de*. There are no looped ascenders or other features

associated with cursive writing. This limited performance is not due to a lack of calligraphic ambition. Infilled capitals, forked ascenders and other embellishments are common. None are executed with elegance: the serifs, in particular, are often heavy, appearing as an exaggerated wave to the left. The overall effect of awkwardness, if not clumsiness, is further exacerbated by an inability to write evenly (even when there is a ruled line to follow, as in fo.14v). There is also considerable variety in the quality of the nib and size of writing. Sometimes it is small and delicate; at other times it is large and ugly: both are visible on fo.14v (E2 and E1). It is clear that this scribe's work was conducted piecemeal over a long period of time (there is a gap of more than twenty years between the two bouts of activity visible on fo.14v).[36] This, combined with the inconsistency of the scribe's performance due to his limited skill, may explain the range of hands and 'styles' associated with rubrics classified by the Andersons.

Scribe 28 is the most pervasive contributor to the chronicle as a whole, despite the limitations of his performance as a penman and his frequent lapses in spelling. It is tempting to speculate that, if his extensive involvement with the chronicle is unlikely to have been due to his ability as a scribe, it may have been because he occupied a position which gave him some particular authority over the chronicle's development.[37]

The sign-post rubrics categorised by the Andersons as their third series (lxxvi), which are found beyond the annal for 1240 (fo.45r), are unlikely to be Scribe 28's work.[38] They have been written much more consistently and on a scale more appropriate to notes, in contrast to much of Scribe 28's contributions. Scribe 28's elaborate capital *A* is not deployed. There is also regular use of the *a*R combination.

Scribe 29

Additions on Faustina B. IX fo.42r–v and fo.43v.

This corresponds to the Andersons' rubric-styles 'o' and 'q'. His hand is more consistent than that of Scribe 28. Embellishment is used more sparingly, and the line of writing is regular. There is an occasional exaggerated serif comparable to those of Scribe 28 (although a little less awkward). The combination *a*R, or *a* followed by round *r*, is used frequently (but note that the *a*R is not identical with that found in the Andersons' third series of sign-post rubrics). Scribe 29 may also be responsible for the comment *successit Bonefacius* in the outer margin of fo.45r opposite the death of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, in the annal for 1240.

Scribe 30

Additions Faustina B. IX fo.44r lines 9–10 and fo.44v lines 18–22; main text fos 45r line 27 to 49r (hands R1–R3 and S1–S3 in the Andersons' synopsis).

36 See 172 (chapter VIII).

37 For a general discussion of who had charge of chronicles, see 19–20 (chapter II).

38 I include in this third series the addition of *Sancto Seruano de* to Scribe 28's rubric on the foundation of Culross on fo.35r. This was classified tentatively by the Andersons as in their second group of sign-post rubrics (lxxvi).

The work of this scribe poses a particular challenge of identification because it moves radically from one register to another, with corresponding changes in script. It begins as a formal gothic hand (the Andersons' R1) which then becomes less formal (R2–R3) and more current (S1) until it becomes as informal as it is feasible to be without becoming a fully-fledged cursive hand (S2–S3).[39] The Andersons were aware of the possibility that one scribe may have been responsible for all this, commenting that 'S1 differs from R3 in style, but is not quite certainly written by a different man'. They observed that 'R3 is in a transitional style, leading to the semi-cursive styles that follow' (lviii). They regarded it as 'probable that R1, R2, and R3 were written by one man' (lvii), and viewed S2 as 'perhaps by the same writer as S1' (lviii).

The fact that Scribe 30's writing changes gradually but fundamentally means that there are few consistent clear-cut features which might be regarded as diagnostic. Three distinctive elements may be observed, however, which can corroborate the proposed unity of this very varied performance as the work of one man. One is the slightly ungainly tail of *g*. Another is the rather clumsy 'vv' type *w* which is found in every section (although in R2–3 and S1 a more regular and less pronounced 'vv' type is also found). This is especially striking in the context of the hybrid style of S2 and S3. Another element found throughout is the superscript contraction for *ur*, which consistently appears as an '8' on its side. The usage of few other scribes comes close to this. A true 'closed 8' on its side is also found occasionally in the work of Scribes 17 and 18. With the exception of Scribe 30, however, it is only used consistently in the chronicle in the work of Scribe 46.[40] It is likely to be significant, therefore, that this closed sideways '8' is the only way this contraction is formed from the beginning of R1 to the end of S3 (although, in R1 and R2, it is sometimes slightly angular in appearance).

Throughout this scribe's work there is extensive use of biting (in *de*, *do*, *da*, *pa*, *ba*, *be*), regular use of crossed 'z' form of tironian *et*, and examples of *a* with an exaggerated tall head. Round *r* is only found following *o*. In the section written in a formal gothic hand there is frequent use of rounded *s* in final position; a number of instances of a two-compartment *a*; the shaft of *t* frequently appears above the horizontal stroke; and there are a few embellished capitals (*C*, *H*, *N*, *O*). Later, when the script is particularly informal, there are a number of instances of simple *a* (or *a* with barely a head) and fewer embellished capitals (there are examples of *N*, *O*, *P*).

Scribe 31

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 49v–53v (hands T1–3 in the Andersons' synopsis).

An accomplished formal cursive hand, including looped ascenders, extended tail on *g*, and vivid contrast between thick and thin lines. Notice also the prominently raised head of *a*, the long *r* (in T1) becoming a squat *r* approaching a 'v' shape (in T2 and T3), and the '113' type of *w* (fo.50r). The

[39] See further 213–14 (chapter X (4)).

[40] Again, in the Melrose charters, a sideways '8' is not unusual, but the consistent use of a true 'closed up 8' is: for an example, see NAS GD 55/262 (dated 1249).

Andersons noted that the hyphens in this section of the chronicle 'suggest that T1–T3 may have been written by one hand' (lix); they also regarded it as possible that T2 and T3 were written by different scribes because 'some characteristics ... were not maintained'.[41] The main change is that there is a slight decline in formality. Also, a tendency towards a backward slant becomes more obvious. There is, however, no difference that requires a change in scribe to be considered seriously.[42]

Scribe 32

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 55r–60v, and fo.63r lines 1–15 (hands V1–2 in the Andersons' synopsis).

A formal gothic hand. Two stints can be recognised in this scribe's work. The first (the Andersons' V1), written on the ruled line, is large and impressive; the second (V2), written slightly above the ruled line, is more compressed and less impressive, with an occasional forward slant (particularly in straight *s*). Biting is less common in the first stint, and becomes more widespread in the second (e.g., *ba*, *bo*, *pa*, *pe*). Conservative features include the predominance of straight *s* in final position and limited use of round *r*. The most progressive features are the regular protrusion of the shaft of *t* above the cross-stroke, and the occasional joining of the tops of ascenders *ll*, *lb*, *bb* (sometimes with a distinct stroke): e.g., *Gallias* (fo.58r line 25), *Willelmus* (fo.58r line 30) and *abbas* (fo.58r line 29). The cross-stroke of *t* in final position consistently finishes with a lozenge. The Andersons commented that 'probably V1 and V2 were written by one man, and the difference between them ... resulted from the passing of a few years ...' (lxii).

Scribe 33

An addition in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.56v (opposite end of annal for 1252).

A fairly plain, slightly untidy hand with occasional cursive features. Note in particular the looped *d* with thick ascender, and the execution of straight *s*; also the enlarged *d* of *dompnus*, tall-headed *a*, and abbreviation of *er* (a diagonal line) in *Seruano*.

41 These characteristics were discussed in letters by Anderson to Croft Dickinson on 14 May 1933, and by Dickinson to Anderson on 21 May 1933. The most significant is the contraction for *–us* (in *–ibus*), which Dickinson regarded as 'very different'.

42 As far as *–us* (in *–ibus*) is concerned, two forms can be identified in the Andersons' 'T2' (fo.50r, lines 1–16 of writing): one (as in *fauoribus* at the beginning of line 4) in which the pen after making the typical ȝ shape is taken to the left in order to add a thick stroke (left to right), ending near the bottom of the ȝ; the second (as in *hominibus* at the beginning of line 14), in which this thick stroke appears as a continuation of the ȝ, ending in a downwards hook (on the right). The *–us* (in *–ibus*) in the Andersons' 'T3' (e.g., *omnibus* and *quibus* in line 19) is like the ȝ in the 'T2' forms (see especially the first form), except that the pen moves from the bottom of the ȝ to the beginning of the next word, omitting the flourishes in the 'T2' forms. This is consistent with the view adopted here that the main difference between 'T2' and 'T3' is that 'T3' is written slightly faster by the same scribe.

Scribe 34
Addition Faustina B. IX fo.56v.
The briefest of entries in a plain hand, written in the margin immediately above Scribe 33's entry. It is reminiscent of Scribe 29, but there is no detail which would point to this as the work of any particular scribe.

Scribe 35
Two additions in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.60v (one apparently indicating where the material in the lower margin belongs[43] *and the other continuing the last item by Scribe 32), and probably an addition in the lower margin of fo.60v (largely erased).*
A fairly plain hand with some cursive features, notably in superscript abbreviations and the looped ascenders. Note the looped *d* (with occasional instances of compact looped *d*); tall-headed *a*, capital *A*, the squat *r* (approaching a 'v' shape) and the crossed tironian *et*.

Scribe 36
Main text Faustina B. IX fo.63r line 16.
A single brief entry which has partly been lost when the bottom half of fo.63 was cut away. The Andersons suggested that this might be the same as Scribe 37 (=W) (lxiv); some letters are noticeably different, however (e.g., *d* and round *s*). The attempt to enter the same item in the upper margin (regarded by the Andersons as a false start: lxiv), although this is only a fragment and is now very faint, seems to be by a different scribe (Scribe 44).

Scribe 37
Listing on Faustina B. IX fo.63v (hand W in the Andersons' synopsis).
A formal hand with regular cursive features such as looped ascenders and forks, flourishes, and contrasting thick and thin strokes. Round *s* in final position is a regular feature. *Anno* $m^{o}cc^{o}x^{o}iiii^{o}$ and *de Clippestune Idus Maii* is a later addition probably by this scribe (as suggested by the Andersons: lxiv).

Scribe 38
Addition Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 25–26.
A cursive hand, with compact looped *d*, small *g* and the capital *A* of *Anno* as its most distinctive features; note also the forked ascenders on *h* and *l* and two-compartment forms of *a* and *s*. It is reminiscent of, but quite different from, a sign-post rubric on fo.44v, noting the birth of Edward I.

Scribe 39
Addition Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 22–23.
A gothic hand, more formal than Scribe 40. Note, however, capital *A* which is akin to what is found in formal cursive writing.

Scribe 40
Addition Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 8–15.
A gothic hand with biting in *bo*, *de* and *do*, but a slightly inconsistent degree of angularity (notice, for example, the rounded tail of *g* as well as the more common angular tail). Ascenders are small, giving a slight impression of

[43] As suggested in Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, lxiii.

vertical rather than lateral compression. Note the regular use of the ampersand, the capitals *A* and *N* which are akin to those in formal cursive writing, and the elongated left leg of *x*. Both round *s* and straight *s* are found in final position. The shaft of *t* does not protrude above the cross-stroke.

Scribe 41

Addition in plummet on Faustina B. IX fo.52r (largely illegible); probably also another addition on fo.40r, lines 8–22 (almost entirely illegible).

A cursive hand with an open sideways '8' for *–ur*, a distinctive crossed tironian *et* with hooked horizontal stroke; extended diagonal looped ascender of *d*; extended hooked legs in *x* and *m*, and distinctive *w* and angular looped tail of *g*. Headed *a* sometimes becomes a two-compartment *a*.

Scribe 42

Addition in brown crayon on Faustina B. IX fo.60r.

Superficially similar to Scribe 41, but the looped ascender of *d* is less flamboyant than Scribe 41's, and is sometimes squat, becoming a compact looped *d*; the *m* and crossed tironian *et* also appear different. There also appears to be a two-compartment *a*.

Scribe 43

Addition (damaged, probably erased) on Faustina B. IX fo.40r.

A barely visible scrap of erased writing which the Andersons described as 'florid semi-cursive' (liii). It appears, however, to be an ungainly hand (notice the *s* in *regis*) with few, if any, cursive features.

Scribe 44

Addition Faustina B. IX fo.63r.

Little survives of this scribe's contribution added to the upper margin of fo.63r, which has been cropped during binding. The writing is large and extended compared to neighbouring scribes, and features a prominent florid text-division sign. If this is the same item as the annal by Scribe 36, then it is unlikely to be a false start (as suggested by the Andersons: lxvi). Perhaps it is a copy, made in the knowledge that Scribe 36's annal was threatened by the cutting away of the bottom half of the folio.

Scribe 45

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 61r–62v, fos 69v line 16 (from cuius mencio*) to 75v, and addition on fo.64r (hands X1–5, Y1–3, Z3 and Z4 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

A small formal gothic hand with some variation in register and script. This scribe can be identified by a distinctive form of ampersand; superscript *ur* (like an '8' at an angle composed of two waves; the more common '2' symbol is used on a few occasions); a hair-line protruding from the bottom angle of round *r*;[44] two kinds of *g* (one with a small rounded tail, the other with a slightly squatter tail finished with a diagonal line projecting downwards); a particular 'vv' type of *w* with wavy lines (although not the only form of *w*); an

[44] Note also the very occasional appearance of this feature in a Melrose charter (recording an agreement with Eccles in 1263): NAS GD 55/332. This is not by a chronicle scribe.

angular slightly stretched *–us* contraction (in *–ibus*) like a 'long z'; and a general superscript suspension stroke which frequently appears as a line like a gentle wave (the more usual straight line is also found).

All these elements are found in at least some of what the Andersons' classified as divisions of X (the small sample classified as X5 has three of these features; the two lines and one word of X3 has one feature). They are also found in at least some of the three divisions of Y. (Although Y2 is only a small sample, it has three of these features; the contraction for *con–*, mentioned below, is confined to Y3.) The divisions within X and Y are characterised chiefly by changes in size and nib-thickness. The Andersons commented that all but X5 'show some tendency to approach towards the writing of Y, with which they have much in common', and that 'a writer or writers of X at times imitated Y' (lxv). Nevertheless, they did not regard the scribe of X as responsible for Y, which they described as a 'bookhand of distinct characteristics' (without going into detail); instead, they saw the similarity between X and Y as suggesting that they had been written by scribes trained at the same place (i.e., Melrose) (lxx).[45] The difference between X and Y is that generally Y is more angular than X, and appears tighter and neater: for example, minims have clubbed tops and the body of headed *a* and two-compartment *a* is squarish. The profile of distinctive features shared by X and Y, however, suggests that, instead of supposing that they were written by different scribes, it is more likely that X and Y are the work of one scribe whose approach to his task varied.

This variation is particularly marked in the case of Z3 (fo.69v lines 16 (from *cuius mencio*) to 19 (to *Oxo–* in *Oxoniam*) and Z4 (the remainder of fo.69v) compared with X and Y. The main difference is that Z3 is smaller and in a lower register (and even a different script: witness the frequent use of simple one-compartment *a*), while Z4 lies somewhere between Z3 and X2 (the section of Scribe 45's work which follows immediately on from Z4). Indeed, Z4 in many ways represents a transition: one-compartment *a* becomes less frequent; the ampersand is used rather than the tironian *et* of Z3; and round *r* with a protruding stroke occurs in three cases out of twelve (as opposed to nil in Z3 and frequently on fo.70r and beyond). There are also many striking similarities in detail between Z3 and Z4, and X and Y. The Andersons commented that 'it is possible that Z4 was written by X2, endeavouring to continue the style of his predecessors [Scribes 46 and 47] in the page' (lxxii). The particular coincidences include the crouched ampersand with a diagonal stroke beneath it, the extended 'z' form for *–us* (in *–ibus*) and the small rounded *g*. The character of the '9' form of the contraction for *con–*, although not particularly unusual, may also be worth noting. There is also a striking similarity between the crossed tironian *et* in Z3 and the rare occasions it appears elsewhere in Scribe 45's work (Y1: fo.62v line 30; and Y3: fo.75r line 22 and more frequently on fo.75v). These shared features, combined with the indications that Z4 is a transition from Z3, help to show that Z3,

[45] On Alan Anderson's difficulties in differentiating between X and Y, see further 93 n.13.

and not just Z4, should be identified as the work of Scribe 45, despite the Andersons' comment that hands Z2, Z3 and Z4 were 'probably all of different men' (lxxii). It may be speculated that, when Scribe 45 was confronted with the task of continuing where Scribe 47 had left off, he may initially have been uncertain about how to write in a way that would be compatible with Scribe 47's small script (resulting in Z3), before resolving to make a transition (in Z4) to something approaching one of his preferred registers.

Among the more developed elements appearing in Scribe 45's work are (i) the shaft of *t* regularly appearing above the cross-stroke, and (ii) the stroke which frequently joins the tops of adjacent ascenders. In the earlier stints final round *s* (which appears like an '8') is common, but in later stints straight *s* is frequently found in final position. Headed *a* often becomes a two-compartment *a* (and one-compartment *a* is found in Z3 and, to a lesser extent, Z4). There is no *J* distinct from *I*. Round *r* is found after *a* and *d* as well as *o*; biting occurs (for example) in *bo*, *be*, *pa* and *po* (note also *hoc*, fo.69v line 27) as well as *de* and *do*; and there is the occasional joining together of adjacent ascenders with a single stroke at the top. The scribe is particularly significant because his is the only text-hand in the manuscript to adopt the practice of writing the first line of a page below the top ruled line (with the exception of fo.71v).[46]

Scribe 46

Main text Faustina B. IX fos 64r to 69v line 14 (hand Z1 in the Andersons' synopsis).

A small neat gothic hand with some embellishments, such as the slightly expanded tail of *g*, the consistently deployed capital-letter form of *S* and some upward and downward extensions (including some striking elongations into the upper margin, sometimes with additional embellishments). Other notable features are the regular use of a crossed tironian *et*, the shaft of *t* appearing regularly above the cross-stroke, regular use of two-compartment *a*, a sideways '8' superscript symbol for *–ur*, the occasional joining together of adjacent ascenders, and the frequent use of round *s* in final position. There is no differentiation between *J* and *I* (compare fo.64r with fo.66r). Round *r* is found after *b* as well as *o*; biting regularly occurs in *de* and *do*, and occasionally in *da* (e.g., fo.67v bottom line, and fo.68v line 2).

Scribe 47

Main text Faustina B. IX fo.69v lines 15–16 (to positum*) (hand Z2 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

A very small gothic hand. It is readily distinguishable from Scribe 45's stint (the Andersons' Z3) which follows (notice *iuxta* and the embellished *N* in both). Scribe 47 consistently favours a two-compartment *a*, while Scribe 45 in Z3 prefers a headless (or 'simple') *a*; also, with Scribe 47 the shaft of *t* does not protrude above the cross-stroke, while with Scribe 45 it does. Scribe 47's

[46] Although note that Scribe +4 also has this feature: see below, 120, and 227 (chapter X (5)). The writing below the top line by Scribe 13 has a different explanation: see 101 n.28.

chief difference compared with Scribe 46 is that his letters are typically more rounded (compare, for instance, the two-compartment *a*). The treatment of the extended left leg of *x* is also quite different.

Scribe 48

Marginal corrections to work of Scribes 45 and 46.

Very small writing: some has been damaged by cropping, or has been erased; some is barely legible. The head of *a* is tall and curves right over the body of the letter. Note also looped *d* and a squat *r* (approaching a 'v' shape). Some looped ascenders are visible; straight *s* is short, extending very slightly below the line of writing.

Scribe 49

Addition Faustina B. IX fo.11v.

An accomplished cursive hand responsible for the memorandum on fo.11v as well as a brief entry. There is regular use of looped *d*, two-compartment *a*, long *r* and a simple 'z' type tironian *et*; and examples of '113' type *w* and forked *I*. Note the arched form of *N*, the '6' form of cursive *s*, and the 'double loop' form of *A* and *D*. Probably dates from towards the end of the thirteenth century.

Scribe 50

Addition Faustina B. IX fo.18v.

A brief item in a slightly ungainly cursive hand. Loops are prominent, not only in ascenders but also in one instance in *y*. The top of the headed *a* sometimes droops to become a two-compartment *a*. There is also biting in *de*. Note the scored ascender in the initial *E*.

Scribe 51

Listing Faustina B. IX fo.38v.

A badly rubbed cursive hand. Striking features are the compact looped *d*, two-compartment *a* and '113' type *w*. Note the use of arabic numerals. Insofar as the writing can be made out, it would appear to allow for the Andersons' suggestion of a date early in the fourteenth century (lii), although it could equally be a little earlier.

Scribe 52

Addition Faustina B. IX fo.18r.

A single brief entry written with a thick nib in a hand datable to the first half of the fourteenth century.[47] Note the slight horizontal stroke at the top of *l* and the arched *N*.

[47] I am grateful to Daniel Huws, Julian Harrison and Michelle Brown for the dating of this hand.

Scribes exclusively of text on Faustina B. IX fos 14, 38 and 54 written before these folios became part of the codex

Scribe +1

Faustina B. IX fo.14r as far as line 3 of fo.14v (up to mcxcviii° *) (hand D1 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

A particularly upright, angular hand with a penchant for exaggerated strokes to the left in a range of situations: (i) at the bottom of *f*, *p*, *q*, *r*, straight *s*; (ii) a minim at the end of a word; and (iii) the tironian *et*. Note also the half-rounded *s* (usually in final position) extended below the line. This scribe may also be identified in a Melrose charter datable to 1219×21[48] (NAS GD 55/197), which shows that he was a Melrose scribe.

Scribe +2

Faustina B. IX fo.14v from line 3 (after mcxcviii° *) to line 4 (up to* honorifice*) (hand D2 in the Andersons' synopsis).*

A compact gothic hand. Note the large crossed tironian *et* and the angled ascender of *d*, which is a separate stroke attached to the body slightly below its apex. (The remainder of fo.14v has been written on by Scribe 28.)

Scribe +3

Faustina B. IX fo.38r (originally the flyleaf) (hand J in the Andersons' synopsis).

A small gothic hand. Note the crossed tironian *et* (but the ampersand predominates in the last 7 lines); the biting in *de*, *do* and also *pe*; frequent use of round and half-rounded *s* at end of words; the square body of headed *a*; the sometimes pronounced flat stroke at the top of ascenders; and embellished capitals (*H*, *P*, *S*). Round *r* occurs after *o*; the shaft of *t* does not protrude above the horizontal stroke.

Scribe +4

Faustina B. IX fo.54r–v (hand U1–2 in the Andersons' synopsis).

This may be described as a kind of modified gothic with slightly squat letters and elongated ascenders, and also small tails on straight *s* and *f* extending below the line of writing. There is biting in *da* as well as *de* and *do* (although this is not pervasive). There is a difference between the recto (the Andersons'

[48] The date-limits are deduced from Richard, abbot of Kelso (1218–21) as a witness and the death of the donor's father in 1219. If the charter is read on its own, then it would be easy to date it to 1206×8: there is a statement about seeking a confirmation from King William (1165–1214) which would suggest that the Richard, abbot of Kelso, must be an earlier Richard (1206–8). GD 55/197 is, however, essentially a copy of an earlier text probably dating to 1185. It is a confirmation by Roger Avenel of the grant of lands in Eskdale by Richard, his grandfather (GD 55/39: text of grant datable to 1166×9, but charter includes renewal in 1177×85). This was confirmed by Roger's father, Gervase (GD 55/41: datable 1180×92, probably after Richard Avenel's death on 8 March 1185). Gervase's confirmation was repeated by him almost verbatim in GD 55/196 (1208×18) and by his son, Roger (GD 55/197: therefore probably shortly after Gervase's death in 1219), still including the statement that a charter of confirmation would be sought from King William (who was certainly dead by the time of GD 55/197). The only confirmation by King William is *RRS*, ii. no.264 (dated by the editor to 'probably 1185'), which was presumably the confirmation intended in the charter by Gervase (GD 55/41).

U1) and the verso (U2): note particularly the treatment of ascenders. The Andersons commented that U2 is 'certainly by the same hand as U1', and observed that it is 'in a hand that appears to be of the beginning of the 13th century' (lxi). There are, however, a few features which point to a date in the second half of the thirteenth century. The looped embellished capital *A* (of which there are many examples) and the curved embellished capital *H* (in *Henricus* on fo.54r line 15) are notable. Another possibly 'advanced' feature is the merging of the tops of adjacent ascenders (particularly *ll*) so that they appear to be joined by a single flat stroke.[49] There are specific similarities with scribes of the second half of the thirteenth century: the looped embellished capital *A* is found in Scribes 39 and 40; the ampersand (fo.54r line 9) is found in Scribe 40's stint; and the crossed tironian *et* is very like some of Scribe 32's (e.g., in the annal for 1262, fo.60v). The most remarkable aspect of this folio is that the first line of writing appears below, rather than above, the top ruled line. This practice began to be adopted in England during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[50] Among scribes of the main text it is employed regularly only by Scribe 45 (writing no earlier than the late 1280s).[51]

Scribes exclusively of notes and comments

These are given in order of appearance, rather than in a rough chronological order. Unlike other scribes, their dating is not discussed elsewhere in the volume. Only a few can be given date-limits of less than a quarter century; a tentative dating is offered on palaeographical grounds for some of the rest.

Scribe N1

Lower margin Julius B. XIII fos 5v and 9v.

Two different reckonings in a cursive hand (one according to Hebrew chronology, the other according to the chronology of the Septuagint) of the number of years between the beginning of the world and the birth of Christ. These follow accounts of the Creation and Restoration according to the two chronologies in Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*. The script includes compact looped *d* and two-compartment *a*. The optimum suggested date is 1270s or 1280s.

Scribe N2

*Upper margin in brown crayon Julius B. XIII fo.25r (*hoc tempore Celestinus papa misit Palladium ad Scottos tunc credentes*).*

Note the near-loop of ascender of *d* and very slight tail to the straight *s*, headed *a*, a distinctive final round *s*, and the slight backward slant. In the *–el–* in *Celestinus* the tongue of the *e* is continued to become the loop of the *l*. The optimum suggested date is the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

49 Note, however, that this is found as early as late 1220s or 1230s: see 227 (chapter X (5)).

50 Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line"'.

51 See 117, above. There are grounds for dating fo.54 to 1278: see 173 (chapter VIII).

Scribe N3

Outer margins of Julius B. XIII fos 36r and 37r, noting the 'seventh' and 'eighth' synods, and the emperor Nicephorus.

Akin to Scribes 3, 8 and 9. It may be hazarded that, like Scribe 9, his minor contribution was made not very long after the manuscript was completed. The most notable feature is that many minims lack feet. Note round *r* after *o*; and round *s* in final position. Optimum suggested date: last quarter of twelfth century.

Scribe N4

Outer margins of Faustina B. IX fos 6v and 8v: reign-lengths opposite annals for either 878 or 879, 880 and 957 (discussed by the Andersons at xxviii–xxix).

Faint on fo.8v, and written over by Scribe 28 on fo.6v. Probably first half of thirteenth century.

Scribe N5

*Lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.12r (*rex Cnutus fuit rex*) and upper and lower margins of fo.53v (*Iam regnauit Henricus rex Anglie filius Johannis regis xlvii an<nos> *on upper and* Alexander rex Scotie *on the lower margin).*

An informal cursive hand. A comparison of *rex* and *c* suggests that these belong to the same scribe, although the *f* of *fuit* on fo.12r differs from *f* on fo.53v. Presumably the statement that Henry III had now reigned for 47 years was written sometime in his 48th regnal year (i.e., 28 October 1263×27 October 1264, as suggested by the Andersons (lx), although conceivably the previous year could have been intended). The form of *r*, approaching a 'v' shape, is noteworthy.

Scribe N6

Outer margin Faustina B. IX fo.23v (<d>eficit hic multum*), opposite annal for 1183.*

Reminiscent of Scribe 28, but style seems more fluent and unfussy.

Scribe N7

Outer margin Faustina B. IX fo.33r: cui successit .H. filius eius *added to sign-post rubric (*Obiit Johannes rex Anglie*).*

In effect this transforms the sign-post rubric into a self-contained statement. Note the '6' form of cursive *s* and hair-line forked ascender of *h*. Probably second half of thirteenth century.

Scribe N8

*Comment in lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.39v (*hic defic<it>, *incomplete and erased; and below it* huic Radulfo ignoratur quis successerit*).*

Reminiscent of Scribe 28, but *g* and *d* are markedly different; note also sideways '8' form of *ur* contraction. The top of *l* is rounded; but overall lacks characteristics of cursive writing. Datable to during Stratum 13 (February 1224×9 November 1227).

Scribe N9

*Memorandum in lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.46v (*Abbas de Dundranian mutuo accepit reliquam partem cronicorum istorum. Vide*).*
Some pronounced cursive flourishes (*A*, final *s* of *Abbas*, *V*) and other cursive features (looped *d*, suspension-stroke in *partem*), but note that the straight *s* is on the line of writing. Datable to when Faustina B. IX fos 47–53 were borrowed by an abbot of Dundrennan, i.e., 1259×64.[52]

Scribe N10

Fragmentary comments (on earls of Ross and Mar?), outer margins of Faustina B. IX fo.58v (opposite end of annal for 1257) and fo.59v (opposite end of annal for 1258).
A slightly simplified hand, with crossed tironian *et* and *r* approaching a 'v' shape. Perhaps by the same scribe, writing a little larger, as the Andersons' third group of sign-post rubrics (lxxvi). If so, could be dated to 1259×64.[53]

Decoration of material added to the original codex of 1173×4

The manuscript of the chronicle contains very few decorative features which could be regarded as notably artistic. Nonetheless, it is adorned with embellishment and rubrication that is not only an aspect of scribal activity, but also offers important clues about the various stages in the manuscript's growth (discussed in the next chapter). The decoration cannot always be attributed to the scribes who have been identified as contributing to the text, particularly in the case of rubrication, and so would benefit from separate treatment in order to present a more coherent view. This focuses on two principal features: initials and smaller capitals; and the use of red ink elsewhere in the text.

The treatment of initial and capitals at the beginning of sections of text (typically annals) ranges from plain capital letters which are no different from what is used by a scribe in the course of the text (as in the case of Scribe 5), at one extreme, and at the other extreme, the intricately embellished pen-drawn initials of Faustina B. IX fos 43r–44v and fo.50r.

A thickened *A* for *Anno*, with only limited elaboration, was also deployed by Scribes 13, 15, 19, 22, 28 (Faustina B. IX fo.42v) and +4 (occasionally). Scribe 15 changed to red ink for his capitals from the annal for 1212 (fo.29v). A different red capital *A*, slightly enlarged and thickened (except for its left leg), is also characteristic of Scribe 16's stint. Typically all these scribes extend the left leg of *A*. Scribes 13 and 15 often embellished this with a decorative flourish at the end. Other frequent elaborations are very limited: Scribe 13 finished the top horizontal stroke with two slight vertical strokes at each end, while Scribe 15 often turned up slightly the top horizontal stroke at each end.

Another approach was to leave a gap within the thickened limbs. A simple example is the second *A* of *Anno* during Scribe 16's stint (which is in red ink). Another instance is Scribe 21's capital *A*, which is accompanied by

[52] See 158–9 (chapter VIII).
[53] See 159 (chapter VIII).

increasing embellishment of the left leg. A more stylish effect was achieved by Scribes 45 and 46 who (as far as *A* is concerned) followed much the same design.

As well as thickening the capital, it is also common among later scribes for the letter to be much enlarged. Rather crude examples are found in the work of Scribes 25 and 30; Scribe 31's on Faustina B. IX fo.49v are more satisfying. Others combine this effect with the use of colour (see below).

The exuberantly ornate embellishments of greatly enlarged pen-drawn initials on Faustina B. IX fos 43r–44v and fo.50r are all of a similar style, appearing throughout the work of Scribes 23 and 24. The Andersons regarded the decorator as 'almost certainly' the scribe of O1–3 (i.e., Scribe 24) (lv). The style, however, is also strongly reminiscent of the initial *A* opening the letter transcribed on fo.50r during Scribe 31's stint.[54] It is possible that the decorator may be Scribe 31 himself.

A simpler way to make capitals stand out is to use colour. It will be recalled that Scribe 15 (from Faustina B. IX fo.29v: the annals for 1212) rendered the *A* of *Anno* in red ink, and that this is also a feature of Scribe 16's stint (in both instances where an annal begins). If Scribe 15 was responsible for the thickened capital *A* found earlier in his stint, then the red *A* later on must also be his work. There is no positive indication that the same is true of Scribe 16. Coloured enlarged initials are also a feature of the stints by Scribes 17 and 32. Again, there is no positive reason to suppose that they are the work of these scribes. During Scribe 17's stint a simple thickened red initial *A* is used in *Anno*, except in the first and last instances; in both cases the same more elaborate design appears, featuring an elongated left leg decorated with two cross-strokes sandwiching a ball. During Scribe 32's work the elegant large coloured initial *A* at the beginning of each annal is found only on fos 55r–59r (plus an *E* at the beginning of a section on fo.55v); in the remainder (fos 59v–60v and 63r) a gap has been left at the beginning of each annal, but is empty. Where the coloured initial does occur, it appears alternately blue and red. Those on fos 56r–57r are unfinished. The only other place where alternate colours are found is in the prologue to Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, written by Scribe 1, where green and red initials have been used.[55]

Red ink is deployed in other contexts. The only items in the text which are written in red are by Scribe 3 at 1098, 1132, 1136 and 1150 (recording the foundations of Cîteaux, Rievaulx, Melrose, Kinloss and Holm Cultram, and

[54] Note also NAS GD 55/227 (a charter of Alan, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland), which also features elaborately decorated initials in a similar vein (although not identical in design, and so probably decorated by a different scribe). This charter is not the work of Scribe 23 or Scribe 24. The charter is edited in Keith J. Stringer, 'Acts of lordship: the records of the Lords of Galloway to 1234', in Terry Brotherstone & David Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c.1050–c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000), 203–34, no.63, where a date of 'c.1230' is suggested.

[55] See 63 (chapter V).

also the capture of Antioch).[56] Red ink is used for the series of sign-post rubrics in the margin drawing attention to notices in the chronicle of the succession of abbots of Melrose and bishops of Glasgow[57] (in whose diocese Melrose was situated). Note also the use of a red highlight on the first letter of each item, often with a small red text-division sign opposite in the margin, beginning on Faustina B. IX fo.29v (during the annal for 1211) and continuing until the end of Scribe 15's stint on fo.31v. In Scribe 16's stint (from fo.31v) red text-division signs are embedded in the text until fo.35r line 20; for the remainder of Scribe 16's stint these signs are in the same black ink as the text itself, with red highlights (with one exception), placed either in the margin or in the text itself.

[56] See 63 (chapter V) for a full account of Scribe 3's use of red ink.

[57] Except in the case of the succession of Florence, who is entered as bishop-elect in 1202 as part of the series, even though there is no notice in the text. This is not presented as an addition to the text itself, and should not be regarded as such.

VIII

CHARTING THE CHRONICLE'S PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Dauvit Broun

In chapter III it was explained how the text of the chronicle in volumes ii and iii will be presented according to the physical evidence of how it was entered into the manuscript.[1] It was discussed how an analysis of scribes, layout on the page and the manuscript's make-up makes it possible to recognise how the text grew in stages (or strata), ranging from many pages to the odd line. Each stratum is identified by a number signifying its place within a relative chronology.[2] This chapter consists of an account of each stratum, explaining how each has been identified and discussing their dating.

What is being described and dated, strictly speaking, is not how the text of the chronicle was composed, but how it grew step by step in the manuscript itself.[3] It follows that 'dating' refers only to the date when the material defined as a stratum was written into the manuscript. Typically this is not a simple date, but a date-range (say, 2 November 1246×early 1259) in which the first date is the earliest possible date and the second is the latest possible date. The normal scholarly convention is that the date-range signifies that the event in question occurred sometime in or between 2 November 1246 and early 1259. There is, however, an important caveat when this is applied to dating a stratum. The date-limits represent 'hard dates' wherever this is possible: for example, 2 November 1246 refers to the earliest date for the death of Robert of Bingham, bishop of Salisbury (which occurred either on 2 or 3 November 1246). A stratum which included a reference to Bishop Robert's death obviously could not have been written before this date: the virtue of hard dates, of course, is that nothing is left to interpretation. Hard dates are problematic in the context of dating a stratum, however, because there must always have been a delay before reference to it could have been written into the manuscript. It would have been impossible for anyone at

1 An outline of the disposition of strata in volumes ii and iii is given and explained in chapter X (3).

2 It will be recalled that, where it is impossible to decide the order of a couple of strata, they will be given an equal place in the relative chronology by designating one with a number (e.g., 5) and the other with the same number with suffix 'A' (e.g., 5A): the stratum denoted by the number alone is the one whose place in the relative chronology is more secure.

3 This often involved the entry of text already drafted for this purpose either from contemporaneous notes or from material acquired from elsewhere, or from a combination of the two. References to 'writing' in this context should normally be understood to mean the efforts of a scribe, not that of an author, editor or compiler. It is only in exceptional cases (e.g., the interventions of Scribe 48 in Stratum 38) that the act of composition itself is visible to any significant degree in the manuscript.

Melrose on 2 November 1246 to have known that Robert of Bingham, bishop of Salisbury, was dead (and, in fact, as far as we know, he might not have died until the next day!). Some allowance must be given for the time it took for news to travel, as well as for the probability that most information was recorded in some form before it was entered into the manuscript as part of a stratum. Although an estimate may be made of the shortest time a particular piece of information might have taken to reach Melrose, it is usually best simply to give the hard date where this exists and keep this separate from a discussion of how it might be interpreted. Every date-limit is explained in a section on dating included in the account of each stratum.

Two features of the headline descriptions of each stratum need to be explained. One is that line-numbers refer to the number of lines ruled *for* writing, rather than to the number of lines *of* writing (which is how they were referred to by the Andersons). The second is that one or other date-limit of a stratum frequently serves as the date-limit for one or more other strata. These 'knock-on' date-limits and the strata where each is established are listed here for ease of reference:

Significant earliest date-limits

1173×4	see Stratum 1 and chapter IV
January 1218	see Stratum 8
15 April 1240	see Stratum 18
2 November 1246	see Stratum 20
14 April 1286	see Stratum 38

Significant latest date-limits

Probably 27 July 1214	see Stratum 7
Autumn 1222	see Stratum 11
Early November 1222	see Stratum 12
9 November 1227	see Stratum 13A
Early 1240	see Stratum 17
Possibly in or before 1259	see Stratum 25
Probably mid-1264	see Stratum 27
1276	see Stratum 34
Probably May 1291	see Stratum 38
Possibly May 1291	see Stratum 38 and chapter VI

Any date-limit defined by this 'knock-on' effect will appear in square brackets, thereby signalling that it is discussed under 'dating' in another stratum. It should be stressed that the headline date is based on the assumption that a stratum was entered in a single campaign: any specific problems with this will be noted under 'dating' in the relevant stratum.

Another feature which needs to be explained is the division of strata into sections numbered I to XVI. The sole purpose of this is to offer a general guide to the chronicle's development, and so make it easier for the reader to find their way through this material. The headline of each section (including an approximate dating) is intended only as a rough summary. Most also

include a brief general introduction. A full account of the chronicle's physical development is provided by the strata alone. Two particularly knotty problems, the borrowing of Faustina B. IX fos 47–53 by the abbot of Dundrennan and the excision of the bottom half of Faustina B. IX fo.63, are discussed separately at an appropriate point.

As well as referring to folios in the usual way (which will allow the reader to navigate their way through the digital images of the manuscript on the DVD), cross-references have also been given to page numbers in the Andersons' facsimile edition for the sake of any reader who finds it more convenient to use a book. (This only applies, of course, to Faustina B. IX.)

Section I
The creation of the chronicle, 1173×4 (Stratum 1)

Stratum 1: (i) Scribes 1 and 3, the principal scribes of Julius B. XIII fos 2r–40r, corrected by Scribes 2 and 4.
Coverage: a copy of the *Chronicle* of Hugh of Saint-Victor.
(ii) Scribe 5, the principal scribe of Julius B. XIII fos 41r–47v.
Coverage: AD 1–249 (putatively further originally).
(iii) Scribes 5 and 6, the scribes of Faustina B. IX fos 2r–11v (pp.1–20 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: 731–1016.
(iv) Scribe 3, the principal scribe of Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v and 15r–21r, and corrections by Scribe 7 (pp.20–4 and 26–39 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: 1017–'1171': the latest event noted in the original chronicle is the killing of Thomas Becket on 29 December 1170 (which is placed under 1171 because the year was reckoned by the scribe to begin on Christmas Day).

Date: 1173×4.

The creation of the manuscript in 1173×4 by a team of scribes (Scribes 3 and 5, with smaller stints by Scribes 1 and 6) working simultaneously on different sections is discussed in chapter IV. Scribes 2, 4, and 7 occasionally add or replace text as well as correcting the odd word or letter which had been omitted or distorted accidentally by one of the main scribes.

Section II
Early additions, in the last quarter of the twelfth century (Strata 2–4)

Stratum 2: Scribe 8 interspersed throughout Faustina B. IX fos 16v–20v (pp.30–8 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: scattered between 1096 and 1169.
Appendix: items by Scribe 3 which have additions by Scribe 8.

Date: sometime in or after [1173×4].

Scribe 8 functioned as both corrector and interpolator. He also added an item to what was then the end of the text. There is no indication that his interpolations were anticipated (for example by leaving at least a gap of a line between annals). He appears to have worked on the text on more than one occasion. It appears, then, that he was probably not part of the original team involved in the chronicle's production, but was nonetheless engaged in enhancing the existing text rather than continuing it with further annals.

Dating: This must be later than 1173, and is probably later than 1174. The handwriting is very similar in style to that of Scribe 8, which suggests that it is unlikely to be much later than 1174. If, however, the insertion of the obit of 'St Malachy' is correctly attributed to this scribe, then this might perhaps, as the Andersons suggested (xxxvi), indicate a date after Malachy's canonisation in 1189.[4] It is quite conceivable, though, for Malachy to have been referred to in this way before he was formally recognised as a saint.

Stratum 3: Scribe 9, Faustina B. IX fo.21r lines 22–23 (p.39 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: two items in the annal for 1171.
Date: sometime in or after [1173×4].

Scribe 9's brief contribution was added to an item attributed to Scribe 8, which was in turn added to the end of the chronicle.

Dating: Presumably Scribe 9's entry was made after Scribe 8 had begun working on the chronicle. The handwriting, like Scribe 8's, is similar in style to Scribe 3's, and belongs to much the same period.

Stratum 4: Scribe 10, Julius B. XIII fo.40r
Coverage: updating list of popes to Clement III
Date: probably 20 December 1187×March 1191.

The last pope in the series of popes and emperors at the end of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* is Honorius II (1124–30). This is updated here by adding popes in the margin in two groups. The popes from Lucius II (1144–5) to Lucius III (1181–5) have been omitted, presumably by eye-skip when copying from a list.

Dating: Presumably during the pontificate of Clement III (1187–91),[5] although it would have taken a couple of months for news of Clement's election (19 December 1187) and consecration (20 December 1187), and of his death in March 1191, to reach Melrose.

[4] Or perhaps after 1192, when St Malachy's feast was first observed at Clairvaux: see Josephus-Maria Canivez (ed.), *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, 8 vols (Louvain, 1933–41), i. 146 (statute 1192.1).

[5] Perhaps this very limited renewal of interest may be connected with the return of Reiner as abbot in 1189 (*HRHS*, 150): Reiner had departed from Melrose to become abbot of Kinloss following the death of the first abbot in March 1174 (*HRHS*, 131). Work on the chronicle may have been under way before he left Melrose.

Section III

The first significant continuation and occasional additions, chiefly in or near the first decade of the thirteenth century (Strata 5–6)

By the time that Scribe 14 was active in 1208 the chronicle may already have been showing signs of neglect (especially if folios had been lost covering the period between 250 and 730).[6] The first serious attempt to extend the chronicle is represented by Stratum 5, no earlier than 1199. This involved the filling of the remaining folios of the gathering begun by Scribe 3, and the addition of a new gathering of 8 folios: only 7 pages of this were used, so it was evidently anticipated that the chronicle might one day be continued.

Stratum 5: Scribe 13, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.21r line 23 to fo.26r (pp.39–49 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1171–97.
Date: 17 March 1199×[probably 27 July 1214]; probably in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

Scribe 13's stint is the first certain occasion in which the chronicle was continued with contemporary information collected and drafted at Melrose. Although there is some variation in the writing, it is difficult to break this stratum down with confidence into clearly identifiable bursts of activity. The Andersons suggested seven stages 'with varying styles, possibly separated by short intervals of time, but without sharp distinctions' (xliii).

A case could be made for dividing this stratum into two, with the first section ending with fo.22v (years 1171–9), coinciding with the end of a gathering. The chief difference in Scribe 13's work at this point is in his deployment of a device to divide the text within year-sections. This always takes the form of an infilled capital *C*, and typically has two or three strokes within it which, from fo.24r, consistently have a sloping aspect. There are only four examples of this text-division sign up to fo.22v (one of these relates to a marginal rubric by Scribe 13 which might, of course, be later); but they are used more frequently from fo.23r onwards (indeed, there are more on fo.23r alone than on fos 21r–22v). Also, the text-division sign used before fo.23r seems more deliberate than later ones, for it has most of the interior of the curve of the *C* blacked in. This feature is otherwise found only in the annal for 1181 on fo.23r, although it is not so pronounced there, and is combined with two, rather than one, interior vertical strokes.

There are, however, some aspects of Scribe 13's work which run across this putative division at the end of fo.22v. The size of spaces left between year-sections changes after fo.23r. In fos 21r–23r gaps of 5 or 6 lines are consistently left between year-sections;[7] in fos 23v–26r this is reduced to gaps of 3 or 4 lines. (This compares with Scribe 5, who never left a gap between

6 See 59 (chapter V).

7 With the exception of the gap of three lines between the annals for 1174 and 1175. The last item in the annal for 1174 (which extends across three lines) may have been written as an afterthought: it is introduced by a large text-division sign (the only one in the annal).

year-sections; Scribe 6, who left one-line gaps only occasionally; and Scribe 3, who frequently left one-line gaps between year-sections, although not consistently so.) It should also be noted that none of the subdivisions in Scribe 13's work suggested by the Andersons on the basis of slight changes in his script fall at the end of fo.22v. As far as they were concerned, 'stage 3' spanned fos 22v and 23r (xliii).

Dating: Scribe 13 may not have worked continuously, although the lack of any clear subdivisions makes it unlikely that the work of entering this block of text into the chronicle was spread over any significant length of time. The text itself is presumably based ultimately on records of recent events, and was probably drafted in more than one stage. One of the earliest events noted (the account of the opening of Waltheof's tomb in 1171) was finally drafted no earlier than 2 February 1174, the date of the death of Bishop Ingram of Glasgow (1164–74) who is described in this passage as *bone memorie*, 'of good memory'. Later, a grant to Melrose by Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow in 1193 includes a reference to his 'happy memory' and offers a prayer for his soul, and so must have been written after his death on 17 March 1199.[8] If the stratum is regarded as a single campaign of entering text into the chronicle, then it may be dated to *ca* 1200 or soon afterwards (and certainly before Stratum 7).

Stratum 5A: Scribe 11, Faustina B. IX fo.18v, addition to line 17 (p.34 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: a birth in annal for 1143.
Scribe 12, Faustina B. IX fo.18v, addition in line 5 (p.34 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: event in annal for 1141.
Date: possibly *ca* 1200×14.

These are the first items of 'lateral' growth by scribes who have no apparent connection with the team associated with the creation of the chronicle. They consist of additional entries noting respectively the births of King William in 1143 and Mael Coluim IV in 1141. The entry by Scribe 11 follows immediately after an entry by Scribe 8, so it is clear that this postdates at least some (and, by inference, all) of Scribe 8's activity. The handwriting of both scribes suggests comparison with Scribe 13 rather than earlier scribes. The possibility cannot be ruled out that one or both should be regarded as later, however.

Dating: Whichever one of these births was noted first has presumably inspired the addition of the other. Perhaps William's was added during his reign (i.e., before 4 December 1214). The writing seems unlikely to be earlier than the end of the twelfth century.

[8] As does Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 157.

Stratum 6: Scribe 14, additions to Julius B. XIII fos 35r–v, 39v–40v, and Faustina B. IX fos 12r, 17r, 18r (pp.21, 31 and 33 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: chiefly additions of popes, and notices on the death and translation of St Guthlac.
Date: *ca* 1208.

The consistent concern of this scribe with popes and with St Guthlac suggests that his activity may have been confined to a single campaign (including his corrections as well as the note added on Julius B. XIII fo.30v).[9]

Dating: The updating of popes with their pontifical years in Julius B. XIII fo.40r–v runs up to 1208, clearly indicating when this scribe was active for some, if not all, of this stratum. A series of years is probably too simple a format to make it safe to assume that Innocent's pontifical year was calculated with an eye on the exact date of his consecration (i.e., calculating from the start of his regnal year, 22 February 1208).

Section IV
Extensive continuation during second decade of the thirteenth century (certainly before autumn 1222) (Strata 7–10)

This is confined to the work of two scribes: it begins and ends with material entered by one or other scribe on their own, and includes a stratum in which both scribes worked together. A new gathering was added to cater for this (although the initial preparation for writing was confined to pricking, whereas ruling was evidently completed piecemeal by each scribe: see Stratum 9). Although these strata can be identified by changes in presentation, it is unlikely that much time separated one from the other, particularly in the case of Strata 8 and 9 (given the cooperation between the two scribes). Stratum 7 might, however, be a few years earlier than the others. Be this as it may, all four strata may be regarded as the result of a determination to bring the chronicle up to date, chiefly using material which had been drafted beforehand, and finishing with less polished notes for 1217.

Stratum 7: Scribe 15, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.26v to fo.29v line 12 (to *declarabit*) (pp.50–6 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1198 to December 1211.
Date: 13 December 1211×probably 27 July 1214.

Stratum 8: Scribe 15 (continued) and Scribe 16, the principal hands from Faustina B. IX fo.29v line 12 (*Eodem etiam anno*) to fo.32r (pp.56–61 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: remainder of annal for 1211 and annals to 1215.
Date: January 1218×[autumn 1222], probably 1218 or soon after.

[9] See 44–5, 47 (chapter IV).

In the discussion of Scribe 15 in the previous chapter it was argued that all the Andersons' divisions of G are the work of a single scribe, although there may have been breaks in his activity, in particular between G9 and G10. The division of G9 and G10 coincides with the end of a gathering.[10]

Scribe 15's work is unlikely to represent a single stratum because of the way his stint ends. Unlike any of the previous principal scribes, Scribe 15 does not simply stop where the next scribe, Scribe 16, starts. Instead, the two work in tandem. First of all Scribe 16 takes over in mid-sentence from Scribe 15 during the annal for 1214. Scribe 15 returns at the beginning of the annal for 1215, and again Scribe 16 takes over in mid-sentence before the annal is complete. Scribe 16's involvement begins earlier, however. From fo.29v (the first half of the annal for 1212) to fo.31v (the last section of Scribe 15's work, in the annal for 1215) there are a number of additions written in the margin in larger writing than the text. All can be attributed to Scribe 16 (the Andersons' hand H). On the basis of this the Andersons concluded that 'presumably G8–H were written under one editor' (xlvii).[11]

This coincides with a change in the layout of the text. As far as the annal for 1211 (fos 26v–29r) the gap between year-sections is consistently about 50mm (9 or 10 lines). The gap between 1211 and 1212, however, is only 20mm (4 lines). (There is no possibility that it was originally 50mm but has been partially filled later.) This sets a new pattern of irregular gaps with the next between 1212 and 1213 measuring 65mm (12 lines). This, combined with the beginning of Scribe 16's involvement in Scribe 15's work, suggests that the management of the physical production of the chronicle may have changed significantly before the end of the annal for 1211.

The most compelling evidence that change occurred during the annal for 1211, rather than with the annal for 1212, is a striking link between later annals and the way material is presented in the final part of 1211. This is the appearance of a small red text-division sign in the margin adjacent to a line of text containing a red in-filled initial letter (indicating the beginning of an item). The first instance of this new style of presentation is fo.29v line 12; there are four examples in the remainder of the annal for 1211 (although some of the 'paragraph signs' in the margin are barely visible, and one has evidently been lost in a red smudge which is probably an erased comment by Matthew Parker or someone in his circle).[12] This feature is confined to Scribe 15's work, and continues through to the Andersons' division G10. The form of paragraph sign used is akin to that elsewhere in the G-group, and is therefore likely to be an embellishment by Scribe 15. It appears, then, that Scribe 15 regarded his material from *Eodem etiam anno* in the annal for 1211 (fo.29v line 12) as different in some sense from his earlier work, and that

10 See 103 (chapter VII) and 79 (chapter VI).

11 The Andersons also suggested that *suo*, which appears in the margin towards the end of the annal for 1210, is possibly by hand H (Scribe 16) (xlviii). It seems to me more likely, however, that this is by Scribe 15, although the sample is so small that there can be no certainty.

12 See 183–4 (chapter IX). See guide to the DVD, detailed images nos 3 and 4, for examples.

Stratum 8 should be regarded as beginning at this point rather than with the annal for 1212.

Dating: The consistency of layout which distinguishes Stratum 7 from the next suggests that it was entered in one campaign. Exact dates are very rare in the notices of events between January 1200 and July 1205: perhaps contemporary material began to be kept for the chronicle only from 1205 or 1206. From 1208 there are some expansive items. The last item in Stratum 7 is a vivid account of the strife between Otto IV and Pope Innocent III, which ends: *Sed quo fine uel qua lege hec nimis inproba litis contestatio fuerit dirrimata et determinata, sequens annorum series planius declarabit*, 'But by what conclusion this utterly unworthy legal suit would be broken off, or by what law it would be determined, will be made clear more openly in the following succession of years'. No reference is made to this again, however. No allusion is made to the dispute, either, in the account of the Battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214, when Otto's cause was finally dashed. It seems, therefore, that the reference to 'the following succession of years' is simply an aphoristic gesture to the future,[13] and was written presumably before Otto's fate was sealed. It is possible that it was entered into the chronicle shortly after the latest datable event in the stratum, the blessing of three Cistercian abbots by the bishop of Down at Melrose on 13 December 1211.

The material in Stratum 8 is much fuller than anything earlier in the chronicle: this may reflect a complex and more concerted process of composition, combining information and text acquired from elsewhere together with notes made not long after the events occurred. The prophecy of Peter the Simple is said, in the annal for 1212, to be largely fulfilled in what follows; this matches a reference to Peter's foretelling of material in the annal for 1214, which suggests that this was all part of the same draft. The particular item on which this depends in the annal for 1214 straddles an apparent break in Scribe 15's work (between the Andersons' divisions G9 and G10), which reinforces the impression that the text of this stratum already existed as a complete draft before it was entered into the chronicle. The drafting was not always chronologically accurate: it has been pointed out that the events leading up to the lifting of the interdict on King John by the legate Nicholas are reported in the annal for 1214, even though most of them actually occurred in 1213.[14] Also, at the end of the annal for 1211 reference is made to the suppression of the rising of Gofraidh MacUilleim, which in fact occurred sometime after Alexander (the future king) was knighted on 4 March 1212.[15]

At the end of the annal for 1215 it is noted that the bishop of St Andrews returned after an absence of four years (while attending the fourth Lateran Council). If Stratum 8 is correctly identified as extending to the end of the

13 Note that an almost identical phrase is used at the end of the annal for 1212, but in the context of a prophecy being fulfilled in future years, which suggests foreknowledge.

14 Duncan, 'Sources and uses', 162.

15 *SAEC*, 330.

annal for 1215 (see Stratum 9), then it would appear that it was not drafted and entered into the chronicle until sometime in or after January 1218.

Stratum 9: Scribe 16, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.32v to fo.35r line 19 (pp.62–7 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal for 1216 and first part of annal for 1217, including a letter from the abbot of Glenluce.
Date: [January 1218]×[autumn 1222], probably 1218 or not long after.

After working in tandem with Scribe 15, Scribe 16 took over the writing of the chronicle on his own for a stretch. Stratum 9 represents the first period of solo activity. This manifests itself physically not only in the fact that Scribe 16's work is the only text hand for a number of folios, but also in another change in layout. It will be recalled that the gaps between annals varied in Stratum 8 (from 20mm to 65mm; 4 lines to 12 lines). On the first occasion in which Scribe 16 begins an annal after finishing the previous one (i.e., the annal for 1216) the gap is 90mm (16 ruled lines). This appears especially deliberate because it occurs at the beginning of a page (the 90mm represents the measurement from the top ruled line to the first line of writing). An even larger gap is left by him between 1216 and the annal for 1217. In this case he started 1217 on a new page, leaving most of the previous page blank: only 17 lines have been ruled on fo.34v (and only 16 lines written). These two blank spaces are the largest in the chronicle since the vacant half-page on Faustina B. IX fo.11v.[16] This physical evidence suggests that Scribe 16's solo stint signified not just a change in scribal arrangements, but also a new stage in the management of the chronicle's production.

This coincides with another change. From Faustina B. IX fo.31 to fo.39 (not including fo.38, which was originally a flyleaf) there are 45 prickings on the outer margin of each folio. Up to the end of the annal for 1215 (the foot of fo.32r) all but the bottom pricking has been used in ruling the surface for writing. This changes in fo.32v, however, from which point the pattern is abandoned in favour of between 34 and 41 ruled lines per page (not including fo.34v). Again, it seems that this stratum can be defined by the beginning of a new, less economical approach to the use of parchment.

Dating: Stratum 9 must date from sometime after Stratum 8 (in or later than January 1218) and before Stratum 11 (in the autumn of 1222). It finishes with the beginning of the annal for 1217, but only gives an account of events in July of that year: a brief notice of the consecration of Richard Marsh, bishop of Durham (undated in the text, but datable to 24 July);[17] and a copy of a newsletter sent by Roger, abbot of Warden, to William, abbot of Rievaulx, giving an account of the defeat of a French attempt to invade England.

[16] There is also a gap of 60mm to 65mm on fo.32r during the annal for 1215, but this is the result of the erasure of an entry. The gap on fo.11v was left by Scribe 6 at the end of his stint, and was not itself intended as part of any design: for the preparation of this part of the manuscript, see 62 (chapter V).

[17] *ES*, ii. 420 n.4.

Stratum 10: Scribe 16, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.35r line 20 to fo.35v line 25 (*coacti*) (pp.67–8 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: continuation of annal for 1217.
Date: [January 1218]×[autumn 1222], probably 1218 or not long after.

This is a continuation of Scribe 16's work, but is clearly and consistently different in its presentation from Scribe 16's stint identified as Stratum 9. In Stratum 9 he regularly used text-division signs which are in red ink; this ceases from fo.35r line 20. From this point until the end of Scribe 16's contribution to the chronicle the text-division signs are in the same black ink as the text itself.[18] There is no reason to doubt that, in both strata, the text-division signs are by Scribe 16 himself. This change in the presentation of text-division signs coincides with other features. The colour of ink changes from brown (throughout Stratum 9) to black (throughout this stratum). On its own this need not be significant, except that from this point there is a marked enlargement in Scribe 16's writing which, although it diminishes during line 25, remains larger than the consistently compact writing of Stratum 9.

The first item in this stratum (noting the foundation of Culross Abbey and the arrival of its first monks from Kinloss) is a paragraph on its own. Although it is in larger writing than the rest of the stratum, the change does not coincide with the end of the item: the same size is continued in the first line of the next item. It should almost certainly be regarded as part of this stratum: the difference in presentation may simply reflect the significance that was (naturally) attached by Melrose to a new foundation within its family of monasteries. It and the following item are signalled by text-division signs which, although they are of the same kind as elsewhere in Stratum 10, are peculiar in being placed deep in the inner margin (rather than close beside the text, as is Scribe 16's habit elsewhere when an item begins on a new line). It is as if the text-division signs were an afterthought, and were added only after Scribe 16 had begun to enter the material beginning on line 25.

Dating: The chronological arrangement of events which has hitherto been maintained in Strata 7–9 breaks down. Stratum 9 finished with events in July 1217; Stratum 10 begins with events in February and March of that year, and later darts from September to May, to July, to June, to December, and then back to March. It may be inferred from this that the process of working up a draft from earlier notes had ceased after the annal for 1216 was completed (and probably did not include the letter from the abbot of Glenluce copied at the end of that annal). The random nature of the material for 1217 could be explained by supposing that Scribe 16 more or less transferred existing notes directly into the chronicle (a process which may have begun at the end of Stratum 9 which predominantly comprises copies of letters). He cannot have

[18] On fo.35v they are, additionally (with one exception), given the same red highlight as text-division signs in Stratum 11 (beginning lower on fo.35v), which suggests that this embellishment was added in Stratum 11 and was not an original feature of Stratum 10.

done this earlier than January 1218 (the latest date-limit for Stratum 8). He did not, however, include Scribe 17's detailed account of the war between Henry III on one side and Louis of France and Alexander II on the other, from the defeat of Louis' forces at Lincoln (20 May) to Alexander's homage to Henry at Northampton before Christmas. This may have been too sensitive to be entered into the chronicle without first being drafted. Some notes on this had presumably already been taken, which could explain how the record of the separate peace between Louis and Henry in 11 September 1217, agreed without Alexander's knowledge, was anticipated in the account of Alexander's homage to Louis in the early autumn of 1216 (fo.33r).

Stratum 10 must date from sometime after Stratum 8 (sometime in or later than January 1218) and before Stratum 11 (in the autumn of 1222). The inference that it concluded with an unedited series of notes suggests that it was probably entered into the chronicle sometime in 1218 (or not long thereafter). This may be supported by the careful omission of some material which could not be entered without being drafted, and which (it may be guessed) had not yet been finalised because the train of events following Alexander II's submission to Henry III at the end of 1217 had not yet reached a conclusion. This would have included the delegation to Scotland on behalf of the papal legate Guala Bicchieri in January 1218, sent to absolve Alexander and his kingdom from the interdict imposed by the legate late in 1216 for supporting Louis; this led to a dispute between Guala and the Scottish Cistercian houses, lasting for most of 1218. All this was drafted for entry in the next stratum.

Section V

Further continuation (in two stages) sometime in or between mid-September and early November 1222 (Strata 11, 12 and 12A)

This section is limited to filling the gathering added in the previous section. The first continuation (Stratum 11) began with an extensive account of events in 1217 and 1218, and then becomes more limited. This is datable to within weeks of its final item. A pattern of entering events very shortly after they occurred was continued in the next brief stratum (Stratum 12), suggesting a break in the system of gathering material for drafting before entry en bloc into the chronicle. Contemporary notes were still kept, however (see Stratum 13).[19]

Stratum 11: Scribe 17, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.35v line 25 (*xiii kal.*') to fo.37v, and fo.39r lines 1–10 and lines 16–18 (*beate Marie*) (pp.68–73, and 75 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: remainder of annal for 1217 to first part of annal for 1222.

Date: autumn 1222 (6 September×[early November]).

[19] The repetition of the death of Abbot Geoffrey of Dundrennan in Strata 12 and 13 could be explained by supposing that the first was entered as soon as it was known (see below, 138–9), while the latter was entered from a collection of notes.

This stratum is defined as Scribe 17's stint, filling most of the remainder of the gathering prepared for Scribes 15 and 16. (Fo.38 is a later insertion.) It begins with a coherent and detailed account of key incidents in the war in England from May 1217. There is no indication that Scribes 16 and 17 worked together. Scribe 18 has corrected or improved Scribe 17's work on a few occasions by erasure and rewriting, but did not otherwise work with Scribe 17 in continuing the main text in this stratum. The point when Scribe 18 took over writing the main text can be regarded as a new stratum.[20]

There is some variation in presentation within Stratum 11: gaps between annals are inconsistent;[21] different designs of text-division sign are used; and the large red initial *A* of *Anno* that begins each annal is not uniform in style. In the annal for 1220 the scribe has written *Anno* in full before the rubricator added an enlarged red initial *A*, so that the *A* has been repeated. On closer scrutiny of the forms of initial *A* of *Anno*, however, it is evident that the first (for 1218) and last (for 1222) are particularly elaborate (with an extended leg garnished with a dot sandwiched by two cross-lines, and a 'v'-shaped cross-stroke in the body of the *A*); the other examples of enlarged red initial *A* of *Anno* (for 1219, 1220 and 1221) are consistently plainer in design. This suggests that the whole of Scribe 17's stint was decorated on one occasion. It may be inferred in turn that the stratum was produced in a single campaign.

Dating: The latest event in this stratum is the death of Alexander, abbot of Deer, on 6 September 1222 en route to a General Chapter (the exact date is not given by Scribe 17, but has been added by Scribe 18). This is likely to have been entered into the chronicle very soon after it became known in Melrose (communicated either from members of the abbot's own entourage returning to Scotland, or by other Cistercian abbots): the next stratum begins with the death of Geoffrey, abbot of Dundrennan, returning from the same General Chapter, which was evidently entered no later than early November. If the stratum was entered into the chronicle on one occasion, then this suggests a date in the autumn of 1222, no earlier than October.[22]

Stratum 12: Scribe 18, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.39r line 18 (*In reditu*) to fo.39v line 12 (*producendum*) (pp.75–6 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: most of the annal for 1222.
Date: early October 1222×early November 1222.

20 The addition by Scribe 18 of an exact date at the very end of Scribe 17's stint may be regarded as the last of his improvements to Scribe 17's text rather than the beginning of Scribe 18's stint on the main text.

21 The gap between the annals for 1221 and 1222 has been filled later with an entry by Scribe 19 (see Stratum 13).

22 The record of Robert de Curzon's death in the Holy Land at the end of the annal for 1220 (when in fact he died there during the winter of 1218–19) has been regarded as evidence that material was recorded in the order in which information was received (*ES*, ii. 442 n.5). This, however, need only be true of the notes taken before the material of this stratum was drafted for entry into the chronicle. The way Robert of Curzon's death is described would not have alerted anyone preparing the draft to know that it was chronologically misplaced.

Although Scribe 18 added the date when Abbot Alexander of Deer died, his stint as the scribe of the main text presumably began with the next item where the quality of the writing changes (and remains consistent for the remainder of this scribe's contribution). It was evidently Scribe 18's intention to write a large and formal script; but, as the Andersons put it, 'the writer tended to revert to a more habitual style' (liv). The attempt at emphatic formality was doubtless in response to the subject matter: Scribe 18's stint is (apart from an obit) taken up with a lengthy account of the martyrdom of Bishop Adam of Caithness (formerly abbot of Melrose) on 11 September 1222.

Dating: It may be presumed, from the lack of any reference in the vivid account of Bishop Adam's death to the vengeance meted out to the culprits by Alexander II, that this was drafted, and then entered into the chronicle, before mid-November 1222. It is stated in *Gesta Annalia* that Alexander was informed of Adam's death while he was at Jedburgh, from where he was intending to travel to England.[23] This receives independent confirmation from a safe-conduct given to Alexander II on 13 August to go as a pilgrim to Canterbury, and to visit King Henry III.[24] (According to Bower's *Scotichronicon*, Alexander finally embarked on the journey to Canterbury on 11 June 1223 and later met Henry, before returning in the autumn.)[25] Alexander's swift retribution is also vouchsafed by a papal reply, dated 13 January 1223, to a letter written by Scottish bishops in order to make the pope aware of the king's prompt action. The bishops' letter must have been dispatched no later than mid-November.[26] (Note that the bishops corroborate *Gesta Annalia*, for it is apparent in the papal reply that they told how Alexander learned of Adam's death when he was at the border of his kingdom en route to England.)[27] News of Alexander's activities in Caithness would presumably have become known in Melrose no later than this date.

The only other complete item in this stratum precedes the account of Bishop Adam's death. It is a notice of the death of Geoffrey, abbot of Dundrennan, while returning from the General Chapter. The day of his death is not specified. The General Chapter was usually held at Cîteaux on or about the Feast of the Holy Cross on 14 September, and lasted for five days.[28] Adam of Harcarres, abbot of Melrose, or another Scottish abbot passing through Melrose, may therefore have arrived at Melrose by the beginning of October, bearing the news of the death of the abbot of Dundrennan.[29]

23 *Chron. Fordun*, i. 289; *Chron. Fordun*, ii. 285.

24 *CDS*, i. no.831.

25 *Scotichronicon*, v. 116.

26 It has been reckoned that the journey from Scotland to Anagni would have taken two months: for discussion see *Scotichronicon*, vi. 260.

27 *ES*, ii. 450, n.5.

28 Jacques Hourlier, *Le Chapitre Général jusqu'au moment du Grand Schisme* (Paris, 1936), 65, 166–7.

29 Abbots from Scotland were by this time permitted to attend once every four years, rather than annually (as was generally the case): Canivez (ed.), *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium*, i. 67 (statute 1157.62); and in general see Jean-Berthold Mahn, *L'Ordre cistercien et son gouvernement*

Bishop Adam's death cannot, therefore, have been entered until after the abbot of Dundrennan's death was known at Melrose. This stratum may, therefore, be dated to sometime in or between early October and early November 1222.

Stratum 12A: insertion of Faustina B. IX fo.38 (written by Scribe +3 on fo.38r only: p.73 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: first part of a letter on the fall of Damietta in 1219.
Date (of inclusion as fo.1): probably 1220×2.

This is defined by the insertion of fo.38 into the chronicle (rather than by the writing itself, which was not originally intended for the chronicle). It is a copy of a letter concerning the fall of Damietta in 1219, but is incomplete: the writing stops in mid-sentence at the foot of fo.38r. It is likely to be a copy made at Melrose but abandoned, and which then came to be used as a flyleaf.

The folio was not originally inserted between fos 37 and 39. At the end of the annal for 1219, following a brief notice of the fall of Damietta by Scribe 17, another scribe (probably Scribe 18) has added (fo.37v lines 4–5) *N' Nouembrum sicut in primo folio uoluminis huius plenius continetur*, 'as is more fully contained in the first folio of this volume'. This is evidently a reference to fo.38, and shows that it was initially added as a flyleaf. This is confirmed by the rubbed appearance of fo.38v (which also shows that fo.38r was originally the verso of the first folio).[30] The position of this stratum in the relative chronology of the chronicle's development depends on this note on fo.37v: it suggests that fo.38 was added within a few years of the letter being written, but before Scribe 18 had ceased to be involved with the chronicle. It is impossible to be sure whether the folio was added before or after Scribe 18's stint (hence its designation here as 'Stratum 12A' rather than 'Stratum 13').

Section VI
Decline in chronicling between ca 1225 to 1233 (or soon thereafter) (Strata 13–16)

The continuation of the chronicle in Stratum 13 is brief, and was probably entered some time after the events described in the only annal which belongs entirely to this section (1223). The haphazard order of events in 1223 suggests that notes were entered without much drafting. There was then evidently a hiatus before occasional continuations were made, leaving large gaps on the page. The continuation beyond Stratum 13 (which ended in the singleton, Faustina B. IX fo.40) may have coincided with the addition of three bifolia (fos 41–46). A return to a more usual format and a more economical use of space is evident in Stratum 16. The overall impression is that chronicling activity all but ceased for a time. It seems that the regular keeping of notes fell away after 1223, bringing to an end whatever system of

des origins au milieu du XIIIe siècle (1098–1265) (Paris, 1945), 178–82.

30 At some point it followed fo.52: in the earliest foliation fo.38 is 'fo.53' and fo.53 is 'fo.54'.

news-gathering and other acquisition of material had operated for the previous decade or two.

Stratum 13: Scribe 19: Faustina B. IX fo.39r lines 10–15 (*Eodem anno...exaltari*) and lines 37–39, and the principal hand from fo.39v lines 12 (*Obiit dompnus Gaufridus*) to 17, and fo.39v line 24 to fo.40r (pp.75–77 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: addition to annal for 1221; remainder of annal for 1222 and annal for 1223, and year-numbers for blank annals 1224–5.
Date: 1 February 1224×[9 November 1227].

Stratum 13A: Scribe 20: addition on Faustina B. IX fo.39v lines 17–21 (p.76 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: a succession in annal for 1222.
Date: January 1226×9 November 1227.

Stratum 14: Scribe 19 (continued), Scribe 21 (year-numbers 1226–8), the principal hands from Faustina B. IX fo.40v to fo.41r (pp.78–9 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal for 1227.
Date: 23 September 1227×1230 (after 30 April?).

Stratum 15: Scribe 19 (continued) in collaboration with Scribe 22, continuing the chronicle at Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 1–3 and 19–20, fo.42r lines 1–2, 14–15, 19–22 and 24–25, and fo.42v as far as line 14 (pp.80–2 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1229–32, and item at beginning of 1233.
Date: 1233 (after 11 February, and probably after 11 April)×[early 1240]; possibly mid- or late 1233.

Stratum 16: Scribe 22: additions at Faustina B. IX fo.41r lines 11–12 and fo.41v lines 22–24, and continuation of chronicle on fo.42v from line 16 (pp.78–9 and 82 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: additions in 1227 and 1230, and entries for 1233.
Date: 11 September 1233×[early 1240]; possibly in or soon after late 1233 (perhaps two clusters, the earlier written after 15 May).

This is the most complex section to disentangle into strata. It is best, therefore, to discuss the strata together. The intertwining of scribal activity in fos 39r–42v can be seen in the chart below. Items assigned to Strata 13–16 are boxed and highlighted in bold. (Line numbers denote lines ruled for writing.) Marginal entries by Scribes 28 and 29 are not included; neither have the much later additions on fo.40r by Scribes 41 and 43.

fo.39r lines1–10	Scribe 17 (Stratum 11)
lines 10–15	**Scribe 19**
lines 16–18	Scribe 17 (Stratum 11)
lines 18–35	Scribe 18 (Stratum 12)

	lines 37–39 (continuing from lines 10–15)	**Scribe 19**
fo.39v	line 1–12	Scribe 18 (Stratum 12)
	lines 12–17	**Scribe 19**
	lines 17–21	**Scribe 20**
fo.39v	**line 24–fo.40r line 5**	**Scribe 19**
fo.40r	**line 13 (year-number for 1224)**	**Scribe 19**
	line 29 (year-number for 1225)	**Scribe 19**
fo.40v	**year numbers for 1226 and 1227**	**Scribe 21**
	single item for 1227	**Scribe 19**
fo.41r	**lines 1–3 (a single item)**	**Scribe 19**
	lines 6–8 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	line 11 (as far as *Hunum*) (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 11–12 (addition)	**Scribe 22**
	line 15 (year-number for 1228)	**Scribe 21**
fo.41v	**line 1 (year-number for 1229)**	**Scribe 22**
	lines 1–3 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	line 19 (year number for 1230)	**Scribe 22**
	lines 19–20 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 22–24 (a single item)	**Scribe 22**
	lines 24–25 (a single item)	Scribe 24 (Stratum 17)
	lines 26–27 (a single item)	Scribe 26 (Stratum 19)
fo.42r	**line 1 (year number for 1231)**	**Scribe 22**
	lines 1–2 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 2–3 (a single item)	Scribe 24 (Stratum 17)
	lines 14–15 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 19–20 (year-number for 1232 + single item)	**Scribe 22**
	lines 21–22 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 24–25 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
fo.42v	**lines 1–9 (a single item)**	**Scribe 19**
	line 11 (year-number for 1233)	Scribe 28 (Stratum 21A)
	lines 11–14 (a single item)	**Scribe 19**
	lines 16–18 (a single item)	**Scribe 22**
	lines 20–29 (entries, each begun on new line)	**Scribe 22**
	line 32 (incomplete single item)	**Scribe 22**

The division between Strata 13 and 14 is suggested by an abrupt break in Scribe 19's production after the annal for 1223. Up to this point he had filled in and continued the work of his predecessors. The layout here is consistent with that of previous principal scribes: a gap is left between annals, but no space is left between entries, which are indicated only by text-division signs. The page which he started at the top of fo.40r, however, is largely blank, with 1224 and 1225 represented by year-numbers alone. It is as if he had run out of material. There is also some indication that fo.40 (a singleton) was not added immediately: this, at least, may help to explain two notes by Scribe N8

in the lower margin of fo.39v. The first (erased) was not completed;[31] the second relates to the last item on fo.39v recording the succession of Abbot Ralph of Grey Abbey (Co. Down) to the abbacy of Holm Cultram, and states *huic Radulfo ignoratur quis successerit*, 'it is not known who may have succeeded this Ralph' (as abbot of Grey Abbey, presumably). This information, however, is given by Scribe 19 on fo.40r with a notice of the succession of John, cellarer of Glenluce, as abbot of Grey Abbey.[32]

The addition of three bifolia (Faustina B. IX fos 41–46) shows that there was a serious intention to continue the chronicle, even though a rather limited attempt was eventually made to do so. Only fos 40v (which would have been blank before this stage) to 42v were used initially, with a strikingly uneconomical use of parchment, leaving gaps between many items as well as between annals. The scribes involved can be placed in two groups. Those whose work appears no later than this section (Scribes 19, 21 and 22: the last two are confined to these folios); and those who are found later, and whose activity is likely to be retrospective (Scribes 24, 26 and 28). More than one stratum of activity can be identified in the work of the first group of scribes. Stratum 14 is defined by the coincidence between the year-numbers added by Scribe 21 and a series of items (confined to 1227) by Scribe 19 which, judging from the consistency of the writing, were entered in one stint. There is a contrast between the writing of these items and Scribe 19's writing elsewhere.[33]

The next stratum, Stratum 15, is heralded by year-numbers for 1229–32 by a new scribe, Scribe 22, providing a chronological frame for the remainder of Scribe 19's entries.[34] Unlike Scribe 21, Scribe 22's work was not confined to year-numbers alone. The only occasion, however, in which he provided the first item in an annal, immediately following the year-number, is after his final year-number (1232). This was probably entered on the same occasion as his year-numbers. It is followed immediately by an item in the hand of Scribe 19, who is otherwise responsible for the first entries in the other annals in this stratum (1229–31), each without a gap after Scribe 22's year-number. This stage in Scribe 19's activity evidently continued beyond Scribe 22's year-numbers, however, because his final contribution is the first item for 1233, leaving an inadequate gap for the year-number for 1233 (which was not

31 It reads *hic defic*, i.e. *hic deficit*, 'it [the chronicle] fails here'.

32 The Andersons commented that 'the note implies that the composition of the chronicle was delayed until the missing information was obtained' (liii). It is striking, however, that Scribe 19 finished fo.39v after writing *sub* of *substitutus*. Perhaps the remainder of the word, and the rest of the sentence (including John of Glenluce's succession to Grey Abbey), existed in draft and was not entered into the chronicle until the new gathering was added.

33 The Andersons did not make this distinction, classifying all the material on fos 40v–42v assigned here to Scribe 19 to their division 'K3' (with one exception: the item on fo.42r lines 24–25, which is more formal in appearance). The Andersons regarded 'K3' as a catch-all for those parts of K they did not assign to specific styles, and commented on the 'considerable variations' in K3 which 'may result from its being done at various times' (liii).

34 It is not clear that Scribes 21 and 22 necessarily worked with Scribe 19 by providing a chronological framework for his material.

supplied by Scribe 22: it was eventually squeezed in by Scribe 28). Scribe 19's contributions in this stratum were probably not made on one occasion (particularly the more formal writing of fo.42r lines 24–25).

Scribe 22 also made a number of entries which followed some of Scribe 19's work in Stratum 15. Stratum 16 is defined by this second stage in Scribe 22's work. It not only includes Scribe 22's continuation of the annal for 1233, but also comprises an addition to Scribe 19's final item under 1227 and an item under 1230 (which, from its position on the page, must be subsequent to the initial item under that year by Scribe 19).

Returning to Faustina B. IX fo.39v, the item by Scribe 20 from line 17 (*Obiit pie memorie*) to line 21 is inserted in a gap left between annals by Scribe 19. It is presumably later than Scribe 19's first stint. The Andersons likened the script to Scribe 17 (hand I1 in their synopsis), and classified it as I2. It is unlikely to be much later than Scribe 19's first stint, and might belong to the hiatus between Strata 13 and 14. The item cannot be placed more securely than this in the relative chronology of the chronicle's development, hence its tentative designation as Stratum 13A.

Dating: Stratum 13A concerns the succession of two archdeacons of Glasgow in 1222, finishing with Thomas of Stirling, *clericus postmodum cancellarius domini regis Scocie*, 'a clerk, afterwards chancellor, of the lord king of Scotland'. Thomas became chancellor in January 1226. It might be expected, given the reference to his subsequent career, that some allusion to Thomas's death in 1227 would have been made (he died sometime after 23 September and before 9 November 1227).[35] (His death is duly noted in the annal for 1227 in Stratum 14.)

If Stratum 13A can thus be dated to sometime in or between January 1226 and the autumn of 1227, then this can also serve as the latest date-limit for Stratum 13. The fact that Stratum 13 concludes with blank annals for 1224 and 1225 does not necessarily signify that it should be dated to 1225 or later: the year-numbers could have been entered in advance. There are, however, indications in the text of the stratum that material was drafted at some remove from the events described. The account of the remarriage of the widow of Walter de Lindsay in 1222, for example, is said to have been related by her second husband after he had been to Rome to secure a dispensation so that he might remain in the marriage he had contracted. Some time had apparently elapsed, therefore, between the marriage itself in 1222 and the recording of the marriage in the chronicle.[36] In the next annal it

[35] *ES*, ii. 462 n.3

[36] It is also striking that a gap has been left for the name of Walter of Lindsay's widow: this would presumably have been known if this item had been drafted soon after the second husband had given his account of his acquiring a dispensation. Another gap, in the annal for 1223, has been left for the age of King Philip II of France at his death. It is filled by Scribe 19 with the confession that this was not known to him. Perhaps some time had elapsed between the drafting of this item (in the expectation that Philip's age might become known) and its entry into the chronicle (when hope was abandoned of ever discovering this).

is also probable that the death of Abbot William of Rievaulx on 1 February occurred in 1224 rather than 1223;[37] if so, this would supply an earliest date-limit of 1 February 1224.

Stratum 14 is limited to events in 1227. A possible sign of contemporaneity is the reference in the annal for 1227 to the appointment of Matthew Scot as the king's chancellor in succession to Thomas of Stirling, who died that year. Matthew himself died in 1230 (sometime after 30 April).[38] It might perhaps be expected that some allusion to Matthew's death would have been made had it occurred by the time this entry was made.

Scribe 22's preparation of a chronological frame in Stratum 15 may date to not long after the election of William of Bondington as bishop of Glasgow sometime between 11 April and 7 June 1233 (noted in the only entry made by Scribe 22 at this stage).[39] If the bulk of Stratum 15 consisted of Scribe 19's initial entries, then these could be dated to sometime after its final item, recording the death of Queen Ermengarde on 11 February 1233. Perhaps most, if not all, of this stratum can be dated to before the resignations of the abbots of Glenluce and Holm Cultram later in 1233, part of the next stratum.

In Stratum 16 the material completing the annal for 1233 is laid out in two clusters, with a single item (the death of William Comyn, earl of Buchan) standing in isolation at the end. This might (but need not) be explained by the entry of events in batches as they became known at Melrose. The latest date to the day recorded in the first cluster is 15 May; the latest in the second cluster is 11 September. The item added to 1230 was almost certainly written some time after the event. It is stated there that Mael Coluim, who succeeded his uncle Mael Coluim as earl of Fife that year, *postea duxit uxorem filiam Leulini*, 'afterwards married the daughter of Llywelyn': this seems to be a mistaken reference to the marriage of John of Scotland to Elen, daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.[40] Perhaps a source has been misread.

37 *ES*, ii. 454 n.1, where it is pointed out that Abbot William's obit appears in 1224 in the Waverley Chronicle (Henry Richards Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1864–9), ii. 299), and that Abbot William witnessed a chirograph (NAS GD 55/195) dated 1223 (taken to mean 25 March 1223×24 March 1224) recording an agreement between Melrose and Vaudey (Lincolnshire).

38 Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 124.

39 Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 189. It is striking that Scribe 22 did not provide a year-number for 1233, although Scribe 19 had need of it. Perhaps Scribe 19's material initially ran only as far as 1232. Scribes 19 and 22 need not have been working together, however.

40 G. W. S. Barrow, 'Wales and Scotland in the Middle Ages', *Welsh History Review*, 10 (1980–1), 302–19, at 313, where it is pointed out that Earl Mael Coluim's wife was also called Helen, and lived into the 1290s. Professor Barrow concludes: 'Provisionally, therefore, we must regard the statement of the Melrose chronicle as unproven and perhaps due to a simple slip on the part of the scribe.' Elen, John's widow, married Robert de Quincy (d.1257) before the end of 1237, and so cannot have married Earl Mael Coluim. Neither can Mael Coluim's wife have been one of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's other known daughters. Logically there are three possibilities: either (as has been suggested) this is an error; Mael Coluim married an otherwise unknown (presumably illegitimate) daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth; or Mael Coluim's wife was the daughter of another, less significant Llywelyn (e.g., Llywelyn Fawr ab Owain of Mechain, who was dead by 1241, or Llywelyn ap

Section VII
Resumption of organised continuation, probably early 1240 (Stratum 17)

The chronicle returns here to a system of entering a block of text covering a number of years, drafted presumably from contemporary notes. (This reaches only as far as the penultimate folio of the three bifolia (Faustina B. IX fos 42–46) added when the chronicle was extended in Stratum 14.) The recovery of the chronicle's momentum is also apparent in the use of space. The first two pages (fo.43r–v) are almost filled with writing, with only a small gap between the annals for 1234 and 1235. Another notable feature is that each item is begun on a new line; this is maintained until midway down the third page (fo.44r). The chronicle also became visually more impressive than before, with strikingly elaborate pen-drawn initials at the beginning of each annal, and at the beginning of items which must have been deemed to be especially significant. A knowledge of other parts of the chronicle is shown in the description (fo.43v) of Scots rampaging in Galloway in 1235, which re-uses material from the account (fo.33r) of Scottish atrocities in 1216.[41]

Stratum 17: Scribes 23 and 24, the principal scribes from Faustina B. IX fo.43r to fo.45r line 8 (pp.83–7 in the Andersons' edition), and additions at fo.41v lines 24–25, fo.42r lines 2–3 (pp.80–1 in the Andersons' edition).

Coverage: annals for 1234–9, and arrivals of Dominicans and Valliscaulians to Scotland in 1230, and of Franciscans in 1231.

Date: 1240×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; probably early 1240.

This is defined by the activity of Scribes 23 and 24. They evidently copied from the same draft: Scribe 24 takes over from Scribe 23 in mid-sentence (one finishing at the foot of fo.43r and the other picking up from the top of fo.43v). Their work in continuing the chronicle is united by a series of elaborately decorated initials at the beginning of each section of text. Scribe 23 also made a couple of additions to material in Strata 15 and 16.

Dating: It appears that the annals for 1234–9 were entered in one campaign.[42] The annal for 1239 is quite full, giving a chronologically coherent account of events throughout the year. The stratum was presumably not entered until early in 1240. If the next stratum can be dated not long after Easter 1240, then it would follow that this stratum was probably entered sometime early in 1240.

Maredudd, lord of Meirionnydd, killed in 1263). None of these possibilities commend themselves.

41 *ES*, ii. 497 n.2.

42 A sign of composition across more than one annal is the reference in 1237 to the death of Queen Joanna, which is duly noted in the annal for 1238.

Section VIII

Collapse of sustained continuation, and development of retrospective additions: 1240s and 1250s (Strata 18–21A)

The chronicle's momentum fell away once more after 1240. Strata 18 and 19 may represent spasmodic updatings to the annal for 1240 not long after the events recorded. In Stratum 19 this was combined with an insertion under 1230. Stratum 20 reveals a markedly different approach to the tasks of continuing the annal for 1240 and including material relating to previous years. Instead of making insertions under earlier years, a concoction of chronological confusion was created by bringing together events which occurred between 1238 and 1246 within the annal for 1240. It appears that any system that may have existed at the beginning of this section for maintaining the chronicle as a contemporary record had broken down. This is reinforced by Strata 20A, 21 and 21A, which are characterised by the repeated and sometimes sustained effort to expand the existing stock of the chronicle's text, ranging across the entire chronological span of the material from AD 731 onwards. This was probably the predominant activity in the chronicle's development throughout most of the 1240s and 1250s, and is likely to have been accompanied by provision of many of the sign-post rubrics which are found in the margins, particularly between Faustina B. IX fo.16v and fo.45r.

Stratum 18: Scribe 25, Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 14–17 (p.87 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: beginning of annal for 1240.
Date: 15 April 1240×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; probably mid- or late 1240.

Defined by Scribe 25's brief attempt to maintain the chronicle. There are only two items. The enlarged rather plain initial at the beginning of the annal points to a retreat from the high quality achieved in the previous section.

Dating: The text consists only of (i) a notice of the death of an abbot of Rievaulx (who had been a monk of Melrose) on 8 January 1240, and the succession *post pascha*, 'after Easter' (15 April), of Adam de Tilletai, abbot of ... (there is a blank for the name); and (ii) the consecration of David de Bernham as bishop of St Andrews on 22 January. This could be an incomplete copy of the annal for 1240 which is then continued in the next stratum, whose earliest datable event is the death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth *rex Wallie*, 'king of Wales', on 11 April (the exact date is not given here). There is nothing, however, to show that the next scribe (Scribe 26) worked with Scribe 25: indeed, Scribe 26 began on a new line (even though he preferred in his own brief stint to begin a new item immediately after the previous one). It is perhaps more likely, then, that the very limited chronological range of Stratum 18 reflects its insertion before the year was finished. The significance

of the two items could have merited such prompt treatment. If so, the stratum could be dated sometime soon after 15 April 1240.

Stratum 19: Scribe 26, Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 26–27, fo.45r line 18 (to *officio suo* and from *Obiit L'*), and lines 19–20 (to *ei successit*) (pp.80 and 87 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: consecration of English bishops added under 1230, and continuation of annal for 1240.

Date: [15 April 1240]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; possibly late 1240, or soon after.

This is defined by the activity of Scribe 26, who added four items to the annal for 1240 and another under 1230 (not necessarily in a single sitting).

Dating: No exact dates are given here; the only event which can be dated precisely is the death of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (11 April 1240). It is possible, given the nature of the material in Stratum 19, and particularly the failure to mention something as significant as the calling of a General Council at the end of the year, and the departure of Scottish bishops in order to attend it (which appears in the next stratum), to regard this as possibly entered during 1240 itself. It might therefore be a continuation of a pattern, established (arguably) in the previous stratum, of entering material soon after it occurred. Be this as it may, the addition under 1230 is chronologically uncertain, which suggests that it was copied from a source some time later (conceivably in or not long after 1240). It is a notice of the consecrations of Richard Grant, archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Black, bishop of London, and Hugh of Northwold, bishop of Ely, which actually occurred on 10 June 1229.[43]

Stratum 20: Scribe 27, Faustina B. IX fo.45r line 18 (*et dompnus...successit*), and from line 20 (*Item obiit Iocelinus*) to line 28 (to *dolentes*) (p.87 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: various material placed in annal for 1240.

Date: 2 November 1246×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; *ca* 1250?

This is defined by Scribe 27's continuation of the chronicle where Scribe 26 left off, including the correction of an item (by erasure and over-writing). It is written as an expansion of a single block of text begun by Scribe 26's stint in this annal. It does not necessarily follow, however, that Scribe 27 worked with Scribe 26. Some material at the end may have been lost by erasure by Scribe 30 (see Stratum 22A, item (v)).

Dating: The stratum begins and ends with events correctly assigned to 1240 (the succession of John, abbot of Dryburgh, and the departure of the bishops of Glasgow and St Andrews for the General Council called for the following

[43] Also, the new bishop of Ely was mistakenly identified as Roger (rather than Hugh), abbot of Bury St Edmunds: presumably the scribe repeated 'Roger' from Roger Black. Also, he initially wrote Lincoln for London before correcting himself.

year). Some of the English episcopal successions noticed in between, however, are quite inappropriate for this year. These comprise five items (the actual dates and other relevant information[44] are given in square brackets):

> Death of Jocelin, bishop of Bath [19 November 1242].[45]
>
> Succession of William Raleigh as bishop of Norwich [elected 10 April 1239, and consecrated 25 September that year]; a blank space is left for the name of his predecessor in an attempt to give his obit [Raleigh's predecessor was Thomas Blundeville, who died 16 August 1236; the subsequent election of Simon of Elmham was quashed on 17 January 1239].
>
> Death of Master Robert of Bi[n]gham, bishop of Salisbury [2/3 November 1246].
>
> Death of Master Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury [16 November 1240].
>
> Death of Alexander, bishop of Chester [i.e. Coventry and Lichfield] [26 December 1238], and succession of Hugh Pattishall [elected 1239, consecrated 1 July 1240].

This chronological soup suggests a further decline in contemporary chronicling activity. Perhaps Scribe 27 was working from a draft in which this information had been assembled in such a rough-and-ready fashion that it could be misconstrued as relating to a single annal. Be this as it may, it is clear that Scribe 27 performed his stint later than the death of Robert of Bingham, bishop of Salisbury, in November 1246 (but not necessarily much later).[46] If Scribe 27's other work on the chronicle (Stratum 20A) might be dated to 1249, then this could possibly be an approximate date for this stratum, on the assumption that a scribe who made a limited contribution may have been involved with the chronicle for only a short time. If Stratum 19 was completed before the end of 1240 (as proposed above), then this would suggest a hiatus of at least six years in continuing the chronicle, even to such a limited extent.

Stratum 20A: Scribe 27, rewriting and additions on Faustina B. IX fos 12v and 13v (pp.22 and 24 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: addition of Scottish royal successions in annals from 1034 to 1056.

Date: [probably 2 November 1246]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; soon after 8 July 1249?

This part of Scribe 27's activity is so different in nature from Stratum 20 that it is best to treat it as a stratum in its own right, even though its place in the sequence of strata can only be established with reference to Scribe 27's other

[44] Derived from E. B. Fryde *et al.* (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd edn (London, 1986).

[45] Square brackets denote information not supplied in the text of the chronicle.

[46] *Pace* the Andersons' suggestion that this part of Scribe 27's activity 'might have been 1240×1241' (lvii). The wide range of dates in the English episcopal successions was, however, noted by A. O. Anderson in *ES*, ii. 517 n.5.

work (hence 'Stratum 20A', rather than 'Stratum 21'). It consists of a brief series of entries on the Scottish royal succession added to the annals for 1034, 1039, 1055 and 1056. This represents the first campaign of insertions to the existing stock of the chronicle (albeit limited) since Scribe 14's efforts on popes and St Guthlac in Stratum 6, about four decades earlier. The chronicle from 1093 onwards has a complete account of the succession of kings of Scots embedded in it. The intention here was evidently to extend this backwards.[47] The concern to emphasise legitimate inheritance according to the rules of primogeniture (which is readily apparent in the text of this stratum) could account for the failure to reach further back than the succession of Donnchad to his grandfather Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda in 1034, for to do so would have required most kings to be branded usurpers (as is Mac Bethad in the entry at 1039).

***Dating*:** It is likely that these insertions belong to the period when Scribe 27 was entrusted with making entries into the chronicle; approximately the same time, therefore, as Stratum 20. This slightly heightened interest in the earlier history of the Scottish kingship could be related to the burial of Alexander II at Melrose Abbey following his death on Kerrera on 8 July 1249.

Stratum 21: Scribe 28: additions scattered throughout Faustina B. IX fos 2v–30v (pp.2–58 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: addition of Scottish royal successions in annals from 741–1214.
Appendix: accession notes for Scottish kings by Scribe 28.

***Date*:** [probably 2 November 1246]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; possibly after 8 July 1249.

The most prominent of Scribe 28's many contributions (see also Stratum 21A) is the piecemeal insertion of the so-called 'Verse Chronicle', an account of the succession of Scottish kings from Cinaed mac Ailpín (d.858) in elegiac

[47] The Andersons (xl) regarded the entry at 1056 as derived from the king-list on fo.14, which begins at this point. (Their conviction that a statement in Stratum 21 about Domnall Bán invading the kingdom was also derived from fo.14 is less compelling.) Moreover, Marjorie Anderson has suggested that it seems probable that fo.14 (which is the tail end of a roll) originally began earlier than it does (Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1980), 75 n.127); this would allow it to have been the source for all the kingship entries in Stratum 20A. A close examination of the top part of fo.14, where it has been mounted, has found no trace of lost text. (There are also internal textual indications that the king-list on this folio originally began with the succession of Mael Coluim III in '1056': see Dauvit Broun, 'Contemporary perspectives on Alexander II's succession: the evidence of king-lists', in Richard D. Oram (ed.), *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49* (Leiden, 2005), 79–98, at 92–3.) This means that if, as seems likely, the entry at 1056 was derived from the same source as the other entries on royal successions, then it must have used another source, cognate with fo.14. (Cognate king-lists are discussed in Broun, *The Irish Identity*, 137–44.) Fo.14 was not originally part of the chronicle, and seems not to have been regarded as such in the memorandum on fo.11v (see 46, chapter IV, for discussion).

couplets.[48] Where space allowed, the verse has been laid out with each line appearing separately. Where space was not available an attempt was made to signal clearly where each extract should be inserted into the chronicle's text. The first extract from the Verse Chronicle is added to the annal for 843; the final extract appears as an addition to the annal for 1214. The process of endowing the chronicle with a succession of kings of Scots was not confined to this, however. Prior to 843 a plain list was used, with *Ewain* the first king to be entered (under 741).[49]

Great care was taken with the integration of this material into the chronicle. Accession notes (most of which have been erased) were initially written at the appropriate points in the margin (they will be reproduced in the second volume of this edition as an appendix to Stratum 21: the latest is for the accession of David I in 1124). When the verse extracts were added, they were often preceded by a brief prose introduction which was written specifically so that the couplets would blend more smoothly into the chronicle's text. Scribe 27's additions to the annals for 1039, 1055 and 1056 (Stratum 20A) fulfilled this function: it is very unlikely, though, that these items were themselves entered for this purpose. They are complete statements of each king's accession, in contrast to the prose introductions attached to Scribe 28's inserted verse extracts, which typically say merely that the previous king died, leaving the succession of the next king to be described in the couplets.

It is difficult to determine with certainty where this material should be placed in the relative chronology of the chronicle's development. It must be later than Stratum 20A, given that it clearly follows Scribe 27's entries in the annals for 1039, 1055 and 1056. The piecemeal insertion of the Verse Chronicle could have gone no further than the accession of Alexander II, because the chronicle had not yet reached the accession of Alexander III (in Stratum 25). A much more conclusive limit was adduced by the Andersons, who observed that some of their third group of marginal rubrics were clearly written sometime after an extract from the Verse Chronicle had been inserted (xlii). These sign-post rubrics were almost certainly added between Strata 25 and 27 (i.e., the Andersons' divisions V1 and V2).[50]

A tighter limit can be suggested if Scribe 28 was responsible for the marginal rubrics in the Andersons' first and second groups. The latest of these draws attention to the obit of an abbot of Coupar Angus in 1240 (in an

48 The 'Verse Chronicle' was also inserted piecemeal into their chronicles by Bower and Wyntoun; it survives intact in only one manuscript (Bodl. Bodley 302 fo.138r–v, published in W. F. Skene (ed.), *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots* (Edinburgh, 1867), 177–82, not entirely accurately): see Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 60–1, and Broun, *The Irish Identity*, 136–7. It was probably originally composed soon after the accession of Alexander II in December 1214: see Broun, 'Contemporary perspectives on Alexander II's succession', 84–8.

49 The archetype of this king-list is η (1165×1214): see Broun, *The Irish Identity* 144–7. The process of entering this list and the Verse Chronicle into the Melrose Chronicle is described in detail in Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 70–1.

50 See Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, lxxvi.

entry by Scribe 26: see Stratum 19). Rubrics might be expected for the death of an abbot of Coupar and appointment of a replacement in 1243 (fo.47r) (in Stratum 22), and also for the death of an abbot of Culross in 1245 (fo.49v) (in Stratum 24).[51] The simplest explanation of this would be that Scribe 28's involvement with the chronicle had ceased before Stratum 22.[52]

Dating: This depends chiefly on the dates of Strata 20A and 22 (if indeed Scribe 28's career with the chronicle fell neatly between the activities of Scribes 27 and 30). On the face of it, there might be a connection between the burial of Alexander II at Melrose following his death on 8 July 1249 and the concerted effort in this stratum to ensure that the chronicle contained as full an account as practicable of the succession to the kingship of the Scots. Perhaps Stratum 20A represented a limited initial effort along these lines.

Stratum 21A: Scribe 28: individual entries or series of entries:

(i) additions to entries on Faustina B. IX fos 16v and 18r–v (pp.30 and 33 in the Andersons' edition).[53]

Coverage: first abbots of Cîteaux, Rievaulx and Melrose.

(ii) marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fos 16v–17r (pp.30–1 in the Andersons' edition).[54]

Coverage: Tironensian events in 1102, 1109, 1115 and 1119.

(iii) additions to entries on Faustina B. IX fos 18v and 19r (pp.34 and 35 in the Andersons' edition).[55]

Coverage: details of abbatial successions in Kelso (1147) and Melrose (1148), and name of first abbot of Kinloss.

(iv) addition (erased) in margin of Faustina B. IX fo.18v (p.34 in the Andersons' edition).[56]

Coverage: foundation of Dryburgh Abbey.

(v) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.19r (p.35 in the Andersons' edition).[57]

Coverage: first abbot of Holm Cultram.

(vi) addition on Faustina B. IX fo.19v (p.36 in the Andersons' edition).[58]

Coverage: obit of bishop of St Andrews in 1159.

(vii) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.22v (p.42 in the Andersons' edition).[59]

51 Other abbatial successions (Glenluce and Cîteaux on fo.47r) are ignored; but they would probably only have been of interest to the Andersons' third group of rubrics.

52 See below, 158–9, for a full discussion of the borrowing of fos 47–53 by the abbot of Dundrennan and its implications for understanding the chronicle's development.

53 Classified by the Andersons as styles 'a' and 'c' associated with 'rubric additions'; there is very little to distinguish between them. The Andersons regarded 'a' as probably also including *primus* attached to the item on the first abbot of Dryburgh under 1150.

54 Classified by the Andersons as style 'b' associated with 'rubric additions'.

55 Classified by the Andersons as styles 'd' and 'e'. They are almost identical.

56 The Andersons style 'f' associated with 'rubric additions' (entered opposite 1148).

57 The Andersons' style 'g'.

58 The Andersons' style 'h'.

Coverage: abbatial succession in Newbattle.

(viii) marginal addition on Faustina B. IX fo.26r (p.49 in the Andersons' edition).[60]

Coverage: abbatial succession at Coupar Angus in 1194.

(ix) additions on Faustina B. IX fo.28r–v (pp.53 and 54 in the Andersons' edition).[61]

Coverage: Cistercian abbatial successions in annals for 1207 and 1209.

(x) marginal addition on Faustina B. IX fo.37v (p.72 in the Andersons' edition).[62]

Coverage: foundation of Deer Abbey in annal for 1219.

(xi) marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fos 40v–41v and 43v (pp.78–80 and 84 in the Andersons' edition).[63]

Coverage: events in annals for 1226, 1228, 1229, 1235 (mainly ecclesiastical *fasti*).

(xii) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.44v (p.86 in the Andersons' edition).[64]

Coverage: succession of abbot of Dundrennan.

(xiii) Scribe 29, marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fo.42r–v and fo.43v (pp.81–2 and 84 in the Andersons' edition).[65]

Coverage: English events in annals for 1231, 1233, 1235.

Date: [probably 2 November 1246]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; probably chiefly during the 1250s.

This material can be grouped together into a single stratum, even though it was obviously produced on many different occasions, firstly because it is probably almost all the work of Scribe 28, and secondly because it is all of a similar nature. Scribe 29 appears to belong to the same period, and was engaged in similar activity. The attribution of nearly all this stratum to Scribe 28 is the chief guide to its place in the relative chronology of the chronicle's development.[66] It is impossible, of course, to determine how much of this activity came before or after Stratum 21, hence the designation of this as Stratum 21A.

Dating: As with Stratum 21, the limits are provided by Strata 20 and 22.[67]

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59 The Andersons' style 'i'.

60 The Andersons' style 'k'.

61 The Andersons' style 'm'.

62 The Andersons' style 'n'.

63 'E3' in the Andersons' synopsis of hands.

64 The Andersons' style 'p'.

65 The Andersons' style 'o'. Probably also includes the marginal comment on fo.45r assigned to style 'q'.

66 The latest item chronologically is the promotion of Richard prior of Melrose to the abbacy of Dundrennan in 1239, which was added to Scribe 24's material (Stratum 17). The note on the succession of Boniface as archbishop of Canterbury, probably by Scribe 29, is in the margin opposite material by Scribe 27 (Stratum 20) (although this is not an insertion into the text of the chronicle, and is not therefore treated as an entry in its own right).

67 Scribe 28's items on fo.14 written in 1242/3 and 1264 are only relevant as indicating Scribe

Section IX

Resumption of continuation, with emphasis on copying letters regarding Emperor Frederick II and the Holy Land; probably sometime in the 1250s (Strata 22–24)

The continuation of the chronicle by entering a block of annals drafted from notes is resumed in this section; but the nature of this material is quite unlike other continuations. The Andersons observed that their R division of hands (Stratum 22) shows the beginning of a tendency to incorporate copies of letters which becomes more pronounced in their S and T divisions (Strata 23 and 24), and suggested that all were copied from the work of a single editor (lvii). There is also a pronounced interest in crusades (from the insertion into the annal for 1238 to the end of the section), and also a concern for imperial-papal relations across both strata. All the letters relate to these topics in some way. The typical annalistic fare found in previous continuations of the chronicle is eventually swamped in this section by these preoccupations. Perhaps notes of contemporary events were not adequately maintained for the years 1244 and 1245: it will be recalled that the updating of the chronicle seems to have fallen away in or after 1240.

A particular problem is presented by the variable nature of Scribe 30's work. Differences in the size of writing and the quality of the pen make it likely that many items or annals were added piecemeal. It might be tempting to divide these into separate strata. It should be emphasised, however, that the annals following 1240 were demonstrably written into the chronicle later than November 1246 (the earliest date for Stratum 20), and the same is likely to be true for the entries added to the annals for 1235, 1238 and 1240. Strata 22 and 23 must be earlier than Stratum 25, which may date to 1259 or soon thereafter. All Scribe 30's contributions might, therefore, be regarded as a single campaign, regardless of how many separate occasions he sat down to work. The only exception is the compelling physical evidence for a division between the annals for 1243 and 1244. This also coincides with the point where information from contemporary notes may have tailed off.

Stratum 22: Scribe 30, principal scribe from Faustina B. IX fo.45v line 1 to fo.47r line 6 (pp.88–91 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1241–3, including a letter *s.a.* 1241 from the abbot of Cîteaux (and others) to the abbot of Savigny.

Stratum 22A: Scribe 30, additions on separate occasions:
(i) Faustina B. IX fo. 44r lines 9–10, addition to end of annal for 1235 (p.85 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: Alexander II's grant of Ettrick Forest and freedom from forest laws.
(ii) Faustina B. IX fo.44v lines 18–20, addition to end of annal for 1238 (p.86 in the Andersons' edition).

28's *floruit*, because fo.14 was not yet regarded as part of the codex: see 46 (chapter IV).

Coverage: general notice of war between Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II.

(iii) Faustina B. IX fo.44v lines 20–22, addition to previous item.

Coverage: reference to devastation by a Tartar army.

(iv) Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 30–37, addition to end of annal for 1240 (p.87 in the Andersons' edition).

Coverage: reburial of abbots of Melrose, except Waltheof whose body had disintegrated; his tooth cures the sick.

(v) Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 28–29, squeezed over an erasure into space before item (iv) (p.87 in the Andersons' edition).

Coverage: death and succession of abbot of Dunfermline.

Stratum 23: Scribe 30, principal scribe from Faustina B. IX fo.47r line 7 to fo.49r (pp.91–5 in the Andersons' edition).

Coverage: annal for 1244, with letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem and others to Pope Innocent IV, dated Acre, 21 September 1244, and from R. *arch' Ciren'*[68] (incomplete).

Date for Strata 22, 22A and 23: [2 November 1246]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; probably sometime in the 1250s.

These strata are defined by different aspects of the work of Scribe 30. His contribution as principal scribe of the chronicle initially filled the remainder of a gathering as far as fo.46v (annals for 1241–2); the remainder of fo.46v (the beginning of the annal for 1243) was (unlike earlier) ruled without regard for the prickings, which suggests that there was a break of some kind before a singleton (fo.47) was added to take the rest of 1243. This hiatus need not have been significant, and did not change the character of Scribe 30's work. Much more striking is the break between the annals for 1243 and 1244. The addition of only the rather narrow fo.47 to enable the annal for 1243 to be continued suggests that a decision had not yet been reached as to what (if anything) would be entered by Scribe 30 after 1243. Initially he ruled fo.47r only for the remainder of 1243. When a continuation was made, a different register of writing was deployed (becoming more informal until settling from fo.47v into a current hand). The untidy appearance of fo.47r from line 7 is exacerbated by the erratic ruled lines. Regardless of when a decision was made on how to continue the chronicle beyond 1243, it is clear that Scribe 30's approach to his task changed fundamentally. If strata, first and foremost, are a guide to the main physical evidence for stages in the chronicle's growth, then Scribe 30's work in continuing the main text should be divided into two strata.

The likelihood that Scribe 30 altered his script to suit the contents means that no significance can be attached to the fact that his additions to annals are much more akin to Stratum 22 than Stratum 23. Variation in the writing

[68] The Andersons (xx) suggested that this might be the archbishop of Tyre (or perhaps the archbishop of Cyprus).

between each of these items suggests that they were entered on different occasions. Their common nature as additions to existing annals suggests that they may best be taken together as constituting a stratum. It is difficult to say whether they were inserted before, between or after Strata 22 and 23: the designation Stratum 22A simply indicates some point during Scribe 30's involvement with the chronicle. More precision is possible for item (iii), which ends with a comment that the veracity of reports of Tartar devastation will become apparent below: this is likely to have been written after Stratum 23, which includes a copy of Innocent IV's letter containing a reference to a Tartar invasion of the Holy Land. It is also likely that item (iv), a large addition at the end of the annal for 1240, was written before Stratum 22. Scribe 30 was not adverse to beginning an annal near the bottom of the page (see 1242 at the bottom of fo.46r), which suggests that he would have begun 1241 at the bottom of fo.44r had that been available.[69] Item (v) presumably was entered after (iv) because it has been squeezed into a gap between (iv) and earlier material under 1240 (and has evidently involved making an erasure to create enough space). Scribe 30 could, of course, have added it before, during or after Strata 22 or 23.

Dating: Strata 22 and 23 must post-date Stratum 20 (which is later than 2/3 November 1246). Scribe 30 could have been working a number of years later, especially if it is accepted that the first and second groups of sign-post rubrics are the work of the same scribe as Stratum 21 (Scribe 28) and were added before Stratum 22, and if it is accepted that Scribe 28 was working in or after 1249 (see Stratum 21).[70] Scribe 28's active involvement with the chronicle was probably spread over a number of years. The possible date-limits for Stratum 25 allow Stratum 22 to be dated to anytime in the 1250s (and conceivably later). Finally, the tendency to misdate English episcopal affairs, which is a feature of the text entered in Strata 19 and 20, is also evident here: the deaths of Roger, bishop of London, and of Hugh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, is given in the annal for 1242, when in fact they died (respectively) on 29 September and 7/8 December 1241. This may be a reflection of the way information was acquired prior to drafting for entry into the chronicle.[71]

Stratum 24: Scribe 31, the principal scribe from Faustina B. IX fo.49v to fo.53v (pp.96–104 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal for 1245, and three letters, (i) from Frederick II to Louis IX (incomplete, 1245), (ii) Innocent IV's declaration

[69] Item (iv) has a claim to represent the beginning of Scribe 30's stint on the main text. The annal-number for 1241 is in smaller writing, but is probably by Scribe 30.

[70] See 158–9 (on the borrowing of fos 47–53).

[71] It is possible, however, that the source reckoned the year to begin in September (definitely not itself a feature of Stratum 22). For an example of a fourteenth-century English chronicler who reckoned the year to begin on 29 September (in the year prior to the 'historical' year), see C. R. Cheney (ed.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1948), 6.

of Frederick II's deposition, dated Lyons, 17 July 1245, and (iii) letter of Frederick II challenging his deposition by Innocent IV, dated Turin, 31 July 1245.

Date: [2 November 1246]×[probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259]; probably sometime in the 1250s.

This is defined by Scribe 31's work. It is predominantly occupied by copies of letters: from fo.49v line 18 the stratum comprises nothing else. The last two letters occupy fos 50–53; each begins at the top of a page, and finishes either halfway or two-thirds of the way down a page, leaving the remainder blank. All three letters concern crusades and imperial-papal relations. Even the brief annal for 1245 is dominated by these topics: only the first item concerns another subject (the succession of an abbot of Culross following the death of his predecessor).[72] The stratum may not have been entered on a single occasion. The copy of the letter from Frederick II to Louis IX is abandoned before the page has been filled. This coincides with a break in the chronicle's make-up. Fo.49 represents the end of the bifolium added so that Scribe 30 could continue Stratum 23. It is possible that Scribe 31, instead of beginning at fo.49, and then adding fos 50–53 in order to complete his work, actually worked first on copying the letters on fos 50–53, which were then added to the chronicle: although fos 50–53 were all originally singletons, they were prepared as a batch for writing.[73] Perhaps it was only at this point that Scribe 31 turned his attention to filling fo.49v, knowing that he would need to add at least another folio in order to complete the letter from Frederick II to Louis IX, but never got round to doing so.

Dating: A firm indication of a latest date-limit is provided by Scribe N5's curious notes found in the upper and lower margins of fo.53v (the end of Stratum 24). The note in the upper margin reads *Iam regnauit Henricus rex Anglie filius Johannis regis xlvii an<nos>*, 'Henry king of England, son of King John, has now reigned 47 years'; in the lower margin there is only *Alexander rex Scocie*.[74] They were evidently written sometime in Henry III's 48th regnal year (that is, sometime between 28 October 1263 and 27 October 1264, or conceivably a year earlier, in 47 Henry III). Presumably Stratum 24 had been completed by this time. The purpose of the notes is obscure.[75] A tighter date

72 The other two items are a brief note on Innocent IV's arrival in France, and Louis IX's illness which led him to take up the cross. Both actually occurred in 1244, not 1245: see *ES*, ii. 541 n.4.

73 See 81–2 (chapter VI).

74 It is difficult to know what was meant by this. The Andersons (lx) suggested that the intention was to supply Alexander III's regnal year.

75 It has been suggested by the Andersons (lx–lxi) that they may denote the date when Stratum 24 was completed (although there is no apparent connection with Scribe 31), or that they may have been 'jottings for the date of some event', in the same way as Scribe 28 made chronological statements on inserted fo.14, inspired by the birth of a son and heir to Alexander III, without actually mentioning the event itself. As it happens, the birth of Alexander, first-born son of Alexander III, on 21 January 1264, falls within the stated regnal year of Henry III. Another possibility is that the notes may relate to the borrowing

limit can only be suggested by considering the possibility that Stratum 25 might date from 1259. The possibilities for a latest date-limit are the same as that of Stratum 22. It is probable, therefore, that this stratum belongs to sometime in the 1250s.

Section X
Resumption of continuation in two main stages, probably in or soon after 1259 and in or soon after 1264, with some minor additions (Strata 25–29)

This section marks a return to the system of entering a block of text covering a number of years, which had been drafted (presumably) from material including contemporary notes. There are a number of errors that could be explained as miscopying at one or other stage of this process.[76] It has already been argued in chapter VI that the folios of this section (fos 55–60 and 63) originally constituted a gathering, but that this has suffered mutilation. The section also includes Scribe 33's additions to Scribe 32's work, and also a personal account (probably written earlier than the annal for 1271) of how a monk of Melrose was moved to resign as abbot of Deer. This was added (probably by Scribe 35) in the lower margin of what was at that time the penultimate folio of the chronicle.

Stratum 25: Scribe 32, principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.55r to fo.59v line 17 (pp.105–16 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1246–58.

Date: 2 February 1259×[probably mid-1264], probably early or mid-1259, or soon after.

The impression that this has been planned and executed in a single campaign is corroborated by the regularity of the script and the layout, with three or

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of part of the chronicle (fos 47–53) by the abbot of Dundrennan. A note of the borrowing was made (on fo.46v), but by Scribe N9, not Scribe N5.

76 For example, in the annal for 1249 the death of a Gilbert bishop of Brechin and the accession of Robert, his archdeacon, is noted; but the bishop of Brechin at this time was Albin, who succeeded Bishop Gregory sometime in or between 1242 and 1246; Bishop Albin's death is recorded in the chronicle in the annal for 1269. It has been suggested plausibly that this is a garbled notice of two events: (i) the accession of Robert, archdeacon of Ross, as bishop of Ross in 1249 (almost certainly in succession to another Bishop Robert, not a Bishop Gilbert) (Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 347); (ii) 'Bishop Gilbert' may be a mistake for Bishop Geoffrey of Dunkeld, who died on 22 November 1249 (*ibid.*, 124). It may be significant that there is no separate obit for Bishop Geoffrey in the chronicle, although the succession of Richard of Inverkeithing to Dunkeld is noted in the annal for 1250 (he was elected before 3 December 1250, and consecrated in or between 3 August and 20 October 1251). Perhaps, then, a contemporary note was made in 1249 of the death of 'Bishop G.' (i.e., Geoffrey of Dunkeld) and the succession of Archdeacon Robert of Ross (as bishop of Ross), and this has been misconstrued when this material was drafted about a decade later for inclusion in the chronicle. Another glaring error is in the annal for 1255, where the earl of Gloucester is identified as 'V.' rather than 'R.' (for Richard). Again, this probably arose from the misreading of contemporary notes.

four lines (and, on one occasion, five) between year-sections.[77] The elaborate coloured initial *A* of *Anno* has been added by the same decorator throughout (although, curiously, those on fos 56 and 57 are incomplete).

Dating: The latest item in the annal for 1258 is the departure after 2 February 1259 of Nicholas, bishop-elect of Glasgow, in order to be consecrated in Rome by the pope. In the annal for 1259, in Stratum 27 (entered no earlier than 1264), we learn that Nicholas was unsuccessful. His frustration is expressed in bitter terms, blaming in particular the machinations of his companion, Robert, bishop-elect of Dunblane. There is no hint of this in the record of Nicholas's departure, however. This could be because the outcome was not yet known; but it would be unwise to draw too much from such an argument from silence.

There are other reasons, nevertheless, to suppose that some time elapsed between Stratum 25 and its continuation in Stratum 27. There is the deterioration in the scribe's performance (see Stratum 27); and there is also the Andersons' third group of marginal succession-rubrics, which they observed must have been entered sometime between Stratum 25 (equivalent to V1 in their synopsis) and Stratum 27 (V2) (lxxvi). There is also the possible addition of a note on John of Haddington as successor to Matthew, abbot of Culross (see Stratum 26). If Stratum 27 can be dated to 1264, then the activity between Stratum 25 and its continuation in Stratum 27 would give strength to the impression that the text of Stratum 25 was drafted sometime in 1259 (later than 2 February), and that it was entered into the chronicle not long afterwards.

The borrowing of Faustina B. IX fos 47–53 by an abbot of Dundrennan

The medieval succession-rubrics hold the key for another significant event in the chronicle's history between Strata 25 and 27. This is recorded in a note added in the lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.46v by Scribe N9. It reads: *Abbas de Dundranian mutuo accepit reliquam partem cronicorum istorum. Vide*, 'the abbot of Dundrennan took on loan the remaining part of these chronicles; see!'. On the next page (fo.47r) there are no medieval sign-post rubrics where you might expect them to appear opposite abbatial successions (at Cîteaux, Coupar and Glenluce); neither is there a rubric drawing attention to an abbatial succession at Coupar Angus on fo.49v. It would have been possible, as it happens, to remove fos 47–49 only: they constitute a singleton and a bifolium. The rubrics do not resume until fo.55r, however, the first page of Stratum 25: fo.54 is a later insertion, and should be ignored, but fos 50–53 could readily have been removed too. Indeed, it must be suspected that what interested the abbot of Dundrennan in the chunk of the chronicle beginning with fo.47 was not the usual annalistic fare, but the letters on the crusades

[77] A tell-tale sign of composition across a number of annals is the reference to dissension between magnates caused by Alan Durward's rehabilitation in 1253, *ut in subsequentibus apparebit*, 'as will appear in the following [annals]'.

and imperial-papal relations which dominate this section of the text; if so, his borrowing would surely have included fos 50–53 as well as fos 47–49, which together furnish copies of five letters (in whole or in part).[78]

The Andersons, observing that their third group of succession-rubrics (which cease after fo.59v, during the main text entered in Stratum 25) are found in abundance both before and after fos 47–53, made the logical inference that fos 47–53 must still have been on loan when these rubrics were added (lxxvi). They argued, less convincingly, 'that at the time of borrowing no more of the chronicle had been written' (lviii). The 'remaining part of these chronicles' (*reliquam partem cronicorum istorum*) mentioned in the note recording the borrowing probably refers simply to the fact that the annal for 1243 now ended in mid-sentence, and that there was a hiatus until 1246. This, at least, seems to be the burden of *partem* and *istorum* in the sentence. It would be odd, in any event, if the chronicle was continued with Stratum 25 while the preceding section was still missing. How would the Melrose monks have known not to begin by drafting annals for 1244 or 1245? A more likely scenario is (i) Stratum 25 was added to the chronicle; (ii) fos 47–53 were borrowed by the abbot of Dundrennan; (iii) the third group of succession-rubrics (as defined by the Andersons) was entered; and (iv) Stratum 27 was continued where Stratum 25 left off. One consequence of this is that it becomes clearer that the Andersons' first and second groups of succession-rubrics (attributed in this edition to Scribe 28) reached no further than fo.45r (noting an event in Stratum 19) because the chronicle at that time ceased before Stratum 22.[79] (The latest continuation at this stage was presumably Scribe 27's in Stratum 20: it will be recalled that Scribe 27 in Stratum 20A preceded Scribe 28 in Stratum 21.) Had fos 47–53 stood at the end of the chronicle when they were borrowed, it could have been argued that the second group of succession-rubrics (and by implication Scribe 28's involvement with the chronicle) might date from sometime later than the lending of fos 47–53 (with obvious consequences for the relative chronology of Strata 21–24).[80]

Stratum 26: Scribe 33, addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.56v (p.110 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: abbatial succession at Culross.
Date: 1260×[probably mid-1264], probably in or soon after 1260.

This event is repeated in material entered in Stratum 27. This could suggest that it was added here earlier.[81] It certainly seems to be a gratuitous insertion

78 This contrasts with one of his successors who borrowed most of the chronicle itself: see 40 n.4 (chapter IV).

79 Which is what the Andersons supposed, regarding the second group as 'probably earlier than R' (lxxvi) (where 'R' in their synopsis stands for Stratum 22).

80 The absence of rubrics on fos 45v–46v is because nothing there is relevant.

81 It is possible for an item to be inserted even though it repeats information that must already have existed later in the chronicle. An example is the addition by Scribe 28 of a note on the succession of prior Richard as abbot of Dundrennan to the annal for 1239 (see

(as it were), adding details of an abbot's successor (John of Haddington, who became abbot in 1260) to the notice of the succession to office of his predecessor (Matthew) in the annal for 1252.[82] This cumbersome way of recording the fact that John succeeded Matthew could readily be explained if the event had not yet appeared in the chronicle; this is quite feasible, given that Stratum 27 cannot be earlier than 1264.

Dating: The suggestion that this entry was made before Stratum 27 requires that it was made soon after the event, in 1260 or not much later, by someone keen to record it.

Stratum 26A: Scribe 34, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.56v (p.110 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: an obit in 1252.
Date: 1252× (?11 August 1253×).

This has the distinction of being the smallest stratum identified in this edition. It consists of two words, *Obiit Diana*, which appear in the margin opposite the annal for 1252, just above the marginal note on John of Haddington succeeding Matthew as abbot of Culross (Stratum 26). It appears from its position that it may have been written after Stratum 26. This is the only 'peg' on which to hang a claim to its place in the relative chronology of the chronicle's development; hence its designation (hesitantly) as Stratum 26A.

Dating: A. O. Anderson suggested that *Diana* might be a misreading of *Clara*, and that it refers to the death of St Clare (founder of the 'Poor Clares') on 11 August 1253.[83]

Stratum 21A, section xii), even though this was stated lower down the same page in material entered by the principal scribe of this annal (Scribe 24). It should be noted, however, that Scribe 28 may have made this addition because he misread the host text. This reads, without any ambiguity: *Dompnus Rogerus abbas Rieuall' suo cessit officio et dompnus Leonius abbas de Dundraynan et monachus de Melr' successit*, 'Dom Robert abbot of Rievaulx resigned his office, and Dom Leonius abbot of Dundrennan, and monk of Melrose, succeeded him'. Scribe 28 has added *Ricardus prior de Melros* to this sentence, which makes no sense. Perhaps, though, he misread *et monachus de Melr' successit* to mean that a monk of Melrose (unnamed) had succeeded Leonius as abbot of Dundrennan: his intention, therefore, was to supply the name of Leonius's successor (who was, as it happened, a monk of Melrose).

82 It is explained in the item on Matthew's succession as abbot that he held the position of porter; so awkward and unusual is the marginal note that Matthew was succeeded by John of Haddington that A. O. Anderson initially took it literally to mean that John succeeded Matthew as porter at Culross (*ES*, ii. 572). The fact that Matthew was succeeded by a John as abbot in 1260 is likely to reveal what was actually intended by the note. This is how it was understood by Croft Dickinson in his index to the facsimile edition (at 213), by Donald Watt and Norman Shead in *HRHS*, 50, and in the corrections to *ES* published in the revised edition by M. O. Anderson.

83 *ES*, ii. 572 n.4.

Stratum 27: Scribe 32 (continued), principal hand from Faustina B. IX fo.59v line 24 to fo.60v line 21, and fo.63r lines 1–15 (pp.116–18 and 123 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1259–63.
Date: 21 January 1264×probably mid-1264.

The Andersons observed that this stratum (which corresponds to V2 in their synopsis) is distinguished by a 'deterioration in the writing' (lxii); in particular, that 'the trend of the writing inclines to be forward at the bottoms of the rectos, and towards the ends of lines' (lxi). They deduced that some years may have passed since this scribe's previous stint (Stratum 25), and pointed out that this might also be inferred from the fact that the third and final group of medieval rubrics was entered into the chronicle at some point in between. There are other physical features which differentiate this stratum from Stratum 25. Space has been left at the beginning of each annal for an enlarged initial *A* (in *Anno*), but they have not been filled in. Also, the gaps between year-sections are greater: to begin with, six lines were left blank between annals (1258/9 and 1259/60), rising to seven (1260/1), eight (1261/2) and nine lines (1262/3): the gaps of seven and nine lines, however, may have been so that the next annal could begin at the top of a page.

Dating: The latest event in the annal for 1263 is the birth (and subsequent baptism) of Alexander, eldest son of Alexander III, on 21 January 1264. A probable latest date-limit may be inferred from the obit of Alan, bishop of Argyll, in the annal for 1262. The crux here is that the name of Bishop Alan's successor, Laurence, would probably have been given at this point had he been known at the time of writing. Not only are successors to deceased ecclesiastical office-holders always named in this stratum, but Laurence's succession has been added in the margin by Scribe 35 (see Stratum 28). It may be inferred that this information was received only after Stratum 27 had been entered into the chronicle. Some idea of when Laurence became bishop is furnished by a papal mandate of 31 March 1264 for his confirmation and consecration.[84] This suggests that Stratum 27 probably dates to sometime in 1264, after the consecration of Bishop Laurence of Argyll sometime in the middle of the year, or soon after.

Stratum 28: Scribe 35, addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.60v (p.118 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: succession of bishop of Argyll.
Date: mid-1264×1299/1300, probably in or not long after 1264.

As noted already, the omission of the successor of Alan, bishop of Argyll, was made good in due course by this addition in the margin. It must obviously be later than Stratum 27, but there is nothing to say how much

[84] Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 35.

later, except that Scribe 35 was active in or soon after 1260 (Stratum 26) and probably in or not long after 1267 (Stratum 29).

Dating: It evidently belongs to sometime during the long episcopate of Laurence, bishop of Argyll (1264–1299/1300):[85] probably earlier than later.

Stratum 29: Scribe 35(?), erased addition on bottom of Faustina B. IX fo.60v (p.118 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: Adam de Smailholm's difficulties as abbot of Deer 1262–7.
Date: probably in or not long after 1267.

A lengthy addition squeezed into the lower margin of fo.60v. An attempt has been made to erase it, but some of it remains legible.[86] Its position at the bottom of the page, outside the area prepared for writing, means that it is difficult to determine exactly when it was written in relation to the other additions on this page. The presumption here is that it was written by Scribe 35 after his earlier marginal addition (Stratum 28) and before the annal for 1271.

Dating: This account of Adam of Smailholm's dispute with the monks of Deer leading to his resignation in 1267 has been written from Adam's point of view, and is rather partisan. The Andersons suggested that it may have been written by Adam himself on his return from Deer (lxiv).[87] Be this as it may, it seems likely to have been written in or not long after 1267. It is presumably linked to the erasure and scoring out of the record of Adam's accession as abbot in the annal for 1262. An unflattering view of Deer is also found in the original wording of the item recording Adam's resignation in the annal for 1267 (Stratum 38), but this has been toned down in amendments drafted by Scribe 48. The same concern for Deer's susceptibilities exhibited by Scribe 48 may also lie behind the attempt to erase this item (as suggested by the Andersons: lxiv).

Section XI
The chronicle comes to a halt by ca *1275 (Strata 30 and 31)*

It appears, from what was written on Faustina B. IX fos 61 and 62 (the beginning of Stratum 38), that a limited quantity of material was acquired which could have been drafted as a series of annals and entered where Stratum 27 had ceased. The bottom half of fo.63r and all of fo.63v would have been available (at the very least). Instead of containing such annals, however, the bottom half of fo.63 has been cut away. Before this took place, a brief annal for 1271 had been entered on fo.63r immediately below the end

85 Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 35.

86 The Andersons observed that it may have been erased in the light of the account given in the annal for 1269 (fo.66r); this has received some authorial alterations which make it less critical of Deer (lxiv; lxxiii).

87 If so, then Stratum 28 (also by Scribe 35) could be dated to sometime in or after 1267.

of Stratum 27, and the blank verso had been used for a list of abbots. It may be inferred from the nature of these items that by the time they were added there was already no intention to continue the chronicle in the normal way. The bottom half of fo.63 was probably removed because it was blank and could be used for another purpose.

Stratum 30: Scribe 36, Faustina B. IX fo.63r line 16 (p.123 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal-item for 1271.
Date: 1272?

This has been added immediately below the last item in Stratum 27. Some of it was lost when the bottom half of fo.63 was cut away, leaving only a fragment of writing.

Dating: This records a severe winter in '1271'. If the practice was followed of reckoning the year to begin on 25 March (as in other strata of the second half of the century), then it is likely that this refers to the winter of 1271/2. It may be inferred that a single entry about the weather is likely to have been written not long after the event.

Stratum 31: Scribe 37, Faustina B. IX fo.63v (p.124 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: list of Melrose abbots.
Date: 16 March 1273×[probably May 1291, if not ×1276].

It is likely that this was entered on what was then the verso of the final folio of the chronicle. It may be inferred that by this stage there was no intention of continuing with a block of annals, so that the blank verso could be regarded as suitable for receiving material which was incompatible with the format of a chronicle.[88] It may be inferred that this may have occurred after the annal for 1271 had been entered (Stratum 30).

Dating: The last abbot named in this list is Patrick of Selkirk, abbot of Melrose from 1273 to sometime in or between 1296 and 1310.[89] It is unlikely to have been written after Patrick ceased to be abbot (no name has been cut away). It may be inferred from the position of entries in the next section that by then space in the manuscript was at a premium, which would suggest that the list of abbots had already been entered. This stratum may, therefore, date to sometime soon after Patrick of Selkirk became abbot in or between 16 and

[88] The other list which is found added to the chronicle, a catalogue of individuals buried in Melrose (see Stratum 40), is found on fo.38v, which was at that time the recto of the flyleaf.

[89] *HRHS*, 151, where the date of Patrick's accession is given within quotes, reflecting uncertainty about information (like this) derived from Bower's *Scotichronicon*. For discussion see below, 167 n.93, where it is suggested that Patrick's elevation to the abbacy may be dated to sometime between 16 and 24 March 1273.

24 March 1273,[90] and certainly before Stratum 38 (14 April 1286×probably May 1291), if not Stratum 34 (probably in or not long after February 1276).

The excision of the bottom half of Faustina B. IX fo.63

An obvious reason for excising half a folio is because it is blank and can be used elsewhere. Are there any indications that this half-folio was, indeed, empty? There is no doubt that the annal for 1271 on fo.63r and the list of abbots on fo.63v were present when the bottom half of the folio was cut away, because a few parts of letters have been lost below the line of writing. Was anything more significant lost than the lower quarters of a few letters? An important clue here is the repetition of the beginning of the annal for 1271 in the upper margin of fo.63r. It was written with a slight upward slant, so that it now gradually disappears beyond the top edge of the folio which has been cropped for binding. It may be inferred that it probably repeated the notice of a severe winter that can still be recovered from the annal for 1271. The Andersons suggested that it was written as a false start (lxvi). It is evidently by a different scribe, however: Scribe 44. An alternative scenario is that, when the bottom half of the folio was removed, it was noticed that the last part of the annal for 1271 (which need only have been a single line of writing) had been cut away. It was decided that this damage could be made good by repeating the annal in the upper margin. If this is, indeed, what happened, then it would suggest that the annal for 1271 consisted of no more than the notice of the severe winter, and that the bottom half of the folio was blank. As far as the verso is concerned, the handwriting of the list of abbots is unlikely to be later than the period in office of the last abbot on the list, Patrick of Selkirk, who ceased to be abbot sometime in or between 1296 and 1310.

The half-folio may have been cut away before the strata in the next section characterised by entries made in any remaining space in the chronicle. The removal of the half-folio (and by implication the repetition by Scribe 44 of the annal for 1271) might therefore be dated to sometime after Patrick became abbot of Melrose in or between 16 and 24 March 1273 and before Stratum 32 (probably not much later than February 1275 and not earlier than 19 March 1273).

Section XII
Half-life of the chronicle from ca *1275 into the 1280s (Strata 32–37)*

This section consists of a number of historical notices inserted regardless of the chronicle's chronology. It appears that space was at a premium, so that any significant gaps earlier in the chronicle were utilised, even though this meant that the new entries stood next to material relating to a different decade. This is vivid testimony to the collapse of any system of gathering material and entering it in an orderly way. It is apparent from the previous

[90] See below, 167 n.93.

section that a decision had been reached to cease to maintain the chronicle. There is no indication that contemporary notes were kept after 1269 (see Stratum 38). But there remained a kind of half-life of chronicling at Melrose, represented here by the occasional desire to mark a particularly significant local or regnal event for posterity. Some are in plummet or crayon rather than ink. The result was the spasmodic annals which characterise this section. It seems likely on the face of it that these entries were made not long after what they record had occurred (although a simple error in Stratum 37 supports other considerations which suggest that this item, at least, was entered a few years after the event). It may be guessed that the scribes who inserted this material out of chronological order sought out appropriate spaces on folios nearest to the end of the manuscript (after the bottom half of fo.63 and subsequent blank folios had been removed). This cannot be demonstrated consistently, however, given the different size of these items.

Stratum 32: Scribe 38, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 25–26 (p.118 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal-item for 1272.
Date: 19 March 1273×[probably May 1291, if not ×1276].

This appears after a gap of three lines below the final part of Stratum 27. Probably it was written here by Scribe 38 because this was the last available space before fo.63 (which was the last folio at that time). Fo.63 probably already had its bottom half cut away.

Dating: This is a record of the birth of David, son of Alexander III, 'about the first hour of the night' on 19 March (which, with the beginning of the year on Lady's Day, was regarded here as in 1272 rather than 1273). It is incomplete, stopping at *apud*, 'at', so that David's birthplace is left unstated. This uncertainty could suggest that some time (maybe only a year or two) had elapsed before this entry was made. If it was placed here due to a lack of space, it must pre-date Stratum 38 (14 April 1286×probably May 1291), and almost certainly pre-dates Stratum 34.

Stratum 33: Scribe 41, addition in plummet in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.52r (p.101 in the Andersons' edition); possibly also an almost illegible addition in plummet on fo.40r lines 8–22 (p.77 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal-item for 1274 (and other material).
Date: 1275×[probably May 1291], probably sometime in or not long after 1275.

The only intelligible item here is the addition to a blank half-page which had been left by Scribe 31 on fo.52r. If Scribe 41 was also responsible for the illegible addition on fo.40r, then it could not be claimed that his intention was to seek the nearest suitable gap towards the end of the manuscript (as this was then constituted). Another way to place this stratum is on the

assumption that the item on fo.52r was written soon after the event it records (and that, at a guess, the item on fo.40r was written at about the same time).

Dating: The item on fo.52r concerns the death of an abbot of Kinloss on 8 October 1274 and the installation of a replacement on 5 January (1275).[91] On the face of it, it seems likely that the note of a single event would have been made not long after it took place.

Stratum 34: Scribe 39, fragmentary addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v below the annal for 1262 (p.118 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal-item for 1275; an incomplete notice of the same event as in Stratum 35.

Stratum 35: Scribe 40, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 8–15, in space between the annals for 1261 and 1262 (p.118 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal-item for 1275; a full notice of the same event as in Stratum 34.

Date for Strata 34 and 35: 3 February 1276×[probably May 1291], probably in or not long after 1276.

Scribe 39 began to write the sole item in Stratum 34 in the line following the last line of Stratum 27, but left this incomplete (and his effort has subsequently been erased). The Andersons suggested (at lxiii) that it was a false start by the same scribe as Stratum 35, but the handwriting suggests that different scribes were involved. Scribe 39 seems, instead, to have been uncertain about his information, leaving most of the date blank: the event occurred not long before a new year (reckoned from 25 March): perhaps he needed to make sure whether 1275 or 1276 was intended. The full record of the event provided by Scribe 40 was, presumably, written subsequently.

Dating: The material in these strata is solely concerned with the death of Waltheof, abbot of Newbattle. A. O. Anderson argued that the year (1275) is inconsistent with the statement that Waltheof died during his third year in office — given that his appointment as abbot appears in the annal for 1269 (Faustina B. IX fo.73v: Stratum 38) — and that the date should probably be amended to 1272.[92] The annal for 1269, however, includes events which occurred earlier and later: the death of John Balliol (d.1268) and the succession of Philip III of France (who succeeded King Louis IX on 25

[91] The installation of Andrew prior of Newbattle as abbot of Kinloss by Patrick of Selkirk, father-abbot of Melrose, is described as a cause of 'great joy', *cum ingenti letitia*, and a 'marvellous dispensation of God', *mira Dei dispositio*. Andrew, the new abbot of Kinloss, may have been regarded as particularly noteworthy in that his career mirrored that of Robert of Keldeleth: both men were heads of houses of other orders (Andrew was prior of Pluscarden and Robert abbot of Dunfermline) before resigning to become Cistercians at Newbattle, and both finally became Cistercian abbots (Robert at Melrose until his resignation and death in 1273).

[92] *ES*, ii. 668 n.1, and Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, lxiii; this is followed in *HRHS*, 160.

August 1270). It appears to be similar to the chronological soup of Stratum 20, in which events ranging over a number of years have been presented in a single annal (presumably through misunderstanding the way the information had been recorded in notes). It would be unsafe, therefore, to place any weight on the annal for 1269 as evidence for the date of the resignation of Waltheof's predecessor, and for Waltheof's succession as abbot. It is likely that Waltheof's death on 3 February '1275' during his third year in office has been reported accurately in Stratum 35, and that his accession actually occurred in 1272 (which could mean any time between 25 March 1272 and 24 March 1273). This is corroborated by a strain of chronicle material incorporated by Bower in his *Scotichronicon*, where Waltheof's elevation as abbot, and the resignation of his predecessor, appear between events that can be dated 15 March 1273 and 4 June 1273.[93] From this it may be deduced that '1275' was taken to mean 25 March 1275 to 24 March 1276, so that Waltheof's death in his third year occurred on 3 February 1276. The entry of this single item may have occurred not long afterwards. Certainly, if it was placed here due to a lack of space, it must pre-date Stratum 38 (14 April 1286×probably May 1291).

Stratum 36: Scribe 42, addition in brown crayon in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.60r (p.117 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annal for 1277.
Date: 1277×[probably May 1291], possibly in or not long after 1277.

This item fills the bottom of the area prepared for writing on fo.60r, left blank by Scribe 32. The use of this gap could be explained by the lack of space available towards the end of the chronicle. (The 8-line gap between the annals for 1261 and 1262 may already have been used by Scribe 40 in Stratum 34.) Otherwise, its place relative to other strata depends on its assumed date of entry.

Dating: The only item in this stratum concerns bad weather and heavy losses of livestock in 1277. If the placing of this material was due to a lack of space, it must pre-date Stratum 38 (14 April 1286×probably May 1291). As the record of a single event, it may have been made soon after it occurred.

Stratum 37: Scribe 43, addition in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.40r (p.77 in the Andersons' edition), probably erased.
Coverage: marriage of Prince Alexander, 1282.
Date: 8 November 1282×[probably May 1291].

This was a brief note, apparently incomplete, immediately following the item on fo.40r which may have been written by Scribe 41 (Stratum 33).

[93] *Scotichronicon*, v. 396–7, and notes at 493. It may be inferred from this that Waltheof became abbot sometime between 16 and 24 March 1273. The event immediately preceding this is the resignation of Robert of Kendeleth as abbot of Melrose and the succession of Patrick of Selkirk; this may likewise be dated to sometime between 16 and 24 March 1273.

Dating: This relates to the marriage of Alexander, son of Alexander III, to Margaret, daughter of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders (1279–1305), in November 1282. The date given here is 8 November (the same as in Stratum 39); in *Gesta Annalia* it is 15 November.[94] If it was placed here due to a lack of space, it must pre-date Stratum 38 (14 April 1286×probably May 1291).

Section XIII
The final continuation en bloc, and the inclusion of the Opusculum de Simone*, sometime after 14 April 1286 and* probably *before May 1291 (Stratum 38)*

Stratum 38: Scribes 45, 46 and 47, principal scribes from Faustina B. IX fo.61r to fo.62v, and fo.64r to fo.75v, and Scribe 48 (corrector of Scribes 45 and 46) (pp.119–22, 125–48 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: annals for 1260–1 and 1263–70, including account of saintly Melrose monks and the *Opusculum de Simone*.
Date: 14 April 1286×probably May 1291.

This stratum is physically the largest, amounting to 14 folios (as it stands: at least one folio has been lost at the end), and involves more scribes than in any other stratum. There are two reasons for treating it as a single entity. The first is that the scribes worked together. Scribe 45 begins the section; Scribe 46 begins a new section at fo.64r; on fo.69v Scribe 47 takes over in the middle of a sentence, soon followed by Scribe 45, who resumes in mid-sentence and continues until the chronicle breaks off at the foot of fo.75v. Team effort is also in evidence in the presence of Scribe 48 as corrector in the work of the two main scribes of this section, Scribes 45 and 46. The Andersons regarded Scribe 48's activities as that of an author or editor (see comment at lxv, and especially significant examples at lxvi, lxxiii). Nowhere else does the process of composition spill over so visibly into the physical production of the chronicle.

Datings: There are different layers of composition in this complex section, ranging from reminiscences about holy monks, narratives relating to the Barons' War in England and the crusade to Acre in 1272, some traditional annalistic fare (such as obits and ecclesiastical successions), a lengthy tract on Simon de Montfort and an extensive eulogy of Edward I. Only the obits and ecclesiastical successions were probably based on contemporary notes. These cease in the annal for 1269, even though some relate to events in subsequent years.[95] They also show knowledge of the succession of William Comyn as bishop of Brechin (he was consecrated 24 May 1275×29 April 1276)[96] and the founding of Balliol College, Oxford, with an allowance of 8*d.* per week

[94] *Chron. Fordun*, i. 306.
[95] See 166–7.
[96] Watt & Murray, *Fasti*, 54.

for each scholar. The college is referred to in 1285, although A. O. Anderson suggested that it would have been fully established in 1282.[97] Most material in this stratum has been compiled from narrative sources.[98]

The stratum was evidently entered as a single unit. It follows, then, that the Andersons' observation (xvii) that part of the text was composed after Thomas Stonegrave became abbot of Rievaulx (sometime after Easter 1286, i.e., 14 April, and before 24 May 1286) serves as the earliest date-limit for the stratum as a whole. The Andersons argued (xvi) that a latest date-limit may be inferred from the eulogy of Edward I at the end of the chronicle, which they considered was unlikely to have been written once the dispute between Edward and the Scots broke out in 1294.[99] In fact, a souring of relations with Edward may be expected from May 1291 when he pushed his claim to overlordship in the face of determined opposition.[100] The stratum must be earlier than the first binding of the whole manuscript (possibly as early as May 1291).[101]

Section XIV
Final fragments at Melrose and Dundrennan, probably 1290s and later (Strata 39–40)

Stratum 39: Scribe 49, addition in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.11v (p.20 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: marriage of Prince Alexander, 1282.
Date: [14 April 1286]×early fourteenth century [possibly ×May 1291].

This entry covers three lines in the blank half-page left by Scribe 6 on fo.11v. The event noted is the marriage of Alexander, son and heir of Alexander III, to Margaret of Flanders at Roxburgh on 8 November 1282. This event is also the sole item in Stratum 37. They each give the same date (*vi Idus Nouembris*), but otherwise there is no striking coincidence in words or phrases.

Dating: There is an obvious error in this item: Margaret's father was Guy, not Nicholas, as stated here. Scribe 49 was also responsible for the memorandum on fo.11v describing the chronicle's extent when it was borrowed by an

97 *ES*, ii. 664 n.5; *CDS*, ii. no.276. See also *CDS*, i. no.2401.

98 An oral medium could explain how, in the duplicate annal for 1260, Abbot Henry of Kelso's period in office (apparently 1260–75) has been telescoped so that his death is made to follow his accession as an appropriate punishment for the way he procured the abbacy. His death in 1275 is noted in *Scotichronicon*, v. 402, in a section which appears to have been derived from a contemporary annalistic source (note, for example, that it places Alan Durward's death in 1275, which is consistent with the independent evidence of English administrative records which show that he was alive on 11 October 1274, and dead by 10 November 1275: see *ibid.*, 496–7).

99 The Andersons (xvii) also argued that the description of Henry III as *bastialis homo set religiosus* 'could only have been written before Edward's scrutinization of chronicles began, and the date of writing may with confidence be set down as ×1291'.

100 A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots, 842–1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), chapter 10.

101 See 75 (chapter VI).

abbot of Dundrennan.[102] This memorandum must have been written after the chronicle had been extended by Stratum 38 sometime after 14 April 1286. The memorandum appears above the entry on the marriage of Prince Alexander. This suggests that it was written before the entry was made.[103] The entry was probably made when the abbot of Dundrennan still had the rest of the chronicle in his possession, so that fo.11 was the last folio of the chronicle remaining in Melrose at that time. The borrowed section must have been returned before the whole manuscript was bound for the first time (possibly as early as May 1291).

Stratum 39A: Scribe 50, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18v (p.34 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: foundation of Dundrennan in annal for 1142.
Date: [14 April 1286]×early fourteenth century [possibly ×May 1291]

This is added in space at the end of the annal for 1142. The fact that it concerns the foundation of Dundrennan, and that this part of the manuscript was borrowed by an abbot of Dundrennan, suggests that this may have been inserted when the chronicle was in Dundrennan sometime after Stratum 38. It could, therefore, have been entered at about the same time as Stratum 39 (hence its designation as Stratum 39A). It almost certainly pre-dates the return of the borrowed section to Melrose.

Stratum 40: Scribe 51, Faustina B. IX fo.38v (p.74 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: list of burials at Melrose.
Date: [14 April 1286]×early fourteenth century.

Fo.38 was originally inserted as the first folio of the chronicle (see Stratum 12A). The rubbing on the verso suggests that it was at this stage the outward side (as the Andersons observed: lii). The text of Stratum 40 is a list of persons buried at Melrose which has been written on fo.38v when it was still the front cover of the chronicle; much of the writing has been damaged as a result, and some parts are now illegible.

Dating: The Andersons observed that the information for this burial-list has been derived from the chronicle. The last legible item is the burial of Laura, countess of Atholl, taken from the annal for 1269 (Stratum 38). This shows that the list was written no earlier than 14 April 1286. The Andersons suggested that the time of writing was 'probably early in the fourteenth century' (lii). It is possible that the chronicle was removed from Melrose slightly earlier following Edward I's conquest in 1296.

[102] The memorandum appears here presumably because the abbot of Dundrennan borrowed the chronicle from fo.12 onwards. Fo.12 is at the beginning of a gathering.

[103] Unless they were written at the same time: there is no reason to suspect this, however.

Section XV

Fos 14 and 54 become unambiguously part of the chronicle, possibly in May 1291 (Stratum 41)

Stratum 41: (i) Faustina B. IX inserted fo.14 (pp.25–6 in the Andersons' edition), written by Scribes +1 and +2 when not originally part of the chronicle, and with two sets of additions by Scribe 28.
Coverage: account of the royal dynasty, and some computations.
(ii) Faustina B. IX inserted fo.54, written by Scribe +4 (pp.105–6 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: relations between kings of Scots and England, 945–1209.

***Date of binding of fos 14 and 54 into the manuscript*:** possibly May 1291×probably early fourteenth century.

Fos 14 and 54 were originally independent leaves. They appear not to have been reckoned as part of the manuscript by Scribe 49 in his memorandum on fo.11v.[104] By the time the chronicle was removed from Melrose, however, they had become associated with it sufficiently closely to be taken as well. They certainly became part of the codex when Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 + Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 was first bound, which may have happened at Melrose, possibly in May 1291.[105] Their relationship with the chronicle goes back further: Scribe 28 (fo.14) was active throughout much of the manuscript, and fo.54 consists solely of extracts drawn from the chronicle.

Fo.14: The folio was first written in 1198×1214. Subsequent additions can be dated to sometime in or after December 1214; sometime in 1242 or 1243; and sometime between 21 March and 18 June 1264. The fact that the chronicle's Scribe 28 wrote the material datable to 1242×3 and 1264 does not, however, mean that it was then seen as part of the chronicle.

The folio is the tail end of a roll containing a dynastic king-list from Mael Coluim III which has been updated to the accession of Alexander III in 1249. The bulk of the text (as far as line 3 of the verso) is by Scribe +1, who may also have been responsible for a Melrose charter of 1219×21.[106] Scribe +1 finishes with the birth of Alexander II in August 1198; presumably it was written sometime before the death of King William in December 1214 (perhaps shortly after Alexander's birth). Scribe +2 has a record of William's death and the accession of Alexander II in lines 3 and 4 of the verso.

The first direct link between the folio and the chronicle is the addition by Scribe 28 (the Anderson's E2) of a series of chronological calculations towards the bottom of the verso. This consists of statements of how many years had passed from various events until his time of writing; all the

104 See 46 (chapter IV).
105 See 75 (chapter VI).
106 See 119 (chapter VII).

information has been taken from the chronicle itself. They have subsequently been revised by Scribe 28 himself (the Andersons' E1), who provided further chronological statements at the same time as updating the dynastic history to Alexander III's accession in 1249. The Andersons (xl–xli) observed that the first two figures in the E2 calculations (and probably the fourth) were revised by E1 by adding twenty-one years, thus making them consistent with 1264. It follows that the colophon in E2 was written sometime in 1242×3. Unfortunately, a simple 'backdating' of the revised figures does not produce a consistent date-range like that deducible from E1's figures. E1, however, also includes statements about the time that had elapsed between events and the time of writing. The Andersons showed that these statements (if correct) mean that Scribe 28 wrote E1 sometime between 21 March and 18 June 1264. They argued that the revised set of calculations was inspired by the birth of Alexander, eldest son of Alexander III, on 21 January 1264, and that the original computations may have been inspired by the birth of Alexander III himself on 4 September 1241. This is particularly plausible given that the folio is otherwise filled with a history of the Scottish royal dynasty.[107] It was not until E1, written in 1264, however, that the dynastic history was brought up to date by Scribe 28 beyond Alexander II's accession, following immediately from Scribe +2 in line 4.

Fo.54: This folio consists of items copied from the chronicle concerning relations between the king of Scots and England (although not every relevant item in the chronicle has been included). Particular interest is shown in Scottish incursions into northern England. The chronicle's wording has been altered occasionally (see the Andersons' discussion at lxi). W. W. Scott has described the folio as 'like a jotted *aide-mémoire*', and a 'special memorandum', and has suggested that, because no mention is made of Alexander II's involvement in English affairs in 1215–18, it may have been written in connection with the negotiations at Durham in February 1212 (although nobody from Melrose is known to have been present, and, as Scott admits, the chronicle makes no mention of these negotiations).[108] It should be noted, however, that the text has evidently been written on two separate occasions. Not only is there a change in style between the recto and the verso, but each is a separate chronological unit: the first (fo.54r) picks out items from 945 to 1209, the second (fo.54v) from 1142 to 1193. Neither is a complete record of 'Anglo-Scottish relations'. In these circumstances it may not be possible to read much into the absence of any reference to events in 1215–18. Palaeographical considerations strongly suggest that it is significantly later than 1212, and may even be as late as *ca* 1290.[109] If it was, indeed, produced

107 It must be recognised that the first set of calculations seem to be consistent with 1242 or 1243, not 1241, and could mark some other event which may (for example) have been personally significant for Scribe 28.

108 W. W. Scott, 'Abbots Adam (1207–13) and William (1215–16) of Melrose and the Melrose Chronicle', in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh 1999), 161–71, at 165, 168.

109 See 120 (chapter VII) and 227 (chapter X (5)).

ca 1290, then it is tempting to associate it with the search of chronicles that followed in the wake of Edward's claim to overlordship. But Edward need not necessarily have been the first monarch who called for the Melrose Chronicle to be investigated on this topic. The items selected from the chronicle for inclusion in fo.54 would be appropriate for a king of Scots who wished to be briefed on his predecessors' lands and claims in England without including anything that might threaten his status as an independent monarch.[110] It is conceivable, therefore, that it was prepared for Alexander III during the negotiations that preceded his homage to Edward I on 28 October 1278.[111]

Section XVI
Addition at Deeping or Thorney, probably early fourteenth century (Stratum 42)

Stratum 42: Scribe 52, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18r (p.33 in the Andersons' edition).
Coverage: consecration of bishop of Ely in annal for 1133.
Date: first half of fourteenth century.

An entry added to the annal for 1133 referring to the consecration of Nigel, bishop of Ely (on 1 October); he died on 30 May 1169.

Dating: The handwriting may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. It was probably added after the manuscript had arrived at Deeping St James or Thorney Abbey. If so, it would represent the only notable addition to the chronicle between its removal from Melrose and its acquisition by John Leland. Bishop Nigel granted the hermitage of Throckenholt to Thorney; the hermitage was revived by Abbot Odo (1293–1305), so maybe it and its donor were topical in the years following *ca* 1300.[112]

[110] The items in the chronicle which were most damaging for Scottish independence have been erased at some point: see 75 and n.24 (chapter VI), where it is suggested that this may have been in response to Edward I's scrutiny of chronicles. Alternatively, if fo.54 (or its exemplar) was prepared for Alexander III in 1278, the potential danger of these items would have been recognised, and may have doctored on that occasion.

[111] I am grateful to Professor Duncan for this suggestion (personal communication, 15 November 2006). For the lead-up to the homage, see Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom*, 589-90.

[112] See Dorothy M. B. Ellis & L. F. Salzman, 'Religious houses', in L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, ii (Oxford, 1948), 197–318, at 212 and 214.

IX

FROM MELROSE ABBEY TO THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Julian Harrison

Since its creation in the twelfth century, the Chronicle of Melrose has passed through the ownership of a number of institutions and private individuals, many of whom can still be identified.[1] During the later middle ages, the whole codex had evidently been acquired on behalf of the priory of Deeping St James (Lincolnshire), some 300 miles (480 km) removed from Melrose. The Chronicle was then obtained intact by John Leland (d.1552) — who was probably responsible for dividing it — before passing in separate parts into the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (d.1631). Cotton's manuscripts were bequeathed to the nation in 1702 (by his grandson, Sir John Cotton), and they entered the British Museum at its inception in 1753, officially incorporated since 1973 as the British Library. In its lifetime the Melrose Chronicle has been bound on more than one occasion, its leaves have been rearranged, amalgamated with other material and cropped, and the pages have been annotated by numerous readers. The monks of Melrose would not recognise the present state of their Chronicle.

No earlier than the late thirteenth century, the Melrose Chronicle seems to have left its original home, for reasons which remain unexplained.[2] The primary evidence for this manuscript's removal is supplied by a medieval *ex libris*, written in a cursive hand in the lower margin of Cotton Julius B. XIII fo.2r, which reads *Liber de prioratu sancti Iakobi de Estdeping*. The inscription in question is now extremely faint, a subsequent owner having attempted to erase it, but the letters can still be deciphered with the assistance of ultra-violet light. This *ex libris* was perhaps entered in the fourteenth century (an exact dating is impossible), and certainly before Deeping Priory was dissolved in the 1530s.[3] The only other indication that our manuscript had departed Melrose Abbey is provided by the Chronicle's report of the consecration of Bishop Nigel of Ely, *s.a.* 1133 (Cotton Faustina B. IX fo.18r), entered in a

1 This chapter has benefited immeasurably from the advice of James Carley, who has generously shared his research into the history of the Melrose codex. Many of the conclusions expressed here are based on suggestions made by Professor Carley, in particular the fundamental observation that it was John Leland who probably split this codex in two.

2 The Chronicle was most likely removed from Melrose sometime between 1291 (as part of the search of records relating to English suzerainty over Scotland: perhaps in this connection see Faustina B. IX fo.54) and 1322 (when Melrose Abbey was sacked by English troops: *Scotichronicon*, vii. 10–13). See also 48 (chapter IV).

3 On Deeping St James, see William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, ii (London, 1906), 129.

Gothic bookhand which is datable to the fourteenth century (Scribe 52). The Melrose convent is highly unlikely to have had retrospective interest in the consecration of a single, distant English bishop. This notice was undoubtedly added to the Melrose Chronicle while the manuscript resided in eastern England, since Bishop Nigel (1133–69) was a benefactor of Thorney Abbey (Cambridgeshire), mother-house of Deeping St James, and the patron of a hermitage at Throckenholt (Cambridgeshire), also dependent on Thorney.[4] The possibility cannot be discounted that the Melrose codex was originally taken to Thorney Abbey, and then loaned or given to its cell at Deeping.

The precise whereabouts of the Melrose codex in the 1530s remains uncertain. The manuscript in question cannot be identified in a mid-fourteenth-century inventory of the Deeping library (London, British Library, MS. Harley 3658, fo.75v),[5] and nor is it clear that the Melrose Chronicle still belonged to Deeping at its suppression, whenever that event occurred.[6] If our codex was no longer at Deeping Priory, it may have passed — or been returned — to Thorney Abbey, where the inmates of Deeping would have retreated with their possessions; also worthy of consideration is neighbouring Crowland Abbey (Lincolnshire), located just 5 miles (8 km) to the east.[7] John Leland visited Thorney and Crowland before their dissolution in December

4 On the early history of Throckenholt, see Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066–1216* (Woodbridge, 1989), 87, revising R. B. Pugh (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, iv (London, 1953), 198.

5 The Deeping book-list comprises just 22 items, mostly theological or liturgical in nature: it has been edited by R. Sharpe *et al.*, *The English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London, 1996), 606–8, and reproduced by Cyril Ernest Wright, *Fontes Harleiani: A study of the sources of the Harleian collection of manuscripts preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972), plate XI. BL Cotton Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 is the only extant Deeping manuscript recorded by N. R. Ker (ed.), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London, 2nd edn, 1964), 57, to which list should now be added BL Cotton Faustina B. IX fos 2–75.

6 The exact date of Deeping's suppression is open to question. It was included in a list of religious houses scheduled to be dissolved in 1536 (BL Cotton Roll III. 5), and its site assigned to one 'Elyzabeth Holan': William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies in England and Wales*, 6 vols in 8 (London, rev. edn, 1817–30), iii. 1638. However, cells were technically exempt from dissolution at this juncture, as noted by Sybil Jack, 'The last days of the smaller monasteries in England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (1970), 97–124, at 110–11, and Sibyl M. Jack, 'Dissolution dates for the monasteries dissolved under the Act of 1536', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43 (1970), 161–81, at 166. Many of the houses named in Cotton Roll III. 5 were subsequently reprieved, suggesting that this document records candidates for suppression rather than those actually dissolved. William Lee is described as 'late prior of Depyng' in a record of pensions assigned to the former monks of Thorney on 1 December 1539: James Gairdner & R. H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, xiv, part ii (London, 1895), 226.

7 Thorney Abbey was situated 7 miles (11 km) east-south-east of Deeping (and 4 miles or 6 km south-east of Crowland), so these monasteries were all in close proximity. As noted by Jane Roberts, 'An inventory of early Guthlac materials', *Mediaeval Studies*, 32 (1970), 193–233, at 219–20, both Crowland Abbey and the church at Deeping (separate from the priory) were originally dedicated to St Guthlac: this may provide a context for the acquisition of the Melrose codex, with its interest in that saint.

1539, and acquired manuscripts from both houses.[8] The most logical scenario, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, is that Leland recovered the Melrose codex in the 1530s from a monastery south of the Wash, or that he received it from a former member of a religious community in the same region.

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history of the Melrose codex is dominated by the activities of two men, namely John Leland and Sir Robert Cotton. According to his own testimony, Leland had been authorised by King Henry VIII 'to peruse and dylygentlye to searche all the lybraryes of monasteryes and collegies of thys your noble realme', which task he undertook in the years immediately prior to their suppression, starting in 1533.[9] In the process, Leland procured for himself a number of medieval manuscripts, one of which was evidently the Melrose codex. Leland made intensive study of his books, and often annotated their pages: he is known to have owned copies of historical works by Aelred of Rievaulx, Bede, Eadmer of Canterbury and William of Malmesbury, among other authors.[10] Cotton, in turn, was a prolific collector of manuscripts and early printed books, as well as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century state papers, and other artefacts (including ancient coins and monumental inscriptions from Roman Britain).[11] By the 1620s, both surviving portions of the Melrose codex had entered Cotton's possession, where they eventually came to be classified as parts of Julius B. XIII (Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* plus the opening of the Chronicle of Melrose) and Faustina B. IX (the remainder of that Melrose text). Cotton is commonly castigated for breaking up and reorganising his manuscripts, the same fate which befell the Melrose codex.[12] However, in this instance the most likely culprit is Leland, since the Melrose Chronicle

8 Sharpe *et al.* (eds), *The English Benedictine Libraries*, 125–6, 605; Reginald Lane Poole & Mary Bateson (eds), with an Introduction by Caroline Brett & James P. Carley, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers* (Cambridge, rev. edn, 1990), 71, 122–3; James P. Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986–90), 330–57, at 342–4, 351–3.

9 On Leland's role, see James P. Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000), xliii–xlvi; James P. Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: the Cambridge friars', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986–90), 90–100; Carley, 'John Leland: Lincolnshire'; and James P. Carley, 'John Leland and the foundations of the Royal Library: the Westminster inventory of 1542', *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1989–90), 13–22.

10 Poole & Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 9–10, 34–5, 42, 64, 136–7. On the historical works acquired by Leland, see further Caroline Brett, 'John Leland and the Anglo-Norman historian', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 11 (1988), 59–76, at 67–9.

11 C. J. Wright (ed.), *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy* (London, 1997); Colin G. C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (London, 1994).

12 For a balanced appreciation of Cotton's practice, see Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, 45–6, 103–9.

seems already to have been in two sections while in his hands, several decades prior to reaching Cotton.[13]

In the introduction to their facsimile, the Andersons observed that Faustina B. IX contained many marginalia (which they designated 'rubrics') in a sixteenth-century 'Italian hand' (xxiii). The facsimile editors commented that 'the same hand rubricated also the St Albans chronicle that follows the chronicle of Melrose in the same volume, and it is probable that both these chronicles were then already in one library'; they remarked that 'the 16th-century rubricator has not yet been identified'. The annotations in question were in fact made by John Leland, and are to be found in both parts of the Melrose codex, as well as the independent portions of Julius B. XIII (Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*) and Faustina B. IX (the Tynemouth Chronicles).[14] Similar notes occur in other books which once belonged to Leland, including items which eventually entered the Cottonian collection, one example being a tenth-century copy of Bede's *Lives* of St Cuthbert (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius A. XIX).[15]

13 It has been argued elsewhere that Leland rather than Cotton may have been responsible for binding together some of the components of BL Cotton Tiberius A. XV: James P. Carley & Pierre Petitmengin, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury Abbey and John Leland's letter to Beatus Rhenanus concerning a lost copy of Tertullian's works', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (2004), 195–223, at 207–8.

14 In this survey, the 'Tynemouth Chronicles' designates two historical works found in a manuscript from Tynemouth Priory (a cell of St Albans Abbey), now part of Faustina B. IX. They comprise: (1) a chronicle based on Nicholas Trevet's *Annales* and the writings of William Rishanger, spanning the period AD 1259–1306 (fos 76r–145v); and (2) a chronicle based on the so-called 'Short Chronicle' of St Albans and Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora*, AD 1360–1399 (fos 147r–242v). The most comprehensive analysis of this Tynemouth manuscript (*saec.* xiv/xv) is that by James P. Carley, '"Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas": John Bale, John Leland and the *Chronicon Tinemutensis coenobii*', in Helen Barr & Ann M. Hutchison (eds), *Texts and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson* (Turnhout, 2005), 163–87. See also V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406–1420* (Oxford, 1937), xxxiii–xxxvi, li–liii, lviii–lix; Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliæ, ab anno Domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, Rolls Series (London, 1874), xxviii–xxix; and John Taylor *et al.* (eds and trans), *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, i, *1376–1394* (Oxford, 2003), xxxii–xxxiii, xxxvi, xli, xlvii–xlviii, lxx.

15 Daniel J. Sheerin, 'John Leland and Milred of Worcester', *Manuscripta*, 21 (1977), 172–80. Leland is known to have owned all or part of the following Cotton manuscripts: Julius A. VII (Rushen Chronicle); Julius B. XIII; Tiberius A. XV (letters of Alcuin); Otho A. XII (Asser, *Life* of King Alfred, etc.); Vitellius A. XIX; probably Titus A. I (Ely Chronicle); and Faustina B. IX. In addition, he borrowed Tiberius B. I (Old English *Orosius* & the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* C-text) from Robert Talbot (d.1558); he may have used part of Tiberius A. VI (French chronicle AD 1042–1346); and he perhaps annotated Vitellius C. X (Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Cambriæ*). The autograph copy of Leland's *Antiquitates Britanniae* was also acquired by Cotton (now part of Julius C. VI): T. C. Skeat, 'Two "lost" works by John Leland', *English Historical Review*, 65 (1950), 505–8. For further discussion, see Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London, 2003), 95–6, 104, 106, 149, 160, 164, 189–90, 221–2; Carley & Petitmengin, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury Abbey'; and James P. Carley, 'The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the salvaging of the spoils', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain*, ii (Cambridge, forthcoming).

Although John Leland annotated the Melrose codex profusely, his comments are not distributed evenly throughout that manuscript.[16] Only two such notes are found in the margins of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47, drawing attention to Hugh of Saint-Victor's tables of rulers (§ix): these comprise the brief statements *Neus<tria> noua* (fo.26r) and *Longoba<rdi>, Gunili* (fo.27r), both cropped by a later binder. The relative lack of annotation in this part of the codex implies that it contained little information which Leland deemed useful for future reference. In contrast, he made numerous marginal notes in that portion of the Melrose Chronicle which is now confined to Faustina B. IX, the most dense concentration being found alongside the annals from AD 731 to 1218 (fos 2r–36v). Leland placed the majority of his comments in the outer margins of the Melrose codex, whenever possible located adjacent to the entries which were being signalled. There are a handful of exceptions to this rule in Faustina B. IX, where for lack of room the annotations stray into the written space or the lower margin.[17]

John Leland found much to interest him in the Melrose Chronicle. Some of his marginal notes record significant place-names, such as *Briodun mon<as>terium* (AD 731, Faustina B. IX fo.2r) and *Vallum Offa Merciorum* (AD 843, fo.5r); others identify important persons, including *Emma anglice Elfgiua dicta* (AD 1002, fo.10v) and *Gulielmus Blesensis episcopus Lincolniæ* (AD 1203, fo.27v); while Leland frequently noticed natural phenomena, among them *Portenta* (AD 733, fo.2r), *Cometa* (AD 768, fo.5v), *Terre motus* (AD 974, fo.9r) and *Fames* (AD 1005, fo.10v). He was also concerned to record citations of literary sources, the major example in this Chronicle relating to Seneca's *De Gradibus Duodecim* (AD 1268, fo.68r). On occasion, certain historical events were deemed worthy of attention: for instance, beside the annal for 1210 (fo.28v) Leland wrote *Hibernia subiugata Anglo* and *Persecutio Judæorum*, both referring to the deeds of King John (1199–1216). John Leland was busy gathering material for his future publications on the history, antiquities and geography of Britain, unfortunately curtailed by his descent into madness in 1547. He should unquestionably be regarded as the first post-medieval reader of the Melrose Chronicle.

The majority of Leland's annotations in our codex were restricted to a handful of words, though some were more lengthy. At the beginning of the reign of Alfred of Wessex (871–99), the Melrose Chronicle records the accession of Wærferth, bishop of Worcester, couched in the following terms (AD 872, Faustina B. IX fo.6r):

> *Alchwinus Wictiorum episcopus obiit, cui successit uir doctissimus Werefridus, ordinatus ab Ethredo Cantuariensis archiepiscopo. Qui iussu regis Alueredi*

16 Leland's annotations are found in the following leaves of the Melrose codex: Julius B. XIII fos 26r, 27r; Faustina B. IX fos 2r–13v, 15r–34v, 35r–37v, 39v–40r, 41r, 44r, 45v–46v, 52v, 54r–56r, 57r–58r, 59r, 60v, 63r, 64r–v, 65v, 66v–68r, 71v–72v, 73v–74v.

17 These include the comments *Versus de Alpino rege Scottorum* (AD 843, fo.5r); *Ecclesia noua Dunelmi incepta* (AD 1093, fo.16r); and *Libri Senecæ de gradibus* (AD 1268, fo.68r).

> *libros Dialogorum beati Gregorii de Latinitate transtulit in linguam Saxonicam.*
>
> Ealhwine, bishop of the Hwicce, died; Wærferth, a very learned man, succeeded him, having been ordained by Æthelred, archbishop of Canterbury. At the command of King Alfred, Wærferth translated the *Dialogues* of the blessed Gregory from Latin into the Saxon tongue.

John Leland clearly appreciated this information, because he summarised it in the neighbouring margin as *Wictiorum episcopus Werefridus transtulit dialogos Greg<orii> in linguam Saxonicam.* On another occasion, a reference to the political relationship between the English and Scots caught Leland's eye. In its annal for 1159 (Faustina B. IX fo.19v), the Melrose Chronicle reports that Henry II knighted Mael Coluim IV at Tours, namely *Malcolmus rex Scottorum factus est miles Turonis a rege Anglorum Henrico*: this Leland rendered in the outer margin of the Chronicle as *Malcolmus rex Scotiæ donatus equestribus insigniis ab Anglo.* It is otherwise known that Leland began a work (which has not survived) demonstrating that England held sovereignty over Scotland:[18] John Bale made excerpts from this text, entitled *Autores citati a Ioanne Lelando, in opere de iure Anglorum regis ad Scotie regnum.*[19] It is also noteworthy that Leland scrutinised the chronological summary of Anglo-Scottish relations extracted from the Melrose Chronicle itself (Faustina B. IX fo.54).[20]

John Leland made one other annotation in the manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle, which escaped the attention of the Andersons. In the upper margin of Faustina B. IX fo. 2r, Leland supplied a title for the annals from AD 731 onwards, which heading has been cropped by a later binder. A handful of letters of this sixteenth-century title remain visible, namely the lower half of an *E* and part of *pitome*, followed by a gap of 30mm, and concluding with another tail-stroke or descender. This can perhaps be reconstructed as *Epitome <Rogeri Houeden>* (or *Epitome <Historiæ Rogeri Houeden>*), based on a report by Leland's antiquarian colleague, John Bale (d.1563).[21] Of course, the Melrose Chronicle is not an epitome of Roger of

18 Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 6 vols (London, 2nd edn, 1774), iii. 2–10. Leland headed his notes 'How England should have Homage and Feaulty of Scotlande. These Remembraunces folowing be founde in olde Chronicles autorisid, remayning in diverse Monasteries booth in England an yn Scotland, by the which it is openly knowen and shewid, that the Kinges of England have had, and now owt to have, the upper Domination and Subjection of the Reaulme of Scotland, and Homage and Feaultie of the Kinges of the sayde Reaulme.'

19 Poole & Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, xiii, from Bodl. Selden supra 64, fo.190v (the excerpts themselves are unpublished). Bale recorded the existence of a copy of this work in the royal library, *ca* 1548, 'Leylandus de titulo regis ad Scotiam': *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 226; Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, 259 (H4.62).

20 Leland made at least two notes on this partially damaged leaf, namely *Provincia Loidis* (fo.54r) beside the report of Mael Coluim III's invasion of Lothian in 1091 (copied from fo.16r), and *Danecastre* (fo.54v) in relation to Mael Coluim IV's convalescence at Doncaster, assigned to the year 1162 (copied from fo.19v, *s.a.* 1163).

21 Poole & Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 402, 471.

Howden's work, as Leland supposed, but is instead a direct ancestor of Howden's *Chronicle*, or is somehow related to Howden's exemplar.[22]

This is not the only evidence that the Melrose codex passed through the hands of John Leland. In his *Collectanea*, Leland quoted on a single occasion *Ex Annalibus incerti autoris, sed conjunctis cuidam abbrev<i>ationi Hoveduni in Mailrosensi codice*, 'From the annals of an unknown author, but joined to a certain abbreviation of [Roger of] Howden in the Melrose codex'.[23] Here is the first scholarly recognition that our manuscript had once belonged to Melrose Abbey. The notice quoted is for the year 1204, and is copied verbatim from what is now Faustina B. IX fo.27v, Leland's citation reading:

> *Anno Domini MCCIIII. Danecastria in vigilia Paschæ funditus combusta est.*
>
> In the year of Our Lord 1204, Doncaster was burned to its foundations on the eve of Easter.

In the margin of the Melrose Chronicle, Leland signalled the same event, *<D>anecastria <c>ombusta*, his comment having been partially cropped. Doubtless, John Leland would have cited far more of this Melrose text had he not considered it to be merely an abbreviation of the *Chronicle* of Roger of Howden, to which he devoted significantly more attention.[24] Leland also made excerpts in his *Collectanea* from *De Principis Instructione* and the chronicles which he found at Tynemouth Priory (Northumberland).[25] In both cases, Leland can be shown to have owned the medieval manuscripts in question, namely the corresponding parts of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX.

Final confirmation that John Leland owned the Melrose codex is provided by John Bale, who twice recorded its existence in a private notebook later published under the title *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Selden supra 64 [*S.C.* 3452]).[26] These notices are of interest for Bale's assertion that the Melrose Chronicle began with the opening words of what is now Faustina B. IX — testimony that this work had probably been separated into two portions — and his supposition that it had been removed from Scotland by a learned man (*studiosus*):

> *Rogeri Houeden Epitome, opus ex Scotia a quodam studioso abductum, li. i. "Postquam veridicus historiographus et doctor," etc. Cum additionibus ad annum domini 1269, per Cistertiensem monachum de Mailros. Ex bibliotheca Ioan. Lelandi.*

22 William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, 4 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1868–71), i. xlii–xliv; A. A. M. Duncan, 'Roger of Howden and Scotland, 1187–1201', in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon* (Edinburgh, 1999), 135–59.

23 Hearne (ed.), *Joannis Lelandi Collectanea*, iii. 212.

24 *Ibid.*, i. 123–36 (*Ex Histor. Rogeri Hoveduni*); iii. 171–212 (*Ex Historia Rogeri Hoveduni, qui opus suam inchoavit ubi Beda finem historiæ fecit*).

25 *Ibid.*, i. 173–89; iii. 10–16, 403–7. On this Tynemouth material, see further Carley, '"Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas"'.

26 Poole & Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 402, 471.

The second of these entries is followed immediately by that for the Tynemouth manuscript, with which this part of the Melrose Chronicle is now bound. This implies that these works were stored next to each other in Leland's collection, if not already placed in the same volume:[27]

> *Monachus quidam de Mailros, scripsit Rogeri Houeden epitomen, li. i. "Postquam veridicus historiographus et doctor." Cum additionibus ad A.D. 1269. Quod quidam studiosus abduxit ex Scotia. Ex bibliotheca Ioan. Lelandi.*
>
> *Monachus ad fanum diui Albani, scripsit Chronicon Anglie, li. i. "Anno gratie M.CC. lix. rex Anglorum Henricus,' etc. Finit A.D. M.CCCC. Ex bibliotheca eiusdem Lelandi.*

Bale likewise reported that a copy of Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, was to be found in Leland's library.[28] John Bale's notebook was compiled for the greater part between 1548 and 1552 (the year of Leland's death), by which stage John Leland was insane, and incapable of looking after his manuscripts. According to early tradition, some portion of Leland's collection was passed for safekeeping into the hands of Sir John Cheke (d.1557), from whom Bale reportedly borrowed certain materials.[29]

Should John Leland be held accountable for breaking up the Melrose codex, and in the process dividing the Melrose Chronicle into its extant parts? In his *Collectanea*, Leland specifically referred to the 'Melrose codex', which possibly equates to the present Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 + Faustina B. IX fos 2–75. However, at some stage he also deduced (incorrectly as it happens) that the largest portion of the Melrose Chronicle (from AD 731) comprised an epitome of the *Chronicle* of Roger of Howden: he titled this part of the manuscript accordingly, and presumably detached it about the same time. Bale's testimony seemingly confirms that this 'Epitome of Howden' subsequently formed a separate volume, as survives today. Leland was presumably responsible for uniting this portion of the Melrose Chronicle with the Tynemouth manuscript, which he also owned: James Carley has privately suggested that this union created a continuous narrative of British history (AD 731–1399, with some overlap and omission), suitable for Leland's own research agenda. The remainder of the Melrose codex was itself combined with a separate item in Leland's possession, *De Principis Instructione*, for reasons which are presently unclear. It was most probably John Leland who assembled the two volumes later rechristened Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX, rather than Sir Robert Cotton arbitrarily choosing to join their constituent parts together.

27 On the implications of this evidence, see Tite, *The Early Records*, 221. Tite suggests that 'the manuscript [Faustina B. IX] may have been divided, at least temporarily, or remained divided, after Leland's time'. The likelihood, nonetheless, is that Leland did bind the whole volume, and that Cotton had it rebound to suit his own tastes.

28 Poole & Bateson (eds), *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 425.

29 Stephen Reed Cattley (ed.), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols (London, 1837–41), iii. 705. Cheke was sometime tutor of King Edward VI of England (1547–53).

After Leland's death, the history of the Melrose codex is imperfectly known until its acquisition, in distinct parts, by Sir Robert Cotton. Indeed, at this juncture it becomes appropriate to think of our codex not as a single entity, but as a discrete medieval manuscript now divided into two portions, each bound with material of independent origin. It is possible that both volumes — one half of the Melrose codex united with *De Principis Instructione*, the other with the Tynemouth Chronicles — travelled side by side at this period, and shared the same sixteenth-century owners; but it should not be discounted that they may have entered Cotton's possession via different routes.

Julius B. XIII is today prefaced by an early modern parchment endleaf (fo.1), which contains a Cottonian list of contents in the hand of Richard James (d.1638).[30] Also in the upper left-hand corner of fo.1r is a single Jupiter mark, similar to those used by the astrologer and mathematician John Dee (d.1609) to denote his ownership.[31] There is a variety of evidence, none of it conclusive, to support the proposition that Dee himself owned the manuscript under consideration. First, Dee is known to have purchased several volumes from Leland's collection, although the recorded examples all dealt with scientific subjects.[32] John Dee's library likewise contained a number of historical texts, including medieval copies of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* and Roger of Howden's *Chronicle*.[33] It is noteworthy that Dee owned at least two Cistercian annalistic chronicles from the British Isles, namely those from Coggeshall (in London, College of Arms, MS. Arundel 11) and Grace Dieu (part of Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 507):[34] in this context, an interest in the Melrose codex would have been by no means unusual. Finally, certain of Dee's manuscripts were obtained in turn by Sir Robert Cotton, either purchased directly from his estate or acquired via other collections.[35] These

30 The second item of this contents-list, Gerald of Wales' *De Principis Instructione*, has been annotated in the hand of Thomas Gale (d.1702).

31 Julian Roberts & Andrew G. Watson (facs. eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London, 1990), 23–4 and plate VIb.

32 On 18 May 1556, John Dee bought five manuscripts from Leland's library at a sale in London: Roberts & Watson (facs. eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, 6, 153–4.

33 Roberts & Watson (facs. eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, 40–1, 117 (M60), 161 (DM16), 164 (DM43), 168 (DM64), 170–1 (DM82). On Dee's manuscripts of Geoffrey, see also Julia C. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, iii, *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), nos. 67, 101, 106, 118 (including BL Harley 536, not recorded by Roberts & Watson). Dee owned two copies of Howden's *Chronicle*, one of which (BL Harley 54: England, *saec.* xiii[1]) has four Jupiter marks in the upper margin of fo.1r. The other (BL Cotton Claudius B. VII, fos 4r–194v: British Isles, *saec.* xvi[2] + ?Lichfield, *saec.* xiii[med]) is a medieval volume supplemented with early modern supply leaves (fos 3–113, 213–16), assembled for Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1559–75). As Parker also had in his possession the second portion of the Melrose codex (Faustina B. IX), it is not impossible that both parts passed from him via Dee to Cotton; but there is no evidence that Parker ever owned Julius B. XIII, nor Dee Faustina B. IX.

34 Roberts & Watson (facs. eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, 160–1 (DM15), 171 (DM84).

35 *Ibid.*, 58, 65, 162–4 (DM23–40); Tite, *The Early Records*, 95–7, 101, 107–9, 111, 113–14, 124, 134–5, 146–8, 157, 163–4, 170, 172, 174, 176–7, 199, 204–6, 210, 212–13, 229, 234–

connections are tantalising. However, it should be stressed that John Dee was not alone in using a Jupiter mark to identify his books: some sixteen of Cotton's manuscripts contain the same motif, most of which have no known association with Dee.[36] Furthermore, the inventories of Dee's library, including a catalogue drawn up in 1583, contain no item approximating to any portion of Julius B. XIII or Faustina B. IX.[37] The case for John Dee's ownership of part or all of the Melrose codex must therefore remain unproved.

At some stage in its early modern history, the margins of the Melrose Chronicle in Faustina B. IX were annotated by someone using an orange-red crayon, and occasional words underlined in the same colour.[38] Similar annotations are sometimes associated with the manuscripts owned by Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1559–75), most of which he bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[39] Parker certainly knew the Melrose Chronicle, and perhaps had access to the original manuscript. In a sixteenth-century dossier on clerical marriage (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 248), a subject of great interest to the archbishop, is found the following note

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5. Dee owned all or part of the following Cotton manuscripts: Julius D. V (works of Roger Bacon); Augustus I.i.1 (map of the northern hemisphere); Tiberius B. IX (works of Bacon); Tiberius C. V (works of Bacon); Caligula A. I (papers relating to the Council of Basle, etc.); Caligula A. VI (Humfrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*); Claudius B. VII (chronicles, etc.); Claudius B. IX (Helinandus); Nero C. VII (saints' *Lives*); Galba E. IV (scientific treatises, etc.); Galba E. VII (*Eulogium Historiarum*, etc.); Galba E. VIII (Brut chronicle, etc.); Otho E. VIII (naval papers); Vitellius C. IX (corrections to *Chronicle* of Sigebert of Gembloux & *Lives* of Welsh princes); Vespasian A. II (computistical treatises, etc.); Vespasian A. X (*Anticlaudianus*, etc.); Vespasian A. XXII (Rochester register); Vespasian B. X (scientific treatises); Domitian A. I (Isidore, *De Natura Rerum*, & Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambrie*, etc.); Domitian A. IV (chronicles, etc.); Domitian A. VIII (Gloucester cartulary-chronicle); Cleopatra B. II (Winchcombe constitutions); Cleopatra C. III (transcript of Tewkesbury foundation-history); and Appendix XLVI (John Dee, *Conference with Angels*). Less certain candidates are: Julius C. II (transcripts of Anglo-Saxon laws, etc.); Vitellius E. XVIII (Latin Psalter with Old English gloss); and Domitian A. II (chronicle to AD 1292). Dee also annotated parts of Titus D. IX (Welsh laws).

36 Tite, *The Early Records*, 15 (and n.97), 258. Tite entertains the possibility that these Jupiter marks were entered by someone other than Cotton (at 15): 'the marks are not numerous enough to indicate that they were a statement of the [Cotton] library's ownership, and indeed they may have been made by someone else'.

37 Dee once claimed to have owned as many as 1,000 manuscripts, more than four times the total currently identified: Roberts & Watson (facs. eds), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, 22.

38 Traces of these orange-red annotations are found on the following leaves of Faustina B. IX: fos 2r–3r, 4r, 7v–8v, 9v–22r, 23v–24r, 25v–26r, 27r–v, 29v–30v, 31v–32r, 33v–35r, 37v–38r, 42v–45r, 46v–47v, 49v, 55v–56r, 61r–63r, 64v–66v, 67v–73v, 74v–75v. On fo.14, the crayon intrudes into the parchment frame. The marks in question are confined to the Melrose Chronicle alone: another reader — perhaps Sir Robert Cotton himself — has made considerable effort to erase them. See DVD guide, detailed images nos 3 and 4.

39 For a description of Parker's hand, see R. I. Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books: Sandars Lectures in Bibliography Delivered on 14, 16, and 18 May 1990 at the University of Cambridge* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993), 125–7.

in Matthew Parker's own hand, entered on one of the upper endleaves (fo.i verso):[40]

> *In annalibus cenobii de Malros in Scotia anno 1210 citantur quidam heretici … quos laici papelardos appellauerunt.*
>
> In the annals of the monastery of Melrose in Scotland, under the year 1210, certain heretics are cited … who the laity called Papelards.[41]

This corresponds to a report in our Chronicle, *s.a.* 1210 (Faustina B. IX fo.29r), next to which Leland wrote *Papelardi.*

Together with the supporting testimony of Trinity College Dublin MS. 248, it can now be posited that the orange-red marks in Faustina B. IX were made by Parker, or by someone in his immediate circle. In turn, Faustina B. IX fos 76r–145v was presumably the witness of the Tynemouth Chronicle known to Matthew Parker.[42] This conclusion is further buttressed by the presence on Faustina B. IX fo.63v of a note reading *Episcopi assumpti de domo de Melros*, in the distinctive hand of John Joscelyn (d.1603), who served as Parker's Latin secretary.[43] Other Parkerian manuscripts were undoubtedly acquired by Sir Robert Cotton:[44] there is no evidence to suggest that Faustina B. IX had passed to the archbishop's son, Sir John Parker (d.1618/19), or that it was removed from Corpus Christi College.[45]

Another positive indication of the sixteenth-century whereabouts of the Melrose Chronicle is provided by two series of excerpts, each transcribed

40 Marvin L. Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 1991), i. 438–9.

41 A 'papelard', according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is a hypocrite, parasite or sycophant.

42 Carley, '"Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas"'; Timothy Graham & Andrew G. Watson (eds), *The Recovery of the Past in Early Elizabethan England: Documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the Circle of Matthew Parker*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Monograph No. 13 (Cambridge, 1998), 93 (J2.85).

43 A considerable number of the Cotton manuscripts seem to have passed through Joscelyn's hands, though not all were demonstrably associated with Parker.

44 Apart from Faustina B. IX, the following Cotton manuscripts have Parkerian associations: Claudius B. VII (chronicles, etc.); Nero D. II (Rochester Chronicle); Otho A. XII (Asser, *Life* of King Alfred, etc.); Vitellius F. IX (Thomas Otterburn, *Chronica Regum Anglie*, etc.); Vespasian A. XIV (*Lives* of Welsh saints); Vespasian B. XV (excerpts from monastic registers, etc.); Titus A. I (addition to Ely Chronicle); Titus A. VIII (Westminster Abbey cartulary); Cleopatra A. I (Furness Chronicle); Cleopatra B. XIII (Old English homilies); and Faustina A. IX (Old English homilies). Less certain candidates are: Tiberius B. IV (writs of King Cnut); Nero C. III (Upton, *De Officio Militari*); Otho C. II (*Flores Historiarum*); and Titus A. II (Durham chronicles). Matthew Parker also owned part of the Cambridge-London Gospels (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 197B), separated from Otho C. V; while James Ussher had a transcript of Peter Martyr's letter on the divorce of Henry VIII, *ex Mſs Matthaei Parker … in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ* (unidentified). On these manuscripts, see Tite, *The Early Records*, 106–7, 124, 133–4, 136–7, 149, 153, 171, 174, 178, 189–91, 208–11, 219.

45 Sheila Strongman, 'John Parker's manuscripts: an edition of the lists in Lambeth Palace MS 737', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1977–80), 1–27.

directly from Faustina B. IX. Both transcriptions were made by Robert Glover (1544–88), who was created Somerset Herald in 1571, and had a professional interest in medieval history. The earliest set is possibly that in London, British Library, MS. Egerton 3789, fos 63r–71r, and is headed *Ex Annalibus Melrossensis Cenobii in Scotia, incipientibus ubi Beda scribere cessauit.*[46] Each entry copied here deals with Anglo-Saxon events, beginning with the abdication of King Ceolwulf of Northumbria in 737 (Faustina B. IX fo.2v), and ending with the consecration of King William I of England in 1066 (fo.15r). On occasion, Glover took the trouble to date his transcriptions, and though he omitted to do so in this instance, all the material in Egerton 3789 is entered in chronological sequence, between 1577 and 1582.[47] To judge by its position in Egerton 3789, the Melrose excerpts — in a single scribal stint — can be dated with a fair degree of certainty no earlier than 1580, but before 17 December 1581. More significantly, Robert Glover recorded the location of the Chronicle (fo.71r): *Reliqua quære in libro quarto Miscellaneorum nostrorum sub titulo Epitome Historiæ Rogeri Houeduni.* This notification, declaring that the rest of that work be found in the fourth volume of his miscellaneous materials, under the title supplied by Leland, demonstrates that Glover himself must have owned at least one portion of the Melrose Chronicle.

Robert Glover's second series of excerpts from Faustina B. IX is found in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Otho D. IV, fos 141v–154v.[48] Intriguingly, these extracts are entitled *Epitome Historiæ Rogeri Houedeni. Hic liber à quodam studioso inter spolia repertus è Scotia abductus fuit,* replicating John Bale's description of the Chronicle: presumably Glover had consulted Bale's notebook of British authors (then unpublished), unless the title formed part of Leland's binding of the manuscript, now discarded. This transcription from Faustina B. IX begins with the death of Eógan, king of Scots, *s.a.* 741 (fo.2v, part of the Verse Chronicle), and extends to the death of Adam de Kilconquhar, earl of Carrick, *s.a.* 1270, and the remarriage of his widow, Marjorie, to Robert de Bruce (fo.74r). Among other subjects, Glover manifested interest in the Scottish king-list, the catalogue of the earls of Northumbria (*s.a.* 950), the account in verse of Magna Carta (*s.a.* 1215), and the battle of Lewes, 1264 (for which he copied out the entire Melrose entry). The transcription itself is undated, but some parts of Otho D. IV, fos 1–222 (almost all of which is in Glover's hand), belong explicitly to the years

46 *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts*, New Series, *1971–1975*, i, *Descriptions* (London, 2001), 551. I owe my knowledge of this manuscript to Pamela Selwyn.

47 Other items in this manuscript bear the dates 1577 (fo.iir), 1578 (fo.18r), 1579 (fos 34r–35r), 1580 (fo.56v), 17 December 1581 (fo.106v), 1581 (fo.113v) and 1582 (fo.121r).

48 Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, xv. This relationship was recognised in [Joseph Planta], *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), 369, where the extracts in question are described as 'A tract, entitled, "Epitome historiæ Rogeri Hoveduni;" but properly a compendious history of Scotland, from K. Ewain, who died A° 741, to 1270, extracted from the chronicle of Mailross.'

between January 1580 and 14 June 1586.[49] It can therefore be proposed that these excerpts from the Melrose Chronicle were again made in the 1580s.

Robert Glover died in London on 10 April 1588. Less than two months later, on 1 June, an inventory was made of his library, now bound among the papers of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (d.1598), Treasurer of England (London, British Library, MS. Lansdowne 58, fos 103r–106r).[50] (Burghley is known to have purchased parts of Glover's collection, as the compilation of the inventory might otherwise suggest.)[51] The record in question discloses that the Somerset Herald had owned numerous historical manuscripts, among which were the works of Bede, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. Although there is no specific mention of the Melrose Chronicle, the name of Roger of Howden (with whom that text had become associated) is listed twice (fo.105r):

W *Pars cronici Rogeri Houedon in 2 pece<s>*
D1 *Chronica Rogeri Houedon*

The description of this first item, part of the '*Chronicle* of Howden' in two distinct portions, is extremely enticing, since it is akin to the physical condition of the Melrose codex by the end of the sixteenth century. However, neither entry necessarily represents our manuscript. The oldest surviving copy of Howden's work is itself divided into two separate volumes (London, British Library, MS. Royal 14 C. II + Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 582), and could well be item 'W' in Burghley's inventory;[52] while Burghley himself owned a fifteenth-century manuscript of Howden (perhaps inherited from Glover), which has passed by direct descent to the present Marquis of Salisbury (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 307).[53] The exact

49 Headings dated to this period are found in Otho D. IV, fos 85v, 93r, 98r, 102r, 109v, 111v, 116r, 125r, 162v, 213v, 218v, 222r.

50 Pamela M. Selwyn, '"Such speciall Bookes of Mr Somersette*s* as were sould to Mr Secretary": the fate of Robert Glover's collections', in James P. Carley & Colin G. C. Tite (eds), *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson* (London, 1997), 389–401, at 391–2, 394–5.

51 *Ibid.*, 393–7. It is possible, however, that this inventory was originally drawn up in connection with a proposed sale of Glover's books to Elizabeth I, as argued by Selwyn (at 391–2, 395). Burghley was reputedly a great bibliophile and compiler of pedigrees: Alan G. R. Smith (ed.), *The Anonymous Life of William Cecil, Lord Burghley* (Lewiston, Queenston & Lampeter, 1990), 123–4, 128.

52 David Corner, 'The earliest surviving manuscripts of Roger of Howden's "Chronica"', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 297–310.

53 Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, i. lxxxiii. This manuscript contains ownership inscriptions and annotations in Burghley's hand, and passed to his younger son Sir Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury (as kindly notified by Robin Harcourt Williams, Librarian and Archivist, Hatfield House). Other of Burghley's books were bequeathed to his elder son Thomas, first earl of Exeter, and were later sold at auction in London in November 1687. One such manuscript was described in the sale catalogue as *Roger de Hoveden Historia Anglorum post Bedam*: T. Bentley & B. Walford, *Bibliotheca Illustris: sive Catalogus Variorum Librorum In quâvis Linguâ & Facultate Insignium Ornatissimæ Bibliothecæ Viri Cujusdam Prænobilis ac Honoratissimi olim Defuncti, Libris Rarissimis tam Typis excusis quàm Manuscriptis refertissimæ: Quorum Auctio habebitur Londini, ad Insigne Ursi in Vico dicto Ave-Mary-Lane, prope Templum D. Pauli, Novemb. 21. 1687.* ([London, 1687]), 83.

fate of the Melrose Chronicle in the aftermath of Robert Glover's death is uncertain, but it is clear that some of his books did eventually reach Cotton's hands, one of which must have been Faustina B. IX.[54]

Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) is known to have begun collecting medieval manuscripts by the late 1580s.[55] Eventually, he was to acquire the two extant parts of the Melrose codex, divided into separate volumes. The manuscript subsequently rechristened Julius B. XIII is first attested in Sir Robert's ownership in a catalogue begun in 1621, and augmented in the following years (London, British Library, MS. Harley 6018, no.293).[56] Julius B. XIII does not seem to have attracted special attention at this period: it may have been the volume described as *Geraldus Chambrensis* which the jurist John Selden (d.1654) borrowed from Sir Thomas Cotton (d.1662) on 18 June 1638, but there are several candidates in the collection having equal claim to be that mentioned here. In turn, Faustina B. IX is first noticed in Sir Robert's hands in 1621, when it was loaned to Patrick Young (d.1652), the royal librarian, and again on 4 May of the same year to Sir Henry Montagu (d.1642), then Lord Treasurer.[57] Soon afterwards, on 16 April 1622, James Ussher, bishop of Meath (1621–5) and later archbishop of Armagh (1625–56), wrote to Selden asking him to make extracts from the copy of the Melrose Chronicle then in the Cotton library.[58] There is no official record of a loan to Selden at this period, but it is likely that he did obtain the volume in question and, moreover, must have forwarded it to Ussher: on 14 September 1625, Selden asked Ussher to send him what he termed *the Book of Mailros*, which probably equates with Faustina B. IX.[59] John Selden borrowed the Melrose Chronicle once more, this time from Sir Thomas Cotton, *ca* 1638.[60] While Faustina B. IX was in the Cotton library, a transcript was made of the

54 Apart from Faustina B. IX, Glover owned all or part of the following Cotton manuscripts, some in his own hand: Julius E. IV (Beauchamp Pageant); Tiberius E. V (Northampton cartulary); Caligula A. XII–XIII (Pipewell cartulary); Claudius C. II (genealogies); Claudius C. III (heraldic materials); Otho D. IV (collections of Glover); Titus C. I (genealogies); and Faustina E. I (pedigrees). Other candidates for his ownership are: Claudius B. VI or Claudius C. IX (Abingdon cartulary-chronicle); Claudius C. VIII (index of nobility); Nero D. V (Matthew Paris); and Nero D. VIII (Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*). For all these manuscripts, see Tite, *The Early Records*, 98–9, 112, 115, 123–6, 137–8, 155, 196, 223–4, and Selwyn, '"Such speciall Bookes of Mr Somersette"', 396. (To judge by the unpublished inventory of Glover's library, other items may eventually be added to the above list.)

55 Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, 5.

56 Tite, *The Early Records*, 95.

57 *Ibid.*, 33 (2.30), 221–2.

58 C. R. Elrington (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher*, 17 vols (Dublin, 1847), xv. 176: 'I would intreat you likewise, if it be not too great a trouble, to transcribe for me out of the annals of Mailrose in Sir Robert Cotton's library, the Succession and times of the kings of Scotland.'

59 *Ibid.*, 302–3. Ussher's copy of material from Faustina B. IX on the succession of Scottish kings is Bodl. Add. C. 296, fos 136r–137v: [William Fulman] (ed.), *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, i (Oxford, 1684), 'Lectori' and 595, note *a*.

60 Tite, *The Early Records*, 81 (163.10). Selden quoted from Faustina B. IX in Roger Twysden (ed.), *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X* (London, 1652), vi, xvi, xviii–xix.

annal for 1265 (fos 65v-66r): this survives in a volume largely associated with George Carew, earl of Totness (d.1629), now London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus B. XI, part I, fo.75v, headed *Ex Libro Monasterii Melrosse.*[61]

Sir Robert Cotton habitually had his manuscripts rebound, though relatively few of his own bindings now survive, having largely been replaced while in the keeping of the British Museum.[62] As early as 1621, Cotton described Faustina B. IX as *Cronicon Melrocensis Cenobii in Scotia bound with my armes and clasps.*[63] As a preliminary to this rebinding programme, Cotton often provided instructions at the front of the manuscript (as is found in Faustina B. IX fo.i recto), in conjunction with a series of quire-signatures to guide the binder, entered in the recto lower margin of the first leaf of each quire.[64] At first sight, the sequence of quire-signatures throughout Julius B. XIII seems relatively straightforward, as follows:

A	1r	*K*	72r
B	2r	*L*	84r
C	10r	*M*	96r
D	19r	*N*	108r
E	28r	*O*	120r
F	36r	*P*	132r
G	41r	*Q*	144r
H	48r	*R*	156r
I	60r	*S*	168r

It is clear, however, that Cotton must have rearranged and renumbered quires *C–G* (Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* and the opening leaves of the Melrose Chronicle), presumably to ensure that the binder received them in the correct order.

C: fos 10–18 were originally numbered *B1–B9*, with *B7* (fo.12) now inserted between *B2* and *B3*;
D: the quire-signature replaced an erased *C*, with fos 21–22 and 24 originally being numbered *C3–C4* and *C6*;
E: the quire-signature was written in succession to an erased *D*;
F: the quire-signature replaced an erased *E*;
G: the quire-signature replaced an erased *F*, with fos 42–44 and 46 originally being numbered *F2–F4* and *F5*.

Sir Robert Cotton may have likewise reconsidered the organisation of Faustina B. IX, as witnessed by the existence of a dual series of signatures for quires *B–E* (the Melrose Chronicle, AD 731–1233) and *O–P* (the first

61 [Planta], *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, 544. I owe my knowledge of this manuscript to Freya Verstraten.
62 Tite, *The Early Records*, 15–16, 259; Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, 48–9 and fig. 17.
63 Tite, *The Early Records*, 33 (2.30).
64 *Ibid.*, 16, 259–60; Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, 46–8 and fig. 16. Cotton's instructions to the binder, on what was the early modern pastedown, are now illegible.

Tynemouth Chronicle). Both sequences were probably entered while in Cotton's ownership, if not by Sir Robert himself:[65]

A	ir	*T*	124r
B	2r	*V*	132r
C	12r	*W*	138r
D	23r	*X*	146r
E	30r	*Y*	147r
F	40r	*Z*	155r
G	47r	*AA*	163r
H	55r	*BB*	171r
J	58r	*CC*	179r
K	64r	*DD*	187r
L	72r	*EE*	193r
N	76r	*FF*	201r
O	84r	*GG*	209r
P	92r	*HH*	217r
Q	100r	*JJ*	225r
R	108r	*KK*	233r
S	116r	*LL*	243r

Evidence that Faustina B. IX may indeed have been partially restructured at this period is provided by an early modern (perhaps pre-Cottonian) series of foliation, entered in the recto lower margins, and numbered '1–74': in particular, the medieval endleaf formerly designated '53' has been removed from an earlier position following the summary of Anglo-Scottish relations (now fo.54) to become the present fo.38.[66] The absence of a quire-signature '*M*' after the current end of the Melrose Chronicle might be taken to indicate that certain leaves from that work have been lost or removed while in Cotton's possession; but the Andersons concluded that such a scenario is unlikely (x–xi).

> It is possible that fascicle *M* might have continued the Chronicle of Melrose, and been lost in binding, but the condition of the last page of the chronicle makes that improbable. The last page had evidently been the last page for a long time [on account of the rubbing of its text] before the combined volume was bound.

Cotton's lists of contents were probably drawn up at the same time that each manuscript was rebound. Richard James was responsible for the contents pages of both Julius B. XIII (fo.1r) and Faustina B. IX (fo.1r); Sir William Dugdale (d.1686) later supplied a pressmark for Faustina B. IX, written on the early modern upper pastedown (fo.i verso).

65 Tite, *The Early Records*, 221.

66 Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, x. There are also post-medieval catchwords (perhaps for the attention of a binder) on fos 13v, 37v, 39v, 43v, 44v, 45v, 46v, 47v, 50v, 51v, 52v, 55v, 56v, 57v, 59v, 61v, 64v, 65v, 66v, 67v, 68v, 69v, 70v, 71v, 72v, 73v. These do not correspond to the medieval quiring.

Following his death in 1631, Sir Robert's manuscripts passed to his son, Sir Thomas Cotton (d.1662), and in turn to Thomas's son, Sir John Cotton (d.1702). During the seventeenth century, a number of copies were made of that portion of the Melrose Chronicle found in Faustina B. IX.[67] One of these transcriptions, in the hand of the professional scribe Raph Jennyngs, survives as Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208, fos 1–66: a note (dated 10 January 1651) states *Received of Mr. Bee for writing this history of Melros out of an old copy borrowed out of Sir Thomas Cotton's library, the summe of 3l. by mee Raph Jennyngs; which I promise to compare when desired with the originall.*[68] Another transcription (which is undated) was produced for Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester (1689–99), being preserved as London, British Library, MS. Harley 731: its title reflects that of the Cottonian contents page, namely *Chronica de Mailros inchoata per Abbatem de Dunndrannand ab A. 735. continuata per varios ad A.D. 1270* (fo.1r), the verso opposite reading *Ex Codice Cottoniano Ffaustin<a> B.9.*[69] Joseph Stevenson also identified two other transcripts of our Chronicle in Edinburgh (now Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MSS. Adv. 35.5.6 and Adv. 35.6.10), and a third (Glasgow, University Library, MS. Gen. 237) made by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (d.1657) from the original.[70] Finally, the Melrose Chronicle entered print for the first time in 1684, as part of *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, where it is entitled *Chronica de Mailros Inchoata per Abbatem de Dundrainand ab An. 735. Continuata per varios ad Annum Domini 1270.*[71]

Towards the end of his life, Sir John Cotton settled his library on the nation 'for Publick Use and Advantage', as confirmed by Parliament in 1701, and as effected at Sir John's death in 1702.[72] The manuscripts suffered an uncertain existence during the opening decades of the eighteenth century, being kept in temporary quarters in London while their fate was decided. Regrettably, on 23 October 1731, a fire swept through Ashburnham House in Whitehall, where Cotton's collection was then stored. A significant number of manuscripts was destroyed, and many others damaged, some by the water used to douse the flames: we are fortunate that both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX escaped this incident unscathed.[73] What remained of the

67 See further chapter X (6).

68 Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1852), ii, 'Collegii Corporis Christi', 82; Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, v, n. †.

69 The scribe omitted Faustina B. IX, fos 50r–54v and 63v, but ended as today with fo.75v. Stillingfleet's manuscripts were bought by Robert Harley in 1707.

70 Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros*, iv, n. †. Balfour was author of *The Annales of Scotland*: see James Haig (ed.), *The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne and Kinnaird, Knight and Baronet; Lord Lyon King at Arms to Charles the First, and Charles the Second*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1824–5).

71 [Fulman] (ed.), *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, 133–244, 595–8 (the Verse Chronicle). This edition was based on the copy in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 208.

72 On the subsequent history of the collection, see Tite, *The Manuscript Library*, 33–9, 74–7.

73 For the aftermath of this fire, see Andrew Prescott, '"Their present miserable state of cremation": the restoration of the Cotton library', in Wright (ed.), *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*, 391–454.

Cottonian collection was finally deposited in the newly established British Museum, founded in 1753; and in 1973 the British Museum Library was formally incorporated by Act of Parliament as the British Library.[74]

While in the care of the British Museum (and, latterly, the British Library), both portions of the Melrose codex have been subjected to further reorganisation. Neither volume retains its Cottonian binding, Julius B. XIII having been repaired and rebound by Charles Tuckett at the British Museum bindery in February 1839, and Faustina B. IX undergoing the same procedure at Tuckett's hands in November 1839 and again in November 1864.[75] The Melrose Chronicle in Faustina B. IX was pulled from its binding once more in August 1928, while it was being photographed for the first facsimile edition, but no record was kept of its previous make-up.[76] The two manuscripts in question have more recently been disbound (in September 2005 and February 2006) by Mariluz Beltran de Guevara in the Conservation Studio at the British Library, to facilitate examination of the medieval sewing and quiring.[77] At the same time, the opportunity has been taken to photograph the Chronicle for the DVD which accompanies the present edition.

Meanwhile, Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX have been foliated throughout on two separate occasions, the first time in ink, sometime before 1731, in the upper right-hand corner of each recto, and again in pencil in 1884.[78] The original ink sequence in Julius B. XIII comprises '1' (the contents page), '2–40' (Hugh of Saint-Victor), '41–47' (Melrose Chronicle) and '48–173' (Gerald of Wales), confirmed by two eighteenth-century notes on fo.173v.[79] This ink foliation was checked in July 1884, that of fos 172–173 re-emphasised in pencil, and a third note added to this effect on the first lower endleaf.

74 In the 1990s, the British Library was relocated across London from Great Russell Street to its present home at Euston Road.

75 This information is taken from BL Additional 62577, fos 3v–4r, 37v–38r, a binding register maintained by Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum (1837–66). Julius B. XIII now contains an upper pastedown, 2 upper endleaves, 3 lower endleaves and a lower pastedown, all of modern paper. Faustina B. IX has an upper pastedown, 4 upper endleaves, 4 lower endleaves and a lower pastedown, again all of paper. For the complete make-up of these two manuscripts, see chapter X (1).

76 As confirmed by Greg Buzwell (pers. comm., 13 September 2002). For a brief notice of the preparation of the first facsimile, see Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, vii.

77 The boards and spine of Faustina B. IX had almost become detached prior to this latest disbinding. At the time of writing (June 2006), both Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX are awaiting rebinding in the Conservation Studio.

78 Early in the eighteenth century, the leaves of all the Cottonian manuscripts were counted, reflected in the numbering by tens on their versos: this occurs in Julius B. XIII fos 10v, 20v, 30v, 40v, 50v, 80v, 90v, 110v, 120v, 130v, 150v, 160v, 170v, and in Faustina B. IX fos 10v, 20v, 30v, 50v, 60v, 70v, 80v, 90v, 110v, 120v, 130v, 140v, 150v, 160v, 170v, 180v, 190v, 200v, 210v, 220v, 230v, 240v.

79 *De Principis Instructione* also contains a partial sequence of early modern foliation, comprising '2–50' in the upper outer recto corners of the present fos 49–96 (erased to accommodate the British Museum's scheme).

In contrast, Faustina B. IX has twice been foliated, once in ink before 1731, and then revised in pencil (with a false start) in February 1884.[80] This is best described as follows:

	1884 (pencil)	*aborted (pencil)*	*pre-1731 (ink)*
early modern endleaf	i	i	—
Cottonian contents page	1	2	—
Melrose Chronicle	2–75	3–76	1–74
first Tynemouth Chronicle	76–145	77–84	75–144
early modern flyleaf	146	—	145
second Tynemouth Chronicle	147–244	—	146–243

This created the dual series of foliation which is visible in the facsimile (the first attempt to refoliate this manuscript in pencil has been largely erased, but can still be detected with the naked eye).[81] Following British Library practice, the leaves of the Melrose Chronicle are cited in the present edition according to the pencil foliation.

The ownership of the Melrose codex (and with it the Melrose Chronicle) can be summarised as follows:

(1)	Melrose Abbey:	*ca* 1174–(?)*saec.* xiii/xiv;
(2)	Deeping Priory:	(?)*saec.* xiv–(?)1536, perhaps transmitted via Thorney Abbey;
(3)	John Leland:	mid 1530s–*ca* 1552 (codex divided into two);
(4a)	'Julius B. XIII':	(?)owned by John Dee (d.1609);
(4b)	'Faustina B. IX':	annotated by (or on behalf of) Matthew Parker *saec.* $xvi^{3/4}$, and owned by Robert Glover 1580s;
(5)	Sir Robert Cotton:	(?)*saec.* $xvii^{in}$ (by 1620s)–1631;
(6)	Sir Thomas Cotton:	1631–62;
(7)	Sir John Cotton:	1662–1702;
(8)	ownership of the nation:	1702 onwards;
(9)	British Museum:	1753–1973 (British Museum Library);
(10)	British Library:	1973–present.

[80] There are confirmatory notes to this effect on fo.244v and the recto of the first lower endleaf.

[81] The opening quire of the first Tynemouth Chronicle (fos 76–83) contains medieval foliation '1–8' (incorrectly ordered) in the recto lower outer corners; in the recto upper outer corners is the beginning of a sequence of early modern foliation '1–10' (fos 76–85).

X

TECHNICAL OVERVIEW AND POINTS OF REFERENCE

(1)

DESCRIPTIONS OF JULIUS B. XIII AND FAUSTINA B. IX

Julian Harrison

The Melrose codex was seemingly divided by the sixteenth century, and now survives in two Cotton manuscripts in the British Library (Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX), in both cases bound with other material of independent origin. The following tabulation lists the principal contents of these volumes, prior to their disbinding in 2005–6.[1] A full description of Julius B. XIII and Faustina B. IX, compiled by Julian Harrison, and encompassing their contents, script, decoration and other physical features, is available via the British Library's Manuscripts Online Catalogue (www.molcat.bl.uk).

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Julius B. XIII

British Museum binding February 1839; modern paper upper pastedown; 2 modern paper upper endleaves (unfoliated); 3 modern paper lower endleaves (unfoliated); modern paper lower pastedown

fo.1	early modern parchment endleaf: 1r Cottonian list of contents in the hand of Richard James (d.1638)
fos 2–47	Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Chronicle* (2r–40v);[2]
	Melrose Chronicle, AD 1–249 (41r–47v)[3]
	Melrose Abbey, 1173×4; *ca* 1208 (continuation 40r–v)
fos 48–173	Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione* (48r–173r)[4]
	British Isles, *saec.* xiv$^{2/4}$

1 Once rebound, they will be provided with modern spines, boards and covers.

2 For partial editions of this work, see Harrison, 'The English reception', 4, and Harrison, 'Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', 266.

3 Broun & Harrison, *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, vol.ii.

4 George F. Warner (ed.), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, VIII, *De Principis Instructione Liber*, Rolls Series (London, 1891).

London, British Library, MS. Cotton Faustina B. IX

British Museum binding November 1864 (refurbished *ca* 1928); modern paper upper pastedown; 4 modern paper upper endleaves (unfoliated); 4 modern paper lower endleaves (unfoliated); modern paper lower pastedown.

fo.i	early modern parchment pastedown (lifted)
fo.1	early modern parchment endleaf: 1r Cottonian list of contents in the hand of Richard James (d.1638)
fos 2–75	Melrose Chronicle, AD 731–1270, with other entries to 1282 (2r–75v)[5] Melrose Abbey, 1173×4–*saec.* xiv[1]
fos 76–145	Tynemouth Chronicle based on Nicholas Trevet's *Annales* and the writings of William Rishanger, AD 1259–1306 (76r–145v)[6] Tynemouth Priory, *saec.* xiv/xv
fo.146	early modern parchment leaf
fos 147–242	Tynemouth Chronicle based on the 'Short Chronicle' of St Albans and Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora*, AD 1360–99 (147r–242v23);[7] prophecy concerning Kings Richard II (1377–99) and Henry IV (1399–1413) of England, and the House of Percy (242v24–243r);[8] verse elegy for Richard Scrope, archbishop of York (executed 1405) (243v–244v)[9] Tynemouth Priory, *saec.* xiv/xv (147r–242v23); *saec.* xv[in] (242v24–244v)

5 Broun & Harrison, *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey*, vols ii–iii.

6 Henry Thomas Riley (ed.), *Willelmi Rishanger, Quondam Monachi S. Albani, et Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo*, Rolls Series (London, 1865), 1–230.

7 Edward Maunde Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Angliæ, ab anno Domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, autore monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, Rolls Series (London, 1874), 42–68 (AD 1360–70), 355–87 (AD 1382–88); John Taylor *et al.* (eds and trans), *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, i, *1376–1394* (Oxford, 2003), 960–3 (AD 1394). For editions of this material based on other manuscripts, see V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406–1420* (Oxford, 1937), xlvi.

8 H. L. D. Ward & J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1883–1910), i. 319–20.

9 Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, composed during the period from the Accession of EDW. III. to that of RIC. III.*, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1859–61), ii. 114–18.

(2)
SUMMARY COLLATION AND CODICOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Dauvit Broun

An annotated collation of Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 and Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 in their current state is presented below. The first column gives each modern quire its Cottonian name;[1] the second gives their folio numbers; and the third the modern collation plus information from chapter VI on the medieval structure of the manuscript. *Caesura* and *infix* are explained below.

Cottonian *B*	Julius B. XIII fos 2–9	I^{8}
Cottonian *C*	Julius B. XIII fos 10–18	II^{10} wants 2
Cottonian *D*	Julius B. XIII fos 19–27	III^{10} wants 5
Cottonian *E*	Julius B. XIII fos 28–35	IV^{8}
Cottonian *F*	Julius B. XIII fos 36–40	V^{6} wants 6
	caesura	
Cottonian *G*	Julius B. XIII fos 41–47	VI^{8} wants 8
	caesura	
Cottonian *B*	Faustina B. IX fos 2–11	I^{10} (originally VII^{10})
	caesura	
Cottonian *C*	Faustina B. IX fos 12–22	II^{11} (incl. infix) (originally $VIII^{10}$)
infix	*Faustina B. IX fo.14*	
Cottonian *D*	Faustina B. IX fos 23–30	III^{8} (originally IX^{8})
Cottonian *E*	Faustina B. IX fos 31–39	IV^{9} (incl. infix) (originally X^{8})
infix	*Faustina B. IX fo.38 (originally the first folio of the entire codex; once bound between fo.54 and fo.55)*	
Cottonian *F*	Faustina B. IX fos 40–46	V^{7} (originally $^{+1}$, XI^{6})
Cottonian *G*	Faustina B. IX fos 47–54	VI^{8} (incl. infix) (originally $^{+1+2+1+1+1+1}$)
infix	*Faustina B. IX fo.54*	
	caesura	
Cottonian *H*	Faustina B. IX fos 55–57	VII^{3} (pre-binding $^{+1+1+1}$)
Cottonian *J*	Faustina B. IX fos 58–63	$VIII^{6}$ (pre-binding this
infix	*Faustina B. IX fos 61 and 62*	was XII^{6} incl. infix)
	caesura	
Cottonian *K*	Faustina B. IX fos 64–71	IX^{8} (originally $XIII^{8}$)
Cottonian *L*	Faustina B. IX fos 72–75	X^{4} wants 5–8 (pre-binding $^{+1+1+1+2}$)

[1] The quire-signatures *B*, *C*, *D*, etc. can be seen on the DVD in the lower, recto margin of the first folio of each quire.

Analysis

The terms *caesura* and *infix* have been adopted from J. Peter Gumbert, 'Codicological units: towards a terminology for the stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex', *Segno e testo*, 2 (2004), 17–42.[2] They serve to highlight the most obvious features of the relationship between the physical structure of the codex and other aspects of the manuscript, such as scribes and the text itself. Each change (of quires, scribes, text, layout, decoration) is regarded as a 'boundary'. A 'caesura' is where a quire-boundary coincides with any other kind of boundary.[3] The first and second caesuras (after Julius B. XIII fos 40 and 47) show boundaries of both text and scribe coinciding with a quire-boundary; the third (after Faustina B. IX fo.11) is only obviously a scribal boundary as well as being a quire-boundary.[4] The fourth and fifth caesuras (after Faustina B. IX fos 54 and 63) represent changes in scribe and layout. An 'infix' is also readily detectable: it denotes the insertion of one (or more) folios of text (or some other material) into the manuscript.[5] The three instances in Faustina B. IX are single folios (fos 14, 38 and 54): fo.38 has been moved at least once within the manuscript before arriving at its current position.

Gumbert has also provided a terminology for other aspects of the manuscript's structure and development. Those parts defined by caesuras, for example, are called 'blocks'. The codex when it was first created in 1173×4 would therefore have consisted of four blocks: (i) Julius B. XIII fos 2–40; (ii) Julius B. XIII fos 41–47; (iii) Faustina B. IX fos 2–11; and (iv) Faustina B. IX fos 12–22 (not including fo.14, of course). There is (almost certainly) a lacuna, however, between blocks (ii) and (iii).[6] The disposition of scribes means that two of them, at least, were probably working simultaneously. There is evidence that blocks (i) and (iv) were produced in 1173×4, and the nature of the text of blocks (ii) to (iv) and similarities in their layout leaves little room for doubt that all four were produced as a single project.[7] This

2 The paper begins with a critical review of previous attempts to provide a codicological terminology: see 18–21. In particular, Gumbert comments (at 20) that (with respect to the issues he is addressing) the terms adopted in the seminal work of reference, Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits* (Paris, 1985), 'do not constitute a logically coherent system'. A web edition of Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire* (http://vocabulaire.irht.cnrs.fr/vocab.htm), which is sponsored by the *Comité international de paléographie latine*, is available (with translations of terms into English, Italian and Spanish): the web edition is dated 2002–3.

3 Gumbert, 'Codicological units', 40; see also 23–4.

4 Once scribes on either side of the caesura are recognised as probably the authors of what they have written, this becomes a textual boundary, too: see 49–53 (chapter IV).

5 Gumbert ('Codicological units', 31) does not draw a distinction between folios which were already (at least partially) filled with text or some other material before being inserted into the manuscript, and those which were made from scratch for the purpose of being inserted (although at 31–2 he does discuss 'replacement' and 'repair' which are special instances of folios written *de novo* for the purpose).

6 See 46–7 (chapter IV) and 56 (chapter V). It is likely that what has been lost is the remainder of the second block (rather than another entire block).

7 In Gumbert's terms it is a 'codicological unit' which is 'defective' because of the lacuna, and is 'homogenetic' because it was produced in one place at much the same time.

raises the question, however, of whether it was intended from the outset to create the original codex as it stands (without the lacuna, of course), or whether the project evolved: on the face of it, it is possible that it began with blocks (iii) and (iv), and that the decision to include (i) and (ii) was taken later.[8]

The text of the chronicle did not initially run all the way up to Faustina B. IX fo.22 (the last folio of the original codex): some of fo.21r and all of fos 21v–22v were left blank. From the first decade of the thirteenth century until *ca* 1290 a series of significant continuations brought the chronicle to its current size, adding more than 50 folios. In Gumbert's terminology this would be described as an 'extended codicological unit', with the final block of the original codex (Faustina B. IX fos 12–13, 15–22) becoming an 'extended block' (Faustina B. IX fos 12–13, 15–53), growing to four times its original size, which was then extended by two further blocks (Faustina B. IX fos 55–63, 64–75). Caesuras are unusual in these continuations: scribal stints did not typically run right to the end of a quire. Usually there was at least part of a page left blank which would be filled at the next stage of entering material, with more parchment (a quire, folio or bifolium) added to the manuscript at that point.[9] When caesuras occur, therefore, they may be regarded as all the more significant. The one following Faustina B. IX fo.53 (not including the 'infix', fo.54) represents a fundamental change in the chronicle's character: the end of a section where it had become a dossier of letters, and the beginning of a new section in which the typical annal format was resumed after a significant break. The caesura following Faustina B. IX fo.63 again represents the resumption of chronicling after a lengthy pause, during which time fo.63 had itself been damaged so that it was no longer so simple to continue from where the previous scribe had ceased. The caesura, however, is not the whole story, because the same scribe who continued from fo.64 also 'infixed' two folios (fos 61 and 62).[10]

At the end of the day, however, an analysis of the codex's stratigraphy, even using the best terminology that has been developed to date, can only go so far. As Gumbert himself observes, 'reality is always more complicated and surprising than the best theory can predict'.[11] No terminology could hope on its own to capture in detail, and in a manageable form, the complexity of the stages in which the Melrose Chronicle grew not only as a codex, but as a text. This is why a different approach to stratigraphy has been developed in this edition.

8 See above, 53 (chapter IV). The evolving form of the capital *A* of *Anno*, however, suggests that block (ii) did, indeed, precede block (iii): see 65–6 (chapter V).

9 Gumbert's image (for such a stratum) is of a trailer in which 'the new piece rests in part upon the old base': 'Codicological units', 32.

10 To use Gumbert's terms, the manuscript at this point was simultaneously 'enlarged' and 'extended'. The point that would need to be stressed is that this was a single operation. Fos 61 and 62 (unlike the other infixes) were created in order to be inserted into the manuscript at a particular point. The key here is that this stratum included a chronological overlap with existing material.

11 Gumbert, 'Codicological units', 37.

Beyond a codicological analysis

Although there are important similarities between the stratigraphy of a codex and the stratigraphy of a text's physical development (and the idea of the latter could be viewed as growing conceptually out of the former), there are also differences. The most obvious is that, in the language of the stratigraphy of a codex, a stratum stands generally for any detectable stage in the codex's development. It is not a word which requires any further definition, and does not therefore feature as such in Gumbert's discussion of codicological analysis or in his list of thirty-three terms, nor in the most recent version of Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire codicologique*.[12] In contrast, in the stratigraphy of a text's physical development (as applied to the Melrose Chronicle in chapter VIII), a stratum is used more specifically to refer to a portion of text delineated by the physical evidence. Stratum in this technical sense is defined in various ways, as explained in chapter III. Another key difference is that a fundamental element in Gumbert's codicological stratigraphy is what he calls a 'boundary', which (it will be recalled) is defined as 'a place where there is a change in any feature of the manuscript (for instance watermark, layout, hand, decoration, text)'; the units delimited by boundaries are termed 'sections'.[13] As far as a text's physical development is concerned, boundaries are also vital (indeed, a significantly higher proportion are involved in establishing the stratigraphy),[14] but a stratum is not always a 'section'. In fact, a stratum is more than simply a descriptive term, but relates to a range of possible physical features whose assessment involves an element of interpretation (as it does for the field archaeologist, too).

The summary of strata in the next section of this chapter offers a detailed overview of what is revealed by this different approach to stratigraphy as far as the Melrose Chronicle is concerned. This goes a step further than the stratigraphy of the codex, and aims to provide an account of the stratigraphy of the text in all its variety as revealed by the manuscript.[15] This is not, of course, to deny the crucial importance of understanding the stratigraphy of the codex.[16] It is simply to acknowledge that, in the case of an annalistic chronicle like that of Melrose Abbey, the manuscript has the potential to offer a wider range of information in terms of the stratigraphy of its textual development than can be fully revealed by focussing on the stratigraphy of the codex alone.

12 Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique*; web edition cited above, n.2.

13 Gumbert, 'Codicological units', 40; see also 23–4.

14 For example, the ultimate focus on text means that detailed attention is routinely paid to 'lateral' growth to a degree that is not necessary in analysing the stratigraphy of a codex.

15 See 33–5 (chapter III).

16 See chapter VI.

(3)
DISTRIBUTION OF STRATA IN VOLUMES II AND III

Dauvit Broun

It will be recalled that scribal contributions to the text of the chronicle can be divided into two categories: those who were engaged in continuing the text 'lineally', with one block succeeding another in due chronological order; and those who expanded the text 'laterally' by inserting material into existing text. In chapter III strata were therefore defined as representing lineal or lateral growth, with cross-references between them based on giving a number to each item within an annal (so that, for example, the fifteen items under the year 1214 would be referred to as 1214.1, 1214.2, and so on). In the case of 1214, items 1214.1 and 1214.3 as far as 1214.15 would appear in Stratum 8, and a cross-reference would be given to the stratum of lateral growth (Stratum 21) in which the text of 1214.2 is to be found.

It would be difficult for a reader to keep track of this differentiation between lineal and lateral growth if the text — duly divided into blocks per stratum — were simply presented as a single series of strata. A simple solution would be to group strata into two bodies, lineal (such as Stratum 8) followed by lateral (such as Stratum 21). This would also allow for other categories of strata to be recognised which cannot comfortably be regarded as lineal or lateral. An example is Stratum 1, the surviving text of the original chronicle of 1173×4, which obviously does not constitute lineal growth in the sense of continuing the chronicle. Another category is those few strata consisting of annals which have been added without regard for chronology. In such cases there is usually some existing material nearby; but these items have been inserted not to be read as part of the nearest annal, but simply because there was a space in the manuscript at that point. These may best be regarded as 'free-floating' islands of text rather than examples of lateral growth. A fifth and final category is text which existed on originally independent folios before those folios became part of the manuscript.

The edited text of the chronicle will be presented in strata grouped into these five categories in the following order:

(i) The surviving text of the original chronicle (Stratum 1)
(ii) Strata of lineal growth
(iii) Strata of lateral growth
(iv) 'Free-floating' strata
(v) Inserted folios

If a stratum has more than one of these characteristics, it will be placed according to whichever aspect is predominant.

What follows is an outline of the strata of text and translation in volumes ii and iii of this edition in the order in which they will appear. The strata have been distributed so that any cross-referencing will be self-contained within each volume. The outline also serves, of course, as a summary of strata according to the five categories listed above.

It should be emphasised that the edited text and translation is confined to the annalistic text (the 'chronicle proper', as it were), and does not include Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle* or anything added to it. The following strata (or parts of strata) will not, therefore, appear in volumes ii and iii:

Stratum 1
(i) Scribes 1 and 3, the principal scribes of Julius B. XIII fos 2–40, corrected by Scribes 2 and 4.
Coverage: a copy of the *Chronicle* of Hugh of Saint-Victor.
Date: 1173×4.

Stratum 4
Scribe 10, Julius B. XIII fo.40r.
Coverage: updating list of popes to Clement III.
Date: probably 20 December 1187×March 1191.

Stratum 6
(i) Scribe 14, additions to Julius B. XIII fos 35r–v, 39v–40v.
Coverage: chiefly additions of popes and the death of St Guthlac.
Date: *ca* 1208.

Volume ii

The surviving text of the original chronicle of 1173×4

Stratum 1
(ii) Scribe 5, the principal scribe of Julius B. XIII fos 41–47.
Coverage: AD 1–249.
(iii) Scribes 5 and 6, the principal scribes of Faustina B. IX fos 2–11.
Coverage: 731–1016.
(iv) Scribe 3, the principal scribe of Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v and 15r–21r, and corrections by Scribe 7.
Coverage: 1017–'1171'.
Date: 1173×4.

Lineal growth

Stratum 3
Scribe 9, Faustina B. IX fo.21r lines 22–23.
Coverage: two items in the annal for 1171.
Date: sometime in or after 1173×4; last quarter of twelfth century.

Stratum 5
Scribe 13, from Faustina B. IX fo.21r line 23 to fo.26r.
Coverage: annals for 1171–97.
Date: 17 March 1199×probably 27 July 1214; probably in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

Stratum 7
Scribe 15, from Faustina B. IX fo.26v to fo.29v line 12 (to *declarabit*).
Coverage: annals for 1198 to December 1211.
Date: 13 December 1211×probably 27 July 1214.

Stratum 8
Scribe 15 (continued) and Scribe 16, from Faustina B. IX fo.29v line 12 (*Eodem etiam anno*) to fo.32r.
Coverage: remainder of annal for 1211 and annals to 1215.
Date: January 1218×autumn 1222, probably 1218 or soon after.

Stratum 9
Scribe 16, from Faustina B. IX fo.32v to fo.35r line 19.
Coverage: annal for 1216 and first part of annal for 1217, including a letter from the abbot of Glenluce.
Date: January 1218×autumn 1222, probably 1218 or not long after.

Stratum 10
Scribe 16, from Faustina B. IX fo.35r line 20 to fo.35v line 25 (*coacti*).
Coverage: continuation of annal for 1217.
Date: January 1218×autumn 1222, probably 1218 or not long after.

Lateral growth

Stratum 2
Scribe 8 interspersed throughout Faustina B. IX fos 16v–20v.
Coverage: scattered between 1096 and 1169.
Date: sometime in or after 1173×4; last quarter of twelfth century.

Stratum 5A
Scribe 11, Faustina B. IX fo.18v, addition to line 17.
Coverage: a birth in annal for 1143.
Scribe 12, Faustina B. IX fo.18v, addition in line 5.
Coverage: event in annal for 1141.
Date: possibly *ca* 1200×14.

Stratum 6
(ii) Scribe 14, additions to Faustina B. IX fos 12r, 17r, 18r.
Coverage: chiefly arrival of canons at Scone and translation of St Guthlac.
Date: *ca* 1208.

Stratum 20A
Scribe 27, rewriting and additions on Faustina B. IX fos 12v and 13v.
Coverage: addition of Scottish royal successions in annals from 1034 to 1056.
Date: probably 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; soon after 8 July 1249?

Stratum 21
Scribe 28: additions scattered throughout Faustina B. IX fos 2v–30v.
Coverage: addition of Scottish royal successions in annals from 741 to 1214.
Appendix: accession notes for Scottish kings by Scribe 28.
Date: probably 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; possibly after 8 July 1249.

Stratum 21A
Scribe 28: individual entries or series of entries. See vol.iii for (x) to (xiii).
(i) additions to entries on Faustina B. IX fos 16v and 18r–v.
Coverage: first abbots of Cîteaux, Rievaulx and Melrose.
(ii) marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fos 16v–17r.
Coverage: Tironensian events in 1102, 1109, 1115 and 1119.
(iii) additions to entries on Faustina B. IX fos 18v and 19r.
Coverage: details of abbatial successions in Kelso (1147) and Melrose (1148), and name of first abbot of Kinloss.
(iv) addition (erased) in margin of Faustina B. IX fo.18v.
Coverage: foundation of Dryburgh Abbey.
(v) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.19r.
Coverage: first abbot of Holm Cultram.
(vi) addition on Faustina B. IX fo.19v.
Coverage: obit of bishop of St Andrews in 1159.
(vii) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.22v.
Coverage: abbatial succession in Newbattle.
(viii) marginal addition on Faustina B. IX fo.26r.
Coverage: abbatial succession at Coupar Angus in 1194.
(ix) additions on Faustina B. IX fo.28r–v.
Coverage: Cistercian abbatial successions in annals for 1207 and 1209.
Date: probably 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259.

Stratum 39A
Scribe 50, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18v.
Coverage: foundation of Dundrennan in annal for 1142.
Date: possibly 14 April 1286×early fourteenth century (possibly ×May 1291).

Stratum 42
Scribe 52, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18r.
Coverage: consecration of bishop of Ely in annal for 1133.
Date: first half of fourteenth century.

'Free-floating'

Stratum 39
Scribe 49, addition in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.11v.
Coverage: marriage of Prince Alexander, 1282.
Date: 14 April 1286×early fourteenth century, possibly ×May 1291.

Inserted folio

Stratum 41
(i) Faustina B. IX inserted fo.14, written by Scribes +1 and +2 when not originally part of the chronicle, and with two sets of additions by Scribe 28.
Coverage: account of the royal dynasty, and some computations.
For (ii), see vol.iii.
Date of binding into the manuscript: possibly May 1291×probably early fourteenth century.

Volume iii
Lineal growth

Stratum 11
Scribe 17, from Faustina B. IX fo.35v line 25 (*xiii kal.'*) to fo.37v, and fo.39r lines 1–10 and lines 16–18 (to *beate Marie*).
Coverage: remainder of annal for 1217 to first part of annal for 1222.
Date: autumn 1222 (6 September×early November).

Stratum 12
Scribe 18, from Faustina B. IX fo.39r line 18 (*In reditu*) to fo.39v line 12 (*producendum*).
Coverage: most of the annal for 1222.
Date: early October 1222× early November 1222.

Stratum 13
Scribe 19: Faustina B. IX fo.39r lines 10–15 (*Eodem anno...exaltari*) and lines 37–39, and the principal hand from fo.39v line 12 (*Obiit dompnus Gaufridus*) to 17, and fo.39v line 24 to fo.40r.
Coverage: addition to annal for 1221; remainder of annal for 1222 and annal for 1223, and year-numbers for blank annals 1224–5.
Date: 1 February 1224×9 November 1227.

Stratum 14
Scribe 19 (continued), Scribe 21 (year-numbers 1226–8), the principal hands from Faustina B. IX fo.40v to fo.41r.
Coverage: annal for 1227.
Date: 23 September 1227×1230 (after 30 April?).

Stratum 15
Scribe 19 (continued) in collaboration with Scribe 22, continuing the chronicle at Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 1–3 and 19–20, fo.42r lines 1–2, 14–15, 19–22 and 24–25, and fo.42v as far as line 14.
Coverage: annals for 1229–32, and item at beginning of 1233.
Date: 1233 (after 11 February, and probably after 11 April)×early 1240; possibly mid- or late 1233.

Stratum 16
Scribe 22: additions at Faustina B. IX fo.41r lines 11–12 and fo.41v lines 22–24, and continuation of chronicle on fo.42v from line 16.
Coverage: additions in 1227 and 1230, and entries for 1233.
Date: 11 September 1233×early 1240; possibly in or soon after late 1233.

Stratum 17
Scribes 23 and 24, the principal scribes from Faustina B. IX fo.43r to fo.45r line 8, and additions at fo.41v lines 24–25, fo.42r lines 2–3.
Coverage: annals for 1234–9, and arrivals of Dominicans and Valliscaulians to Scotland in 1230, and of Franciscans in 1231.
Date: 1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably early 1240.

Stratum 18
Scribe 25, Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 14–17.
Coverage: beginning of annal for 1240.
Date: 15 April 1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably mid- or late 1240.

Stratum 19
Scribe 26, Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 26–27, fo.45r line 18 (to *officio suo* and from *Obiit L'*), and lines 19–20 (to *ei successit*).
Coverage: consecration of English bishops added under 1230, and continuation of annal for 1240.
Date: 15 April 1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; possibly late 1240, or soon after.

Stratum 20
Scribe 27, Faustina B. IX fo.45r line 18 (*et dompnus...successit*), and from line 20 (*Item obiit Iocelinus*) to line 28 (to *dolentes*).
Coverage: various material placed in annal for 1240.
Date: 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; *ca* 1250?

Stratum 22
Scribe 30, from Faustina B. IX fo.45v line 1 to fo.47r line 6.
Coverage: annals for 1241–3, including a letter *s.a.* 1241 from the abbot of Cîteaux (and others) to the abbot of Savigny.
Date: 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably sometime in the 1250s.

Stratum 23
Scribe 30, from Faustina B. IX fo.47r line 7 to fo.49r.
Coverage: annal for 1244, with letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem and others to Pope Innocent IV, dated Acre, 21 September 1244, and from *R. arch' Ciren'* (incomplete).
Date: 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably sometime in the 1250s.

Stratum 24
Scribe 31, from Faustina B. IX fo.49v to fo.53v.
Coverage: annal for 1245, and three letters, (i) from Frederick II to Louis IX (incomplete, 1245), (ii) Innocent IV's declaration of Frederick II's deposition, dated Lyons, 17 July 1245, and (iii) letter of Frederick II challenging his deposition by Innocent IV, dated Turin, 31 July 1245.
Date: 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably sometime in the 1250s.

Stratum 25
Scribe 32 from Faustina B. IX fo.55r to fo.59v line 17.
Coverage: annals for 1246–58.
Date: 2 February 1259×probably mid-1264, probably early or mid-1259, or soon after.

Stratum 27
Scribe 32 (continued), from Faustina B. IX fo.59v line 24 to fo.60v line 21, and fo.63r lines 1–15.
Coverage: annals for 1259–63.
Date: 21 January 1264×probably mid-1264.

Stratum 31
Scribe 37, Faustina B. IX fo.63v.
Coverage: list of Melrose abbots.
Date: 16 March 1273×probably May 1291, if not ×1276.

Stratum 38
Scribes 45, 46 and 47, principal scribes from Faustina B. IX fo.61r to fo.62v, and fo.64r to fo.75v, and Scribe 48 (corrector of Scribes 45 and 46).
Coverage: annals for 1260–1 and 1263–70, including account of saintly Melrose monks and the *Opusculum de Simone*.
Date: 14 April 1286×probably May 1291.

Stratum 40
Scribe 51, Faustina B. IX fo.38v.
Coverage: list of burials in Melrose.
Date: 14 April 1286×early fourteenth century.

Lateral growth

Stratum 13A
Scribe 20: addition on Faustina B. IX fo.39v lines 17–21.
Coverage: a succession in annal for 1222.
Date: January 1226×9 November 1227.

Stratum 21A
Scribe 28: individual entries or series of entries. See vol.ii for (i) to (ix).
(x) marginal addition on Faustina B. IX fo.37v.
Coverage: foundation of Deer in annal for 1219.
(xi) marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fos 40v–41v and 43v.
Coverage: events in 1226, 1228, 1229, 1235 (mainly ecclesiastical *fasti*).
(xii) addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.44v.
Coverage: succession of abbot of Dundrennan.
(xiii) Scribe 29, marginal additions on Faustina B. IX fo.42r–v and fo.43v.
Coverage: English events in annals for 1231, 1233, 1235.
Date: probably 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably chiefly during the 1250s.

Stratum 22A
Scribe 30, additions on separate occasions:
(i) Faustina B. IX fo. 44r lines 9–10, addition to end of annal for 1235.
Coverage: Alexander II's grant of Ettrick Forest and freedom from forest laws.
(ii) Faustina B. IX fo.44v lines 18–20, addition to end of annal for 1238.
Coverage: general notice of war between Gregory IX and Frederick II.

(iii) Faustina B. IX fo.44v lines 20–22, addition to previous item.
Coverage: reference to devastation by a Tartar army.
(iv) Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 30–37, addition to end of annal for 1240.
Coverage: reburial of abbots of Melrose, except Waltheof whose body had disintegrated; his tooth cures the sick.
(v) Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 28–29, squeezed over an erasure into space before item (iv).
Coverage: death and succession of abbot of Dunfermline.
Date: 2 November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259; probably sometime in the 1250s.

Stratum 26
Scribe 33, addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.56v.
Coverage: abbatial succession at Culross.
Date: 1260×probably mid-1264, probably in or soon after 1260.

Stratum 26A
Scribe 34, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.56v.
Coverage: an obit in 1252.
Date: 1252× (?11 August 1253×).

Stratum 28
Scribe 35, addition to item on Faustina B. IX fo.60v.
Coverage: succession of bishop of Argyll.
Date: mid-1264×1299/1300, probably in or not long after 1264.

Stratum 29
Scribe 35(?), erased addition on bottom of Faustina B. IX fo.60v.
Coverage: Adam de Smailholm's difficulties as abbot of Deer 1262–7.
Date: probably in or not long after 1267.

'Free-floating'

Stratum 30
Scribe 36, Faustina B. IX fo.63r line 16.
Coverage: annal-item for 1271.
Date: 1272?

Stratum 32
Scribe 38, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 25–26.
Coverage: annal-item for 1272.
Date: 19 March 1273×probably May 1291, if not ×1276.

Stratum 33
Scribe 41, addition in plummet in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.52r; possibly also an almost illegible addition in plummet on fo.40r lines 8–22.
Coverage: annal-item for 1274 (and other material).
Date: 1275×probably May 1291, probably sometime in or not long after 1275.

Stratum 34
Scribe 39, fragmentary addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v below the annal for 1262.
Coverage: annal-item for 1275; an incomplete notice of the same event as in Stratum 35.
Date: 3 February 1276×probably May 1291, probably in or not long after 1276.

Stratum 35
Scribe 40, addition on Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 8–15, in space between the annals for 1261 and 1262.
Coverage: annal-item for 1275; a full notice of the same event as in Stratum 34.
Date: 3 February 1276×probably May 1291, probably in or not long after 1276.

Stratum 36
Scribe 42, addition in brown crayon in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.60r.
Coverage: annal-item for 1277.
Date: 1277×probably May 1291, possibly in or not long after 1277.

Stratum 37
Scribe 43, addition in blank space on Faustina B. IX fo.40r, probably erased.
Coverage: marriage of Prince Alexander, 1282.
Date: 8 November 1282×probably May 1291.

Inserted folios

Stratum 12A
Insertion of Faustina B. IX fo.38 (written by Scribe +3 only on fo.38r).
Coverage: first part of a letter on the fall of Damietta in 1219.
Date (of inclusion as fo.1): probably 1220×2.

Stratum 41
(ii) Faustina B. IX inserted fo.54, written by Scribe +4.
Coverage: relations between kings of Scots and England, 945–1209.
Date of binding into the manuscript: possibly May 1291×probably early fourteenth century.

(4)
SUMMARY OF SCRIBES AND THEIR SCRIPT

Dauvit Broun

The purpose of this section of chapter X is to provide a point of reference for key information about scribes. All scribes in the main series are included, as well as those whose work is confined to leaves that were not originally part of the manuscript (a brief series prefixed by '+'). Nearly all those who are listed can be given at least an approximate date-range of a quarter-century or less on the basis of evidence independent of their handwriting (even though this is in some cases merely circumstantial). There are only five for whom palaeographical criteria alone need to be invoked for one or both ends of their date-range. These are:

(i) Scribes 8, 9 and 52, whose latest date-limits depend on a palaeographical assessment (which in these instances is unlikely to be controversial).
(ii) Scribe 34, whose date-range is open-ended.
(iii) Scribe 51, whose latest date-limit is dependent on the palaeographical dating of Scribe 52. Scribe 51 is not the only one with 'early fourteenth century' as their latest date-limit, but in the case of Scribes 49 and 50 this is not dependent solely on the dating of Scribe 52, but also takes into account the latest probable date for the first binding of the whole manuscript.

Only a few scribes in the series prefixed with 'N' (whose only contribution is notes or comments that cannot be read as part of the main text) may be dated by evidence other than their handwriting. These are given as an appendix to this section: those that can be dated other than by their handwriting are listed first.

Most of the material in the outline of each scribe in the list is gathered from discussions elsewhere in this volume. The identification of scribes and their work is from chapter VII, while the information on dating is derived from chapter VIII. The evidence for dating (particularly for the latest date-limit) is not always clear-cut and is sometimes circumstantial: cross-references to strata are provided in the list as a simple guide to the relevant section of chapter VIII.[1] The outlines also include a new element: the classification of script according to a framework that is increasingly (although not universally) accepted by palaeographers. This can usefully be referred to as the 'Lieftinck-Gumbert system' after G. I. Lieftinck (1902–94), who created it over half a century ago, and J. Peter Gumbert (b.1936), who refined it in the mid-1970s, putting it onto a more convincing footing.[2]

1 The hard date-limits are not always repeated exactly; for convenience they are sometimes summarised to reflect the discussion of dating for the stratum. The same degree of precision is not usually necessary in terms of script, which presumably scribes used on more than the occasion of their contribution to the chronicle.

2 Gumbert was Lieftinck's assistant, and succeeded him as professor of palaeography at the University of Leiden in 1972. The chair was not filled on Gumbert's retirement in 2001.

The Lieftinck-Gumbert system[3]

Although this attractively simple system of classifying bookhands originally grew out of work on late-medieval manuscripts from the Low Countries, its application is much wider, as J. Peter Gumbert himself has shown.[4] It has recently been modified and expanded by Albert Derolez, who has championed its use for the script of manuscript-books across Latin Christendom from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries.[5] As Gumbert explained, the system comes into its own as 'an aid to mapping the palaeographical situation at various times and places', insisting that it is 'a technique, not a statement of fact'.[6] Instead of making it part of the description of each scribe's work in chapter VII, therefore, it seems more appropriate to introduce the system here where key information is assembled for easier use by anyone undertaking a general palaeographical survey. The system's simplicity does not, however, mean that its application is entirely straightforward. After explaining how it is to be deployed in classifying the script of each scribe, some account will be given of a small number of cases which cannot readily be categorised. Instead of regarding these curiosities as a threat to the system's integrity, however, they can be seen as examples of what Gumbert proposed as one of the purposes of the system: namely, to act as 'a pointer to the unexpected'.[7] Some, however, touch on a broader point: the extent to which different scripts should also be seen in terms of register.

In the Lieftinck-Gumbert system bookhands are classified first as a type of script, and then according to different levels of formality.[8] There are two fundamental script-types, and each is defined by only a few objective criteria: (i) *textualis*, in which *f* and straight *s* end on the line of writing, and there are no loops on *b*, *k*, *l*; and (ii) *cursiva*, in which *f* and straight *s* extend below the line of writing, and there are loops on ascenders (particularly *b*, *k*, *l*).[9] In the

[3] Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), 20–3, provides a brief account of the system and of the mixed reception given it when it was originally formulated for palaeographers by G. I. Lieftinck in his 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique', in B. Bischoff, G. I. Lieftinck & G. Batelli (eds), *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1954), 15–34. Derolez also draws attention to Gumbert's pivotal role in clarifying the system, citing especially J. P. Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 1974), 199–209, and *idem*, 'A proposal for a Cartesian nomenclature', in J. P. Gumbert & M. J. M. de Haan (eds), *Essays presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, iv, *Miniatures, Scripts, Collections* (Amsterdam, 1976), 45–52: I owe my understanding of the system particularly to the latter.

[4] Gumbert, 'A proposal for a Cartesian nomenclature'.

[5] Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, esp. 22–3 for the need for expanding the system, and discussion of the adaptations advanced by Julian Brown and Michelle Brown (see below, n.14). He does not deploy the system in describing twelfth-century scripts.

[6] Gumbert, 'A proposal for a Cartesian nomenclature', 52.

[7] *Ibid.*, 52.

[8] This division essentially corresponds with that between species of script and register outlined in 96–7 (chapter VII).

[9] Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 73, 130; Gumbert, 'A proposal for a Cartesian nomenclature', 46. Gumbert also includes different forms of *g* in his criteria for

original Lieftinck-Gumbert system there was an additional distinction between *textualis* and *cursiva*: the headed *a* (looking like *a*) — along with its descendant, the two-compartment *a* — were treated as definitive features of *textualis*, while the simple one-compartment *a* (looking like *a*) was identified as characteristic of *cursiva*.[10] It has been acknowledged that this does not work as a way of defining cursive hands in the thirteenth century (particularly in Britain). To meet this problem a special type of cursive has been recognised in which headed *a* or two-compartment *a* are regular features: Derolez calls this *cursiva antiquior*, 'older cursive'.[11] The scribes of the Melrose Chronicle use only this kind of cursive script (which will henceforth be referred to simply as *cursiva*). Derolez has also drawn attention to the reverse situation in which simple one-compartment *a* is found alongside the characteristic features of *textualis*. He has proposed that this variety be called *semitextualis*.[12] Finally, the system allows for a script that shares definitive features of both *textualis* and *cursiva* (e.g., *f* and straight *s* have tails extending below the line of writing, but there are no loops on ascenders). This is termed *hybrida*. It has proved to be more difficult and controversial than the other types, and is discussed in the case of a Melrose scribe only where the combination of loopless ascenders and *f* and straight *s* extending below the line of writing appears consistently throughout a significant piece of writing.[13]

Turning now to a script's level of formality, this is ultimately a matter of subjective judgement, and is best thought of in terms of a spectrum. At one extreme is *formata* (highly formal); at the other is *currens* (decidedly informal). The easiest term to use for the notional middle-ground is *media*. These terms, properly speaking, reflect a scribe's intentions, rather than the quality of their work as such. A spectrum with only three points is difficult to use, so an important modification developed by Julian Brown and Michelle Brown is the idea of points in between (which may be expressed by combining two

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distinguishing between these script-types, but according to Derolez this requires 'a more precise definition' (*The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 130).

10 Note that I follow Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 233, in using 'two-compartment *a*' to describe *a* where the head is drawn down to the body, creating what can readily be recognised as two compartments. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 84–6, in relation to *textualis*, uses 'two-compartment *a*' for what I refer to as 'headed *a*', and 'double-bow *a*' for what I refer to as 'two-compartment *a*'. In relation to *cursiva antiquior*, however, he uses 'two-compartment *a*' to include what elsewhere he refers to as 'double-bow *a*' (*ibid.*, 134 and 136–7, and 133 figure 1).

11 Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 23. Gumbert refers to it as 'a-cursiva'.

12 *Ibid.*, 23–4.

13 It is widely held that *hybrida*, properly speaking, is the appropriate term for a particular development in script of the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, so that (in Derolez's words) 'the term would therefore not be applicable to scripts having the same basic features … but originating from other European countries. Indeed, these have generally been considered to have nothing in common with Lieftinck's Hybrida': *ibid.*, 131. (Elsewhere Derolez refers to this as 'pure Hybrida' to distinguish it from his use of *hybrida* in other contexts: *ibid.*, 166.) Note that Gumbert uses *semihybrida* to denote writing where looped ascenders are not a consistent feature (Gumbert, 'A proposal for a Cartesian nomenclature'; Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 131), whereas the *semi* in Derolez's useful term *semitextualis* denotes a particular 'mid-point' between script-types.

adjacent terms: e.g., *media/formata*).[14] In practice, the majority of scribes in the Melrose Chronicle can be adjudged as writing within the range covered by the term *media*. This includes those whose handwriting is formal without any particular indication of being very formal (which would justify *media/formata*), and those that are less formal without suggesting any sense of intentional informality (which would justify *media/currens*).

Another aspect of the system to bear in mind is that it only readily works for gothic bookhands, i.e., bookhands from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Derolez uses the term *praegothica* for bookhand of the twelfth century. In the list of scribes below this term is the only one used for classifying hands datable to before 1200.[15] As far as nearly all other scribes are concerned, the system of classification that will be used may, for convenience, be tabulated as follows:

Script-type				
Textualis		*Cursiva*		
f and straight *s* end on the line no loops on *b*, *k*, *l*		*f* and straight *s* extend below the line loops on *b*, *k*, *l*		
Formality/informality				
Formata	*media/formata*	*media*	*media/currens*	*currens*

Unusual and difficult cases of classification

An unavoidable difficulty in applying the Lieftinck-Gumbert system (or any framework that is not so detailed as to be unmanageable) is that the points on the spectrum of formality/informality are bound to throw up examples which seem to rest on a borderline. In the list of scribes of the Melrose Chronicle, any particularly marginal cases are footnoted and given some explanation. This includes some instances where more than one point in the spectrum has been noted. There are a few scribes, however, where script-type also becomes an issue, mainly because their handwriting does not fall consistently into a ready-made category. There are cases which involve each of (1) the key criteria of the presence of looped ascenders on *b*, *k* and *l*, and (2) the extension of *f* and straight *s* below the line. The rare appearance of simple one-compartment *a* also merits some discussion.

[14] The terms used for this spectrum are discussed by Derolez (*ibid.*, 21), where he points out that *media* is Julian Brown's alternative for Lieftinck's *libraria* (a term which Derolez himself prefers). For the expansion of the system by Julian Brown and Michelle Brown, see Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London, 1990).

[15] This includes Scribes 2 and 4 who worked as correctors for scribes of the main text, and whose handwriting is decidedly small and simple. They could each be classified as *notula*. The script of very small marginalia in a similar context written in the thirteenth century (such as notes and corrections), however, can quite naturally be classified as *textualis* and *cursiva*, which suggests that the very small simplified script of the twelfth century may best be regarded as a variety of *praegothica*. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 99, dismisses the idea of *notula* as a distinct script, and concludes that 'distinguishing scripts on the basis of size is therefore fundamentally misguided'.

(i) Scribe 14's use of straight *s* below the line, and of one-compartment *a*

Scribe 14's work, datable to *ca* 1208, is confined to filling in and continuing material in columns towards the end of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*, and adding items and, in one place (Julius B. XIII fo.30v), a comment in the margin. It is only in the marginal comment that straight *s* is consistently extended below the line: this feature is otherwise extremely rare. The comment in the outer margin of fo.30v also shows frequent use of simple one-compartment *a*, but this is found elsewhere in Scribe 14's work, particularly the listing of emperors on fo.40r column 5, and the item on the arrival of canons at Scone in 1115 (Faustina B. IX fo.17r). It is otherwise rare. It appears, then, that Scribe 14 varied his use of straight *s* according to the context, and seems in that respect to have recognised a distinction between what is termed *textualis* and *cursiva* in the Lieftinck-Gumbert system. This, however, can also be seen as a function of changes in register, which would seem to be the best way to account for his tendency in certain passages to use a one-compartment *a*. Differences in register can be illustrated by comparing the item on St Guthlac (Faustina B. IX fo.18r, *s.a.* 1136) with the item on Scone (Faustina B. IX fo.17r, *s.a.* 1115), in which the former is appreciably more formal than the latter. This could also explain the occasional use of curved ascenders, the nearest thing to a loop in Scribe 14's work. (He was active before loops were widely used apart from in charters, where they were a recent development.)

(ii) Scribe +4's use of straight *s* below the line: a case of *hybrida*?

Scribe +4 consistently extends straight *s* and *f* below the line of writing throughout his 44 lines (Faustina B. IX fo.54r–v) (with one exception: *maritandas*, fo.54r line 30, where the final straight *s* is given a foot on the line). He is equally consistent in avoiding loops, not only on ascenders, but anywhere in his work, with the exception of the rather deliberate stroke round the left side of one form of capital *A*. The only other feature which is likely to have a cursive origin is the pronounced hook on the horizontal stroke of the tironian *et*, which is reminiscent of an approach-stroke. Here it is stylised and is not a pen-stroke connected with the previous letter. The ascenders *b*, *k* and *l* are regularly bifurcated, thickened or finished with a horizontal line (or combinations of all three), although some unadorned ascenders appear on fo.54v. Also, ascenders are extended to more than twice the height of the body of letters.

How is this script to be classified? If the use of headed rather than one-compartment *a* is set aside (because this distinction is meaningless in defining *cursiva* in a British context), then the deliberate mix of specific *cursiva* and *textualis* elements might suggest that this could be regarded as an example of *hybrida*. Derolez summed up *hybrida* as 'essentially a variant form of Cursiva'.[16] A subjective assessment of Scribe +4's script, however, is that it may be

[16] Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 164: on *hybrida* generally, see 130–2 and 163–5.

artificial and experimental rather than an example of an established variant form of either *cursiva* or *textualis*.

(iii) Scribe 50's instance of *f* ending on the line

The prominent features of Scribe 50's work (the item on the founding of Dundrennan: Faustina B. IX fo.18v, *s.a.* 1142) are his use of loops (not just in ascenders) and biting in *de*. Although his handwriting may therefore be classified as *cursiva*, it is notable that *f* ends on the line. (This is the sole example: there are no instances of straight *s*.) This may be part of a deliberate attempt to make the writing appear more formal, which could also explain the use of biting (a feature commonly associated with *textualis*), as well as the hatching on the *E* of *Eodem*. If this item was written at Dundrennan, the desire for a more formal register could be explained by the importance attached to it.[17]

(iv) Scribe 25's use of looped ascenders

Looped ascenders are prominent in the first line of writing, but are barely visible later in the three-and-a-half lines written by Scribe 25 on Faustina B. IX fo.45r (except for *w*). Straight *s* is never below the line of writing; but it does not appear in the first line, so it cannot be determined how it would have been treated alongside looped ascenders. It is difficult to know how to classify this: *cursiva formata* perhaps? There is a suspicion, though, that loops have been used here simply as a decorative feature (hence their prominence in the first line), rather than because of a deliberate choice of script. (The elaboration of the first line of text is not uncommon, particularly in documents.) If so, it might be described as an embellished gothic bookhand.

(v) Use of one-compartment *a* by Scribes 30 and 45

Although Scribe 45's contribution stretches across seventeen pages, one-compartment *a* appears only on one page, Faustina B. IX fo.69v, where it is used consistently in lines 16–18, and then with less frequency until line 28. It was suggested in chapter VII that this is indicative of a change in register.[18] This is even more apparent in the case of Scribe 30, where one-compartment *a* becomes a frequent (but not a consistent) feature of that part of his work in which he switched to *textualis currens* (Faustina B. IX fos 47v–49r).[19] Only Faustina B. IX fo.69v lines 16–18 may be said to qualify as *semitextualis*: hardly a sufficient sample to make this a deliberate choice on the part of Scribe 45. For both scribes the use of one-compartment *a* is unlikely to be simply a function of small writing: there are a number of scribes whose

17 Looking at the item as a whole, it is also conceivable that an attempt was made to make the handwriting compatible with the protogothic bookhand of the main text which surrounds it. If so (and it is no more than speculation), it is interesting that he opted for a stiffer more formal version of *cursiva* as if that was more in keeping with *praegothica* than the more angular *textualis* of his own day (probably *ca* 1290).

18 See 116–17 (chapter VII).

19 Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 122, notes the frequent, if inconsistent, use of one-compartment *a* in *textualis* as a feature of 'numerous university and other manuscripts, especially in France' in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

writing is as small, or smaller, who do not use this form of *a* (including Scribe 47, whose small writing is continued in mid-sentence by Scribe 45 on fo.69v). The connection between the size of the writing and the use of one-compartment *a* is more likely to be one of register.

(vi) Scribes 28 and 29

According to a simple application of the Lieftinck-Gumbert system the script of these scribes can be classified without hesitation as *textualis*. But this does not seem to do justice to their curious character as a rather simple *textualis* adorned with exaggerated and stylised serifs on ascenders, which seems quite untypical.

Summary list of scribes

Scribe 1
Julius B. XIII fos 2r–3v (prologue of Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle*).*
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 2
Corrects text of Scribe 1.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 3
Julius B. XIII fos 4r–39v (Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle*), and chronological frame on fo.40r; Faustina B. IX fos 12r–13v and 15r–21r line 22.*
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 4
Corrects Scribe 3's work in Julius B. XIII; gives instructions for addition of material on Julius B. XIII fo.17r; and on fo.36v (lower margin) comments on a deficiency in the text as copied by Scribe 3 (before this was corrected by Scribe 10).
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 5
Julius B. XIII fos 41r–47v, and Faustina B. IX fos 2r–8r.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 6
Faustina B. IX fos 8v–11v.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1

Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 7
Replaces brief sections of main text, Faustina B. IX fos 18v, 19r and 20r–v.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 1
Date: 1173×4.

Scribe 8
Additions and corrections throughout Faustina B. IX fos 16v–20v, and item on fo.21r.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 2
Date: sometime in or after 1173×4; last quarter of twelfth century.

Scribe 9
Faustina B. IX fo.21r lines 22–23.
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 3
Date: last quarter of twelfth century (1173×probably 1214).

Scribe 10
Alters and adds to list of popes in the final section of Hugh of Saint-Victor's Chronicle *in Julius B. XIII: fills lacuna in text (fo.37r); adds and corrects list of popes (fos 37r, 38r); and continues the sequence of popes up to Clement III (fo.40r): all in outer margin.*
Classification: *praegothica*
Stratum: 4
Date: early 1188×mid-1191.

Scribe 11
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18v on birth of Mael Coluim IV.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 5A
Date: possibly *ca* 1200×14.

Scribe 12
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18v on birth of William I.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 5A
Date: possibly *ca* 1200×14.

Scribe 13
Faustina B. IX fo.21r line 23 to fo.26r.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 5
Date: probably first decade of the thirteenth century (1199×probably 1214).

Scribe 14
Marginal note on lacuna in text, Julius B. XIII fo.30v; corrects and adds popes (fo.35r); notes St Guthlac's death at AD 715 (fo.35v); adds dies *(fo.37v), and adds Victor III (fo.39v); continues list of popes and emperors, taking emperors as far as Frederick Barbarossa (finishing in this column with antipopes listed under 1159), and gives popes to*

Innocent III, noting pontifical years as far as 1208 (fo.40r–v); and continues chronological frame to 1220 (fo.40v). In Faustina B. IX, makes corrections on fos 10v and 11r; adds a papal succession (fo.12r), adds a note on Scone's foundation under 1115 (fo.17r), adds St Guthlac's translation under 1136 (fo.18r), and electus est *at end of 1141 (fo.18v).*
Classification: see discussion at 212, above
Stratum: 6
Date: *ca* 1208.

Scribe 15
Faustina B. IX fos 26v to 31r line 17, fos 31r line 34 to 31v line 30.
Classification: *textualis media*
Strata: 7 & 8
Date: second decade of the thirteenth century (1211×22).

Scribe 16
*Faustina B. IX fo.31r line 17 (*in equm*) to line 25, fos 31v line 30 (*vi k' Octob'*) to 35v line 25 (to* coacti*), and corrects/adds to Scribe 15's work fos 29v–31v (and possibly fo.29r).*
Classification: *textualis media*
Strata: 8–10
Date: 1218×22.

Scribe 17
*Faustina B. IX fos 35v line 25 (*xiii kal.'*) to 37v, and fo.39r lines 1–10 and 16–18 (to* beate Marie*).*
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 11
Date: autumn 1222.

Scribe 18
Faustina B. IX fo.39r line 18 (from viii Idus*) to 39v line 12; also responsible on fo.39r lines 9 and 10 for* Huberto de Burc, et consilium, *and the last syllable of* magnatum *(over an erasure).*
Classification: *textualis media/formata*
Stratum: 12
Date: October/November 1222.

Scribe 19
Additions Faustina B. IX fo.39r lines 10–15 (Eodem anno...exaltari) *and lines 37–39, and main text fo.39v line 12* (Obiit dompnus Gaufridus) *to line 17, and fos 39v lines 24 to 40r, and (with Scribe 22) fos 40v–42v.*
Classification: *textualis media*
Strata: 13–15
Date: February 1224×early 1240, probably late 1220s and early 1230s.

Scribe 20
Addition Faustina B. IX fo.39v lines 17–21.

Classification: *textualis media/formata*[20]
Stratum: 13A
Date: 1226×7.

Scribe 21
Year-numbers on Faustina B. IX fo.40v and fo.41r.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 14
Date: 1227×1230.

Scribe 22
Faustina B. IX fos 41r–42v (with Scribe 19).
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 16
Date: September 1233×early 1240; possibly in or soon after late 1233.

Scribe 23
Faustina B. IX fo.43r.
Classification: *textualis media/currens*
Stratum: 17
Date: probably 1240 (1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 24
Faustina B. IX fos 43v to 45r line 8 (except insertions by Scribe 30), and additions at fo.41v lines 24–25 and fo.42r lines 2–3.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 17
Date: probably 1240 (1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 25
Faustina B. IX fo.45r lines 13–16.
Classification: *cursiva formata*? (see discussion at 213, above)
Stratum: 18
Date: probably 1240 (1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 26
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.41v lines 26–27; main text fo.45r lines 17–19.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 19
Date: possibly late 1240, or soon after (April 1240×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 27
Correction at Faustina B. IX fo.45r line 17, main text fo.45r lines 19–27 (as far as dolentes*), rewriting and additions on fos 12v and 13v.*
Classification: *textualis media*
Strata: 20 & 20A
Date: *ca* 1250 (November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

[20] Its claim to belong on the spectrum towards *formata* is marginal, and rests on the addition of lozenges on the headline and baseline (although this is not achieved consistently).

Scribe 28
Many series of additions in Faustina B. IX fos 2v–43v, two datable contributions to inserted fo.14, and filling gaps or correcting errors (fos 28r, 42r, 42v); also probably most medieval sign-post rubrics up to fo.45r.
Classification: see discussion at 214, above
Strata: 21 & 21A; see also inserted fo.14 (discussed under Stratum 41).
Date: active in 1242/3 and 1264, and also between those dates.

Scribe 29
Additions on Faustina B. IX fo.42r–v and fo.43v.
Classification: *textualis media/currens* (see discussion at 214, above)
Stratum: 21A
Date: probably during the 1250s (probably November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 30
Additions Faustina B. IX fo.44r lines 9–10 and fo.44v lines 18–22; main text fos 45r line 27 to 49r.
Classification: *textualis media* > *textualis currens* (see discussion at 213, above)
Strata: 22, 22A & 23
Date: probably in the 1250s (November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 31
Faustina B. IX fos 49v–53v.
Classification: *cursiva media*
Stratum: 24
Date: probably in the 1250s (November 1246×probably mid-1264, possibly ×1259).

Scribe 32
Faustina B. IX fos 55r–60v, and fo.63r lines 1–15.
Classification: *textualis media*
Strata: 25 & 27
Date: probably 1259 and 1264.

Scribe 33
An addition in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.56v (opposite end of annal for 1252).
Classification: *cursiva media/currens*
Stratum: 26.
Date: probably in or soon after 1260 (1260×probably mid-1264).

Scribe 34
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.56v.
Classification: insufficient material
Stratum: 26A
Date: 1252× (?11 August 1253×).

Scribe 35
Two additions in the outer margin of Faustina B. IX fo.60v (one continuing the last entry by Scribe 32), and probably an addition in the bottom margin of fo.60v (largely erased).
Classification: *cursiva media/currens*[21]
Strata: 28 & 29
Date: probably in or not long after 1264 (mid-1264×1299/1300, if not ×1291), and in or not long after 1267.

Scribe 36
Faustina B. IX fo.63r line 16.
Classification: probably *cursiva media*, but only a fragment survives.
Stratum: 30
Date: 1272?

Scribe 37
Listing on Faustina B. IX fo.63v.
Classification: *cursiva media/formata, and cursiva media*[22]
Stratum: 31
Date: probably mid-1270s (March 1273×probably May 1291, if not ×1276).

Scribe 38
Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 25–26.
Classification: *cursiva media*
Stratum: 32
Date: probably mid-1270s (March 1273×probably May 1291, if not ×1276).

Scribe 39
Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 22–23.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 34
Date: February 1276×probably May 1291; probably in or not long after 1276.

Scribe 40
Faustina B. IX fo.60v lines 8–15.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 35
Date: February 1276×probably May 1291; probably in or not long after 1276.

[21] The damage to most of this material may make it seem more informal than it was originally.

[22] The list has two columns which have not (it seems) been written at the same time. (Both are by the same scribe.) The left-hand column is identifiably cursive (noting particularly the loops), but straight *s* is avoided, and on the only occasion it is used it ends on the line of writing. In the right-hand column straight *s* is used frequently (and *ſ* is also found), and both are given a tail below the line of writing. This corresponds with a difference between the more careful and formal writing in the left-hand column in contrast to the more fluent (but still careful) writing in the right-hand column.

Scribe 41
Addition in plummet on Faustina B. IX fo.52r (largely illegible); probably also another addition on fo.40r lines 8–22 (almost entirely illegible).
Classification: *cursiva media*
Stratum: 33
Date: probably sometime in or not long after 1275 (1275×probably May 1291).

Scribe 42
Addition in brown 'crayon' on Faustina B. IX fo.60r.
Classification: *cursiva media/currens*
Stratum: 36
Date: possibly in or not long after 1277 (1277×probably May 1291).

Scribe 43
Addition (damaged, probably erased) on Faustina B. IX fo.40r.
Classification: insufficient material
Stratum: 37
Date: November 1282×probably May 1291.

Scribe 44
Addition on upper margin of Faustina B. IX fo.63r.
Classification: insufficient material
Stratum: see discussion of excision of bottom half of Faustina B. IX fo.63.[23]
Date: probably mid-1270s.

Scribe 45
Faustina B. IX fos 61r–62v, fos 69v line 16 (from cuius mencio*) to 75v, and addition on fo.64r.*
Classification: *textualis media* (also possibly *semitextualis* on fo.69v: see 213–14)
Stratum: 38
Date: April 1286×probably May 1291.

Scribe 46
Faustina B. IX fos 64r to 69v line 14.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 38
Date: April 1286×probably May 1291.

Scribe 47
Faustina B. IX fo.69v lines 15–16 (to positum*).*
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 38
Date: April 1286×probably May 1291.

[23] Scribe 44's contribution has not been treated as a stratum because (as explained at 38 n.38, chapter III) he appears simply to have copied Stratum 30 (Scribe 36). The text of his contribution therefore has a different status from other strata, and is not treated like them. Instead, it will be reported in the apparatus of the edition of Stratum 30 (in volume iii).

Scribe 48
Marginal corrections to work of Scribes 45 and 46.
Classification: *cursiva currens*
Stratum: 38
Date: April 1286×probably May 1291.

Scribe 49
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.11v.
Classification: *cursiva media*
Stratum: 39
Date: April 1286×early fourteenth century (possibly ×May 1291).

Scribe 50
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18v.
Classification: *cursiva formata* (see discussion at 213, above)
Stratum: 39A
Date: April 1286×early fourteenth century (possibly ×May 1291).

Scribe 51
Listing on Faustina B. IX fo.38v.
Classification: *cursiva media/currens*[24]
Stratum: 40
Date: April 1286×early fourteenth century.

Scribe 52
Addition on Faustina B. IX fo.18r.
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 42
Date: first half of the fourteenth century.

Scribe +1
Faustina B. IX fo.14r as far as line 3 of fo.14v (up to mcxcviii°*).*
Classification: 'charter hand'
Stratum: 41
Date:[25] 1198×1214.

Scribe +2
Faustina B. IX fo.14v from line 3 (after mcxcviii°*) to line 4 (up to* honorifice*).*
Classification: *textualis media*
Stratum: 41
Date: December 1214×43.

Scribe +3
Faustina B. IX fo.38r.
Classification: *textualis media*

[24] The damage may make this seem more informal than it was originally.
[25] The dating here and in other scribes in the series prefixed with '+' is of the scribe's work, not of the stratum (remembering that the stratum is the point when the folio became part of the manuscript). The dating of the scribe is discussed under the relevant stratum.

Stratum: 12A
Date: *ca* 1220.

Scribe +4
Faustina B. IX fo.54r–v.
Classification: *hybrida* (see discussion at 212–13, above)
Stratum: 41
Date: 1209×May 1291 (1278?).

Appendix:
scribes whose contribution is limited to notes and comments
Note: these are not numbered in chronological order.

Datable scribes:

Scribe N5
Lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.12r and upper and lower margins of fo.53v.
Classification: *cursiva media/currens*
Date: October 1263×October 1264, or conceivably the previous year.

Scribe N8
Comment in lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.39v.
Classification: *textualis media/currens*
Date: February 1224×9 November 1227: see Stratum 13.

Scribe N9
Memorandum in lower margin of Faustina B. IX fo.46v.
Classification: *cursiva media*
Date: 1259×64: see 158–9 (chapter VIII)

Others:

Scribe N1
Lower margin Julius B. XIII fos 5v and 9v.
Classification: *cursiva media*

Scribe N2
Upper margin in brown crayon Julius B. XIII fo.25r.
Classification: *cursiva media*

Scribe N3
Outer margins of Julius B. XIII fos 36r and 37r.
Classification: *praegothica*

Scribe N4
Outer margins of Faustina B. IX fos 6v and 8v.
Classification: insufficient material

Scribe N6
Outer margin Faustina B. IX fo.23v.
Classification: *textualis media/currens*

Scribe N7
Outer margin Faustina B. IX fo.33r added to sign-post rubric.
Classification: *cursiva media*

Scribe N10
Fragmentary comments on outer margins of Faustina B. IX fos 58v and 59v.
Classification: *textualis media*

(5)
NOTES ON PALAEOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Dauvit Broun

Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 + Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 is a priceless resource for the study of handwriting in Scotland in 1173×4 and the century and a quarter which followed. It affords only a limited view, of course, confined to writing appropriate for a book that was regarded (certainly when it was being continued in the thirteenth century) as more functional than anything else. What it offers, however, is access to sixty-three scribes working in the same place (and at least sixty-six overall),[1] of whom all but eleven or twelve (out of the sixty-six) were active in the thirteenth century.[2] Of these sixty-six, it is possible to suggest a dating within about a quarter century for all but a few scribes on the basis of evidence other than the handwriting itself (although some of this is circumstantial).

What follows is a brief survey of the more significant details relating to the way handwriting developed in this period. It is drawn from the profile of scribes in chapter VII combined with information about the date of each scribe's work summarised in the previous section of this chapter. The first part is concerned with letters, letter-forms and other graphs. For ease of reference this has been subdivided into four sections: (i) those of general relevance; and those relating principally to (ii) 'protogothic' (*praegothica*); (iii) 'gothic' (*textualis*); and (iv) the cursive script known (since Parkes's seminal study) as *Anglicana*, which was used as a bookhand from the mid-thirteenth century.[3] This is followed by a consideration of particular combinations of letters (the phenomenon known as 'biting' or 'fusion'; the use of round *r* after *o* and other round letters; and the linkage of adjacent ascenders by a stroke at the top).[4] Finally, there is a brief comment on the question of writing above and below the top line. None of this is intended as an essay in palaeography. It is designed chiefly to assist anyone who may be engaged in such a study, as well as being useful to those who might appreciate a handy summary of some points of palaeographical interest.

1 Overall, fifty-two scribes are identified in the main series and fourteen in those series prefixed by '+' or 'N'. The figure does not include scribes whose only activity was (for example) in sign-post rubrics or additions/corrections. Scribes 50, 52 and +3 are possibly/probably not from Melrose. (Scribe 50 is probably from Dundrennan; Scribe 52 from Thorney/Deeping; and Scribe +3 is possibly, but not certainly, from Melrose.)

2 Ten can be assigned to the twelfth century, and at least one (Scribe 52) to the fourteenth; the possibility that Scribe 51's contribution was after 1300, rather than in the 1290s, cannot be ruled out.

3 M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500*, rev. edn (London, 1979). For a difficulty with the term *Anglicana*, see Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 46, where he observes that the retention of cursive document-hand in Wales long after it had given way to secretary hand in England means that 'the name anglicana by this date becomes oddly inappropriate'.

4 For a clear explanation, see Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 75–6.

I: Letters, letter-forms and other graphs

(i) general

Two-compartment *a*

When the top part of headed *a* (*ȧ*) was drawn down to its body this created a primitive form of 'two-compartment' *a* which gradually evolved into a new letter-form. The basic form, with the head drawn down to the body, first begins to appear in scribes whose work may be dated probably to 1240 or soon thereafter. It is found only occasionally in Scribe 23, and very occasionally in Scribe 24. It is used consistently by Scribe 27 (possibly *ca* 1250, and certainly ×1264, if not ×1259), and occurs a number of times in Scribe 30 (probably 1250s), but is used only sometimes by Scribe 41 (probably in or not long after 1275). Of the scribes whose activity can be dated to 1286×91, Scribe 45 uses it frequently, and Scribes 46 and 47 regularly. A more evolved form in script other than *textualis* can be found in Scribe 38 (probably mid-1270s: 1273×91, if not ×1276), and Scribes 49 and 51 (both sometime after 1286).

Tironian *et* (7) and ampersand (&)

The use of either graph was determined to some extent by register. Of the team of scribes engaged in creating the chronicle in 1173×4, Scribes 1 and 3 preferred the tironian *et* (Scribe 3 especially), while Scribes 5 and 6 used the ampersand regularly. Both Scribes 13 and 15 (from the first and second decades of the thirteenth century) used both. A preference for the ampersand characterises Scribe 17 (and the latter part of Scribe +3), the former in 1222, the latter *ca* 1220. It is also used later, for example by Scribe 45 (1286×91). An important change — the use of a new form of tironian *et* with a cross-stroke through the shaft — is apparent *ca* 1220 at the very end of Scribe 15's work and also in Scribe 16 throughout (and in the first part of Scribe +3), and subsequently becomes a general (but not universal) feature. A 'z' form (with cross-stroke in shaft) also becomes frequent from Scribes 22 (1233×40) and 23 (probably 1240) onwards.

Old English letters[5]

Thorn and yogh had a long history in writing in 'Inglis' or Scots. This vernacular context is also reflected in the appearance of these and other Old English runic letters only in proper nouns. Ash (for the diphthong *æ*) is used by Scribes 5 and 13 (1173×4 and first decade of the thirteenth century); and eth (*ð*) by Scribes 5, 13 and 17 (the latter datable to 1222). Other Old English letters are rarer. Thorn (*þ*) is used by Scribe 13 and three times by Scribe 19 (1224×40); yogh (*ȝ*) by Scribe 13. Wyn (or wen) is used by Scribes 13, 17 and 22 (the latter datable to 1233×40), and takes a variety of forms: the 'typical' form (like a *p* with a slightly open top) is used by Scribe 22; with Scribe 13

[5] This is also discussed in Anderson & Anderson, *Chronicle of Melrose*, lxxviii–lxxix, although not in terms of datable scribes. For further comparison, see the comprehensive survey by Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500* (London, 2005).

the top is more open so that it looks something like a *y* (with a dot in its mouth); Scribe 17 takes this a stage further so that it is so open that it looks like a large *v* (again, with a dot in its mouth). With Scribe 24 (probably 1240, certainly ×1264 if not ×1259), however, there is an indication that wyn was no longer recognised; also, there is an example of *ȝ* used for a dental fricative (*Gedewrȝe* (Jedburgh) on Faustina B. IX fo.45r line 5) where previously eth had been used (*Gedewurðe* by Scribe 13, fo.25v *s.a.* 1192, and *Jedewrð* by Scribe 17, fo.36r line 22).[6] This, and the disappearance of these letters generally from the repertoire of chronicle-scribes, suggests that, by the 1240s, they may no longer have been regarded as appropriate in Latin prose. Some (like wyn) may even have become obsolete in Melrose by this time.

(ii) Protogothic (*praegothica*)

e-caudata ('tailed-*e*')

Only Scribe 5 has this, which shows that by 1173×4 it was fading out of use.

(iii) Gothic (*textualis*)

Round *s* in final position

Scribes active in 1173×4 and in the early thirteenth century typically used straight *s* rather than round *s* at the end of a word. Round *s* in final position is found only occasionally until Scribe 18 (1222) and Scribe 19 (1224×40); in part of his work (fo.40r) Scribe 19 also shows regular use of two-compartment round *s* (i.e., where it has become closed to look like '8'). Although round *s* is not uncommon at the end of words from the 1220s, it is not universal; for example, Scribes 27 (possibly *ca* 1250) and 32 (probably 1259 and 1264) prefer straight *s*. Scribe 45 (1286×91), who also writes a two-compartment round *s*, commonly uses round *s* in final position, but towards the end of his stint straight *s* becomes frequent.

Shaft of *t* above the horizontal stroke

The main text scribes of 1173×4 tended to write *t* so that the horizontal stroke sat cleanly on the shaft with nothing added or sticking up above. Very occasionally the shaft breaks slightly through the horizontal in Scribe 3. In the first half of the thirteenth century there is a perceptible change. Some (such as Scribes 13 and 15 in the first two decades of the century) added a hairline above the horizontal stroke. Others (Scribes 16, 17, 19, 22, 23 and 24, all from between *ca* 1220 and probably 1240) occasionally allowed the shaft to protrude a little. Only from *ca* 1250, however, does this become a frequent and deliberate feature, beginning with Scribes 27 and 30 (in the *textualis* part of his work) (both 1246×64, if not ×1259). It is not universal, though: it is not found in Scribe 40 (in or soon after 1276).

[6] The sign-post rubric (by Scribe 28?) for Jedburgh *s.a.* 1192 (and also *s.a.* 1209) renders the name as *Gedewr*, that on fo.45r has *Gedewrthe*, and those (in the Andersons' third series) on fo.55v opposite 1249 also have *Gedewrthe*, which suggests that, by the mid-thirteenth century, the dental fricative may have become uncertain.

(iv) *Anglicana*

'Looped' *d*

In script other than *textualis* the tendency in the thirteenth century towards prominently looped ascenders led to a more compact form of looped *d* in which the loop and the body of the *d* were roughly the same size, divided by a thicker stroke. This compact looped *d* is found in Scribe 38 (probably mid-1270s: 1273×91, if not ×1276) and Scribe 51 (sometime after 1286), and at least one instance in Scribe 35 (possibly the late 1260s). An early stage in the evolution of looped *d* can be seen in the curved ascender of *d* in Scribe 14 (*ca* 1208) which occasionally creates a near-loop. In the second half of the thirteenth century looped *d* is found in Scribes 31 and 33 (with thick ascenders) (both certainly ×1264, if not ×1259, with Scribe 31 probably in the 1250s, and Scribe 33 in or soon after 1260). Scribe 42 (in or soon after 1277) seems to represent a transition towards the compact looped *d*.

Long *r*

Long *r* is typically confined to documents before the mid-thirteenth century. Because of *Anglicana*'s origins in documentary script it became a distinctive part of *Anglicana* as a bookhand, and developed a squat 'v'-shaped form. In the Melrose Chronicle it is used mainly by scribes writing informally (Scribe 4, corrector of Scribe 3 in Julius B. XIII, and Scribe 48, editor and corrector of Scribes 45 and 46), or writing marginalia (Scribes 35 and N8, both probably writing in or near 1264; Scribe 35 also contributed material no earlier than 1267). It is also used by Scribe 49 who writes in a similar context, contributing an annal-item and memorandum inserted in a blank space in Faustina B.IX fo.11v. The only occasion where it appears in a regular way in the main text is in the work of Scribe 31 (1246×64; probably the 1250s), whose principal contribution is a dossier of documents rather than the more typical annalistic fare. A notable feature of Scribe 31 is that, in the section consisting of letters (Faustina B. IX fos 50r–53v) the long *r* is squat (approaching a 'v' shape), whereas in a section which includes annalistic material (Faustina B. IX fo.49v), the long *r* is not squat. The squat form of long *r* is otherwise a feature of Scribes 35, 48 and N8, but not 49, and suggests that (in the Melrose Chronicle, at least) it represents a slightly lower register.

'113' form of *w*

The appearance of this simplified form of *w* in Scribes 31, 49 and 51 suggests that it may have become established outside the context of *textualis* in the second half of the thirteenth century. Scribe 31 also has a *w* that does not quite match the '113' form, so perhaps he represents a transitional period: he can be dated to 1246×64, if not ×1259. There are hardly enough examples to be certain, of course. The situation is complicated, however, by the odd instance of a '113' *w* in Scribe 17 (e.g., Faustina B. IX fo.37r) (1222).

II: Combinations

'Biting' (joining together of letters where curves meet, e.g., *de*)

The transition to gothic writing (i.e., *textualis*) is characterised by increasing lateral compression. A crucial development, known to scholarship as 'biting' (or 'fusion') is witnessed as soon as the chronicle began to be continued to a significant extent in the early thirteenth century (Scribes 13 and 15). Initially it is confined to *de* and *do*, and only becomes common with Scribe 16 (*ca* 1220). With Scribe 19 (1224×40) it has a wider range, found not only in *de* and *do*, but also *da* and *po*. The scribe with the widest range of instances is Scribe 23 (probably 1240). From the 1240s and 1250s it frequently occurs in combinations involving *p* and *b* as well as *d*, and this continues in most examples of *textualis* thereafter, and other contexts, too (Scribe 30) (although the range of Scribe 46, 1286×91, is limited chiefly to *de*, *do* and *da*). It is also possible to find rare instances of 'double biting' (*hoc*, Faustina B. IX fo.69v line 27, by Scribe 45, 1286×91).[7]

Round *r*

Round *r* (looking like '2') is initially found only following *o*. This pattern is broken by Scribe 16 (*ca* 1220), where it appears following *a*, *b*, *d* and *p* as well as *o*. Not all scribes follow suit, for example Scribe 27 (possibly *ca* 1250, certainly 1246×64, if not ×1259). But a tendency to allow round *r* to follow more than *o* became the norm from the 1250s.

Joining of a pair of ascenders at the top

This is found occasionally in the combination *ll* and *bb* (or *l* and *b* together) in a few scribes. The earliest is Scribe 19 (1224×40), but it does not appear to be well attested until 1286×91 when it is an occasional feature of Scribe 46 and more frequent in Scribe 45.

III: Below top line

A significant development in the scribal understanding of the written surface of a page was when, instead of writing the first line on the top ruled line (i.e., writing above the top line), it was considered more appropriate to begin by writing on the second ruled line (i.e., below the top line), as if it was thought better to frame the text with lines on all four sides. This practice began to be adopted in England during the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[8] Among scribes of the main text it is employed regularly only by Scribe 45 (1286×91), and is otherwise only found in the work of Scribe +4 (whose dating has been a matter of debate, but could be as late as 1291).[9]

7 See Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 78, for comparable examples.

8 N. R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a change in scribal practice', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 13–16; republished in his *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London, 1995), 70–4.

9 On Faustina B. IX fos 21v, 22r, 22v and 36v the first line of a page has been written below rather than above the first ruled line, but in each case the new page coincides with a new annal, and should be seen as reflecting a desire to maintain a clear division between annals.

(6)
REPRODUCTIONS, 1580–2000

Dauvit Broun, Julian Harrison

The survival of the unique manuscript of the Melrose Chronicle means that there is no necessity, for the purpose of an edition, to collate copies in order to arrive at a critical understanding of the original text. Instead, the copies and (significant) extracts have been traced in order to reconstruct the history of the manuscript (discussed in chapter IX) as well as to provide an account of previous editions (discussed in chapter III). It may have been hoped that some light might be shed on when the final folio (Faustina B. IX fo.75*) became detached, or when erased items may have been deleted, which would, of course, have allowed those parts of the text to be recovered. Unfortunately none of the copies or extracts have yielded anything of that nature.[1]

The only part of the chronicle which is known to have been reproduced in any form is Faustina B. IX fos 2r–75v. These can readily be listed in (i) transcripts, (ii) editions, (iii) significant extracts (in manuscript), and (iv) translations. The items under each heading are listed in approximate chronological order.

(i) Transcripts

1. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208, fos 1–66
A full copy (except for the 'Verse Chronicle'). It is the work of Raph Jennyngs, a professional scribe, who was paid £3 on 10 January 1651 by a certain Mr. Bee on completing the copy.

2. London, British Library, MS. Harley 731, fos 2r–143r
Produced for Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester (1689–99).

(ii) Editions

3. *Chronica de Mailros Inchoata per Abbatem de Dundrainand ab An. 735. Continuata per varios ad Annum Domini 1270*, in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, i (Oxford, 1684), pp.133–244 (and the Verse Chronicle on pp.595–8)
Edited by William Fulman (d.1688). Most of it (pp.133–244) simply represents Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. 208, fos 1–66 (item no.1, above) in print: the annotations and mark-up are in the manuscript. The Verse Chronicle (pp.595–8) has evidently been copied from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Add. C. 296, fos 136r–137v (no.9, below).

[1] Inspection of Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 208 (no.1 in the list) did reveal that the erasure of *homo suus deuenit* in Faustina B. IX fo.15v *s.a.* 1072 must predate Fulman's edition (no.3 in the list), and not post-date it, as stated erroneously in Dauvit Broun, 'The Church and the origins of Scottish independence in the twelfth century', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 31 (2002), 1–35, at 1 (because the words have been added into Corpus Christi College 208, the exemplar of Fulman's edition, at fo.15r).

4. Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Chronica de Mailros, e codice unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1835)
The first printed edition of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75.

5. Alan Orr Anderson & Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (facs. eds), with an index by William Croft Dickinson, *The Chronicle of Melrose from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX in the British Museum* (London, 1936)
Full-size facsimile edition of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75 in collotype.

6. Unpublished edition by James Waddell (1999)
James Waddell of Melrose, between 1996 and 1999, produced what he described as an 'acceptable Latin text' using the Andersons' facsimile edition (no.5, above) as his 'principal source'.[2] A copy is held in the Department of History (Scottish), University of Glasgow, 9 University Gardens, Glasgow.

(iii) Significant extracts (in manuscript)[3]

7. London, British Library, MS. Egerton 3789, fos 63r–71r
Anglo-Saxon events 737–1066 extracted from Faustina B. IX by Robert Glover (d.1588), probably no earlier than 1580, and before 17 December 1581.

8. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Otho D. IV, fos 141v–154v
Chiefly Scottish events 741–1270 extracted from Faustina B. IX by Robert Glover in the 1580s. Also includes the list of the earls of Northumbria (*s.a.* 950), the verse on events surrounding Magna Carta (*s.a.* 1215), and the account of the battle of Lewes, 1264.

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Add. C. 296, fos 136r–137v, 139v–140r
A copy of the 'Verse Chronicle' (a list of Scottish kings from Cinaed mac Ailpín, d.858, to William I, d.1214, which had been inserted in the margins and other spare space in the chronicle), and the material on Faustina B. IX fo.14 (chiefly a history of the royal dynasty from Mael Coluim III to Alexander III), plus the notice of the birth of David, son of Alexander III, from Faustina B. IX fo.60v. All but fo.136r–v is in the hand of James Ussher (d.1656), and was probably copied by him sometime in or between 1622 and 1625 when he was loaned the manuscript through the agency of John Selden (d.1654).

10. Glasgow, University Library, MS. Gen. 237 [fos 4–68][4]
An abbreviation of Faustina B. IX fos 2–75, concentrating particularly on material of Scottish interest, in the hand of Sir James Balfour of Denmilne (d.1657). It is accompanied by a tract on William Wallace attributed to Arnold Blair [fos 69–78] (also in Balfour's hand).

2 Letter from James Waddell addressed to the Professor of Scottish History, University of St Andrews, 10 October 1999.

3 A seventeenth-century transcript of the annal for 1265 (Faustina B. IX fos 65v-66r) also survives in BL Cotton Titus B. XI, part I, fo.75v. See 187–8 (chapter IX).

4 There is no foliation.

11. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 35.6.10, pp.1–41
A copy of the contents of Glasgow, University Library, MS. Gen. 237 (no.10, above). The tract on Wallace is on pp.42–9. (*Saec.* xvii/xviii.)

12. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 33.3.25, fos 1r–15r
Derived (ultimately) from Balfour's abbreviation (Glasgow, University Library, MS. Gen. 237: no.10, above), but not necessarily through MS. Adv. 35.6.10 (no.11). Its exemplar may have been the copy of no.10 made by Robert Wodrow, librarian of the university of Glasgow, which seems to have arrived in Edinburgh in 1701. (No extant copy in Wodrow's hand has been traced.) The manuscript also includes the tract on Wallace (fos 19r–21r), and is supplemented with material from Fulman's edition (no.3, above) (fos 15r–18v; 21v–23r), including a copy of John Jamieson's 'critical notes' on Fulman's text (fo.25r–v). All is in the hand of Robert Sibbald (d.1722).

13. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 35.5.6, pp.1–41
This appears to have been derived from Sibbald's copy (MS. Adv. 33.3.25, fos 1r–15r: no.12, above) of Balfour's abbreviation (no.10), and includes not only the tract on Wallace (pp.44–50) but other Melrose Chronicle material in Sibbald's manuscript (pp.41–4, 51–64). (*Saec.* xviii^{in}.)

14. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 34.3.12, pp.353–4
Extracts, almost certainly from Fulman's edition (no.3, above), of material from the Melrose Chronicle relating to the Scottish peerage. This belonged to Robert Mylne by 1709.[5]

15. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 31.2.19, fos 399r-400v
A copy of the 'Verse Chronicle' on folios mounted at the end of the volume, in the same hand as fos 379-398, which was originally a separate booklet consisting of extracts from other Cotton manuscripts. The title given to the Verse Chronicle, however, and the comment that the verses are not found in the Melrose Chronicle, show that this has been taken from Fulman's edition.

(iv) Translations

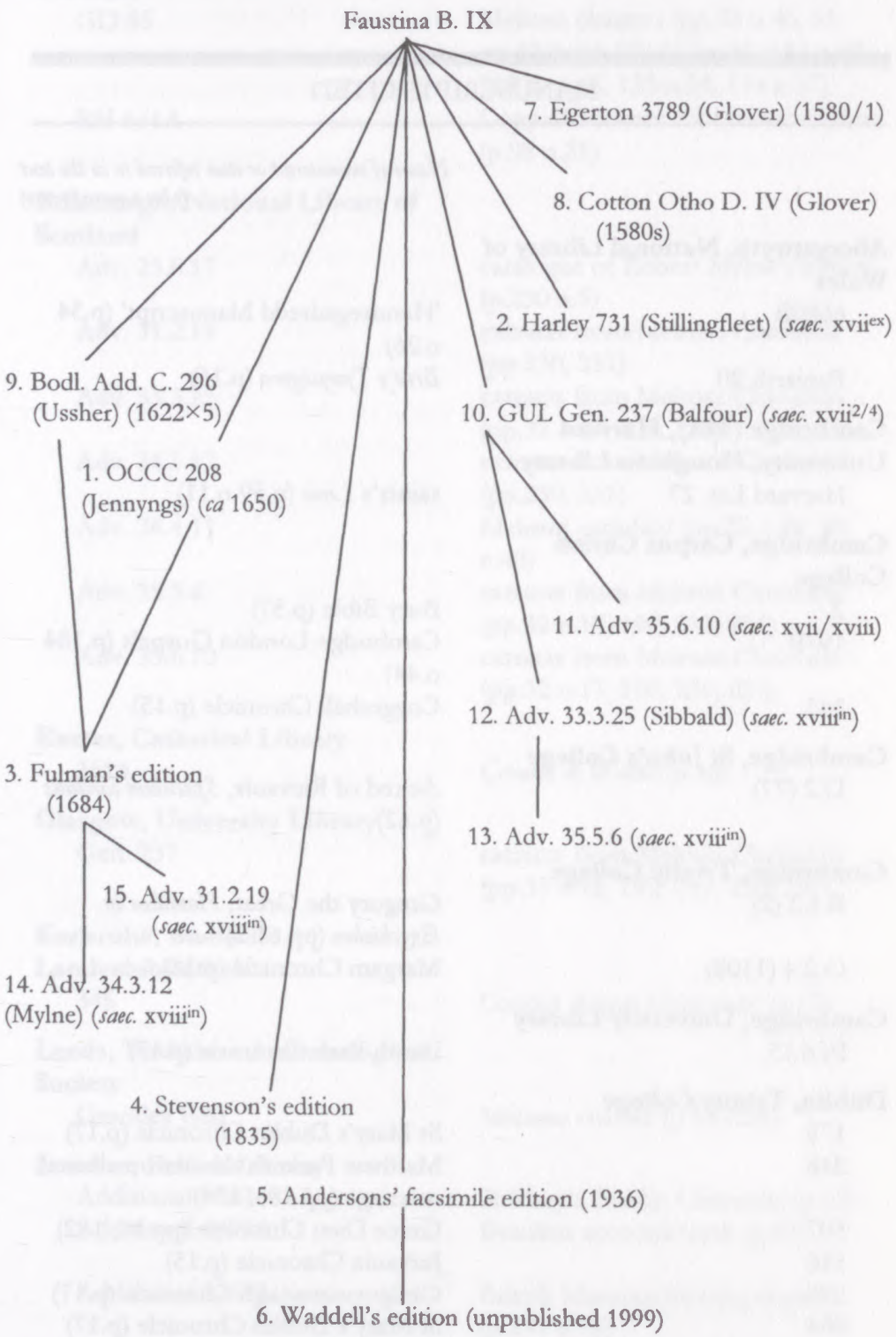
16. Joseph Stevenson, 'Chronicle of Melrose', in *The Church Historians of England*, iv, part i (London, 1856), 79–241
This is the only full translation to have been published to date.

16a. *A Mediaeval Chronicle of Scotland: The Chronicle of Melrose* (Lampeter, 1991)
This reprint of no. 16 is confined to the annals for 1136–1270.

17. Unpublished translation by James Waddell (2000)
James Waddell produced a translation while working on his edition (no.6, above), and completed it in 2000. A copy is held in the Department of History (Scottish), University of Glasgow, 9 University Gardens, Glasgow.

[5] See the catalogue of Mylne's library, NLS Adv. 23.6.17 fo.56v.

Stemma of relationships:



MANUSCRIPTS CITED

	Name of manuscript or item referred to in the text (plus page-reference)
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales	
6680B	'Hendregadredd Manuscript' (p.34 n.26)
Peniarth 20	*Brut y Tywysogyon* (p.16)
Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, Houghton Library	
Harvard Lat. 27	saints's *Lives* (p.59 n.11)
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2	Bury Bible (p.57)
197B	Cambridge-London Gospels (p.184 n.44)
343	Coggeshall Chronicle (p.15)
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D.2 (77)	Aelred of Rievaulx, *Speculum caritatis* (p.62)
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B.1.3 (2)	Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (pp.61-2)
O.2.4 (1108)	Margam Chronicle (p.16)
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Ff.6.15	Louth Park Chronicle (p.15)
Dublin, Trinity College	
175	St Mary's Dublin Chronicle (p.17)
248	Matthew Parker's dossier on clerical marriage (pp.183, 184)
507	Grace Dieu Chronicle (pp.16, 182)
516	Jervaulx Chronicle (p.15)
578	Graiguenamanagh Chronicle (p.17)
804	St Mary's Dublin Chronicle (p.17)
Durham, University Library	
Cosin V.III.1	works of Laurence of Durham (p.58)

Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland

GD 55	Melrose charters (pp.22 n.46, 55 nn.63 & 64, 97, 112 n.40, 115 n.44, 119 & n.48, 123 n.54, 144 n.37)
RH 6/1A	Copy of Melrose foundation-charter (p.98 n.21)

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

Adv. 23.6.17	catalogue of Robert Mylne's library (p.230 n.5)
Adv. 31.2.19	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.230, 231)
Adv. 33.3.25	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.32 n.17, 230, 231)
Adv. 34.3.12	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.230, 231)
Adv. 34.4.11	Melrose cartulary (pp.22 n.46, 48 n.40)
Adv. 35.5.6	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.32 n.17, 190, 230, 231)
Adv. 35.6.10	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.32 n.17, 190, 230, 231)

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3514	*Cronica de Wallia* (p.16)

Glasgow, University Library

Gen. 237	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.32 n.16, 190, 229, 230, 231)

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345	Coupar Angus Chronicle (p.17)

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Grantley B20	Melrose charter (p.98 n.21)

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Additional 4787	St Mary's Dublin Chronicle (p.17)
Additional 48978	Beaulieu account-book (p.57)
Additional 62577	British Museum binding register (p.191 n.75)
Additional Charter 76747	Melrose charter (p.98 n.21)
Cotton Julius A. VII	Rushen Chronicle (p.177 n.15)
Cotton Julius B. XIII	Melrose Chronicle (pp.17, 23, 29, 31,

Cotton Galba E. VIII	*Brut* chronicle (p.182 n.35)
Cotton Otho A. XII	Asser, *Life* of King Alfred (pp.177 n.15, 184 n.44)
Cotton Otho C. II	*Flores Historiarum* (p. 184 n.44)
Cotton Otho C. V	Cambridge-London Gospels (p. 184 n.44)
Cotton Otho D. IV	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.185-6, 229, 231)
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Cotton Vitellius A. XIX	Bede's *Lives* of St Cuthbert (p.177 & n.15)
Cotton Vitellius C. IX	Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicle*; *Lives* of Welsh princes (p.182 n.35)
Cotton Vitellius C. X	Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Cambrie* (p.177 n.15)
Cotton Vitellius D. XVIII	(?)Combe Chronicle (p.15)
Cotton Vitellius E. XVIII	Psalter (p.182 n.35)
Cotton Vitellius F. IX	Thomas Otterburn, *Chronica regum Anglie* (p.184 n.44)
Cotton Vespasian A. II	computistical treatises (p.182 n.35)
Cotton Vespasian A. VI	list of Cistercian foundations (p.20 n.38)
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Cotton Domitian A. IV	chronicles (p.182 n.35)

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Cotton Cleopatra C. III	transcript of Tewkesbury foundation-history (p.182 n.35)
Cotton Cleopatra D. III	Hailes I Chronicle; Hailes II Chronicle (p.15)
Cotton Faustina A. IX	Old English homilies (p.184 n.44)
Cotton Faustina B. IV	saints's *Lives* (p.59 n.11)
Cotton Faustina B. VI	Croxden Chronicle (p.15)
Cotton Faustina B. VII	list of Cistercian foundations (p.2 n.4)
Cotton Faustina B. IX	Melrose Chronicle (pp.17, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36 n.28, 38 n.38, 40-3, 45-9, 53, 56-7, 59, 61-7, 68-86, 91, 94-5, 97-124, 127-73, 174, 176-81, 183-5, 187-91, 194, 195-7)
Cotton Faustina E. I	pedigrees (p.187 n.54)
Cotton Appendix XLVI	John Dee, *Conference with angels* (p.182 n.35)
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Harley 536	Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britannie* (p.182 n.33)
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Royal 13 A. XII	Ralph Niger, *Chronicle* (p.24 n.55)
Royal 14 C. II	Roger of Howden, *Chronicle* (p.186)
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Arundel 11	Coggeshall Chronicle (pp.15, 182)
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E 164/1	Neath Chronicle; Strata Florida Chronicle (p.16)
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London & Oslo, The Schøyen Collection	
1373	Louth Park Chronicle (p.15)
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Add. C. 296	extracts from Melrose Chronicle (pp.32 n.14, 187 n.59, 228, 229, 231)
Bodley 302	'Verse Chronicle' (versified Scottish king-list) (p.150)
Digby 11	Stanley Chronicle (p.16)
Laud misc. 582	Roger of Howden, *Chronicle* (p.186)
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Note: 'Melrose codex' = Cotton Julius B. XIII fos 2–47 + Cotton Faustina B. IX fos 2–75. Under 'Script in Melrose codex', references are given to sections on each scribe as well as page-numbers: '102[14]' = p.102, section on Scribe 14; '104[16.17]' = p.104, sections on Scribes 16 and 17. Bold numbers refer to the principal discussion of an item (e.g., a letter-form or scribe).

GENERAL INDEX

Abbreviations

ab: abbot
abp: archbishop
attr.: attributed
bp: bishop
d.o.: daughter of
e: earl
emp: emperor
k: king
mk: monk
OCist: Cistercian
OClun: Cluniac
OPrem: Premonstratensian
OSA: Augustinian
OSB: Benedictine
OTiron: Tironensian
OVall: Vallescaulian
pr: prior
q: queen
s.o.: son of