

THE SCOTTISH ORIGIN-LEGEND BEFORE FORDUN

by

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my
parents; and to the memory of Agnes Kellas,
of Auchnerran, Logie Coldstone, Norman Robertson,
of the Schoolhouse, Lumsden and Walter Ullmann,
of Trinity College, Cambridge, who I would like
to think would have each enjoyed this thesis.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
List of Appendices	ii
Abstract	iv
Abbreviations	v
Declaration	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Preface	xi
Chapter One : Introduction	1
Chapter Two : The Nameless Sources of Fordun's Account of Scottish Origins	28
Chapter Three: Sir Thomas Gray's <u>Scalacronica</u> and Andrew of Wyntoun's <u>Original Chronicle</u>	114
Chapter Four : The <u>Chronicon Rhythmicum</u>	184
Chapter Five : The Latin Texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots	256
Chapter Six : The Gaelic Texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots	340
Chapter Seven: Conclusions	378
Bibliography	464

LIST OF APPENDICES

	<u>Page No.</u>
<u>Chapter Two</u>	
Appendix I : The Gaelic Origin-legend in Fordun's <u>Chronica Gentis Scottorum</u>	95
Appendix II : The Nameless Recensions in Fordun's Account of Scottish Origins	105
<u>Chapter Three</u>	
Appendix I : Comparison of Fordun's Account from a 'Legend of St. Brandán' with the Extract from a 'Life of St. Brandán' in the <u>Scalacronica</u>	170
Appendix II : Comparison of Fordun's Extracts from a 'Legend/Historia of St. Congal' with the Extract from a 'Life of St. Brandán' in the <u>Scalacronica</u>	174
Appendix III : The First Account of the Scottish Origin-legend, and the Account of the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend in Andrew of Wyntoun's <u>Original Chronicle</u>	177
<u>Chapter Four</u>	
Appendix I : The King-list in the <u>Chronicon Rhythmicum</u>	248
Appendix II : <u>Summae Annorum</u> of Lists Derived from Z ²	250
Appendix III : The Date of Robert I's Inauguration	253
<u>Chapter Five</u>	
Appendix I : The Principal Twelfth-Century Texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots	325
Appendix II : The <u>Gesta Annalia</u> Text Collated with <u>Diceto</u> and <u>Wardlaw</u> Texts	335
Appendix III : Some Readings of Wyntoun's Text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots in Comparison with Related Texts	338
<u>Chapter Six /</u>	

Chapter Six

- Appendix I : The Contents, and their Arrangement, in each Manuscript 374
- Appendix II : The Dating of the Original Genealog 375

Chapter Seven

- Appendix I : Brief Summary of Scottish Texts Anent the Scottish Origin-legend before Fordun 449
- Appendix II : Summary of Stages in Text-History 461
- Appendix III : The Gaelic Origin-legend 463

ABSTRACT

There is little readily identifiable material with which to study the history of the Scottish origin-legend before John of Fordun's seminal account of Scottish origins in his Chronica Gentis Scottorum. The bulk of the thesis, therefore, is a quest for source material, which consists of an analysis of the sources behind extant accounts of Scottish origins, particularly Fordun, the Scalacronica, Wyntoun, and the Chronicon Rhythmicum, in order to identify texts of the Scottish origin-legend that no longer survive, and, as far as possible, suggest their content, and when, where, and by whom they were written. In this way text-histories of Scottish origin-legend accounts are taken back through the thirteenth and into the twelfth centuries. The quest for source-material also includes a similar analysis of surviving texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, enabling the history of this origin-legend material to be taken back well before the twelfth century. This body of evidence concerning the development and currency of the Scottish origin-legend in Scotland is then used to shed some light on such issues as: the relationship that has long been recognised between the Scottish origin-legend and the Gaelic origin-legend which is found in medieval Irish manuscripts; medieval Scottish historiography; Gaelic identity in (the east of) Scotland; and the first centuries of the Scottish national identity.

ABBREVIATIONS

Where possible I have conformed to the List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560, SHR Supplement (1963).

Adomnan, <u>Columba</u> ,	<u>Adomnan's Life of Columba</u> , edd. A.O. and M.O. Anderson (1961)
Anderson, <u>KKES</u> ,	M.O. Anderson, <u>Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland</u> (2nd. edn., 1980)
<u>APS</u> i,	<u>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</u> , edd. T. Thomson and C. Innes, vol. i (1844)
AT,	Annals of Tigernach
AU,	Annals of Ulster
Bannerman, <u>Dalriada</u>	John Bannerman, <u>Studies in the His- tory of Dalriada</u> (1974)
Barrow, <u>Bruce</u> ,	G.W.S. Barrow, <u>Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland</u> (3rd. edn., 1988)
BB,	Book of Ballymote
<u>BBCS</u> ,	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</u>
BL,	British Library
<u>Cal.Docs.Scot.</u> i,	<u>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</u> , ed. J. Bain, vol. i (1881)
<u>CGH</u> ,	<u>Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae</u> , ed. M.A. O'Brien (1962: 1976)
<u>Chron. Bower</u> ,	Walter Bower, <u>Scotichronicon</u> , ed. Walter Goodall (1759)
<u>Chron. Fordun</u> ,	John of Fordun, <u>Chronica Gentis Scottorum</u> , ed. W.F. Skene, trans. Felix Skene (1871-2)
<u>Chron. Melrose</u> ,	<u>The Chronicle of Melrose</u> , facs. edn., edd. A.O. Anderson et al. (1936)

- Chron. Picts-Scots, Chronicles of the Picts: Chronicles of the Scots, ed. W.F. Skene (1867)
- Chron. Wyntoun, The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, ed. F.J. Amours (1903-14)
- CSPS, Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain
- Dunbar, Scot. Kings, A.H. Dunbar, Scottish Kings: a Revised Chronology of Scottish History 1005-1625, 2nd. edn. (1906)
- Duncan, Kingdom, A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom (1975)
- ES, Early Sources of Scottish History 500 to 1286, ed. A.O. Anderson (1922)
- GT, Genealogical Tracts, ed. T. Ó Raithbheartaigh (1932)
- HMSO, Her Majesty's Stationery Office
- Innes, Essay, T. Innes, A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland (1729: 1879)
- Jackson, Common Gaelic, K.H. Jackson, Common Gaelic: the Evolution of the Celtic Languages (1951)
- Jackson, Deer Notes, K.H. Jackson, The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer (1972)
- La, Kuno Meyer, 'The Land Genealogies and Tribal Histories', ZCP, viii (1911), 291-338, 418-9
- Lawrie, Charters, A.C. Lawrie (ed.), Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153 (1905)
- Lec, Book of Lecan
- LG, Lebor Gabála Éirenn, ed. R.A.S. Macalister (1938-56)
- LL, Book of Leinster

- NLS, National Library of Scotland
- O.Cl. 'The O'Clery Book of Genealogies', ed. S. Pender, Analecta Hibernica, xviii (1951)
- O'Rahilly, EIHM, T.F. O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology (1946)
- Palgrave, Docs.Hist.Scot. Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland, ed. F. Palgrave (1837)
- Polychronicon, Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon, ed. Churchill Babington, et al., vols. i and ii (RS, 1865, 1869)
- PRIA, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
- PSAS, Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
- R.502 Rawlinson B.502
- RIA, Royal Irish Academy
- RMS, Registrum Magni Sigillii Regum Scottorum, i, ed. J.M. Thomson (rev. ed., 1984)
- Robertson, Concilia, Concilia Scotiae, ed. J. Robertson (1866)
- RRS, Regesta Regum Scottorum, vols. i and ii, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (1960, 1971)
- RS, Rolls Series
- SAEC, Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers 500-1286, ed. A.O. Anderson (1908)
- St. Andrews Liber, Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree (Bannatyne Club, 1841)
- Scalacronica, Scalacronica, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight (Maitland Club, 1836)
- Scalacronica (Maxwell), Scalacronica, The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, trans. H. Maxwell (1907)

- Sen. Sil Ir, M.E. Dobbs, 'The History of the Descendants of Ir', ZCP, xiii (1921), 308-59; xiv (1923), 44-144
- SHR, Scottish Historical Review
- SHS, Scottish History Society
- STS, Scottish Texts Society
- Stones, Documents, E.L.G. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1774-1328: Some Selected Documents (1965)
- TGSI, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness
- Watt, Scottish Graduates, D.E.R. Watt, A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410 (1977)
- ZCP, Zeitschrift für celtisches Philologie

I declare that this is my own work and that no part of it has been published in the form in which it is now presented.

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PREFACE

The underlying concern of this thesis is to trace the origins and development of the 'political' identity denoted in English as 'Scotland' and the 'Scots', or in (Middle) Gaelic as Alba and Fir Alban, before the Wars of Independence; and, as a means of shedding light on this subject, the principal concern is with the history of what Scots during this period thought their origins to be. As will become clear, medieval Scottish explanations of Scottish origins basically represent differing versions of the same account, which is best described as the 'Scottish origin-legend'. As will also become clear, the Scottish origin-legend in outline tells the same story as the accounts of the origins of the Gáedhil found in medieval Irish manuscripts. This should not be a surprise, bearing in mind that the Latin Scoti originally translated Gáedhil ('Gaels'), and that the Scots were Gaels as much as the Irish. In discussing this origin-legend material, therefore, it is important to recognise that the 'Scottish origin-legend' and what should properly be called the 'Gaelic origin-legend' have the same basic content - that, for all the differing detail, we are essentially dealing with the same legend. Thus, the only difference that should be conveyed by preferring to

refer to this single origin-legend as either the 'Scottish origin-legend' or the 'Gaelic origin-legend' is one of emphasis: the former concerns the legend as an account of the origin of the Scots, while the latter concerns the legend as an account of the origin of the Gaels as a whole. To prevent confusion, I will always refer to any proposed 'Scottish version of the Gaelic origin-legend' in these (or similar) terms, and never as the 'Scottish origin-legend' (and likewise with regard to any proposed Irish version of the Gaelic origin-legend).

In recognition of the fact that the Scottish origin-legend is basically the same as the Gaelic origin-legend, I will adopt the Middle Gaelic spelling for proper nouns. The "Gathelus" (or suchlike) of Scottish historiography will thus be referred to as Gáedel, "Iber" as Éber, "Hermonius" as Éremón, "Micelius Espayne" as Mil Espáine, etc.; and I will refer to "Fergus I" son of "Ferechad"/"Ferchardus" as Fergus mac Ferchair, because Ferchar (as I hope to show) is the name of his father represented by the earliest traceable texts. I will always use double inverted-commas to represent quotations, whether of a spelling, a word, or a sentence; while single inverted-commas will always represent translation or some form of transliteration on my part (or someone else's). Given that the Scottish origin-legend is fundamentally the same as the Gaelic origin-legend, the study of the history of the Scottish

origin-legend must take into account that the Scots are part of a wider, Gaelic identity and culture embracing both the Irish and the Scots. It will be easier (as well as more accurate), therefore, to refer to those elements as 'Gaelic' which are not necessarily distinctively either Irish or Scottish (unless for the sake of emphasis). Thus, for instance, I will talk of 'Middle Gaelic', rather than 'Middle Irish', and 'Gaelic orthography' rather than 'Irish orthography'.

I have been very fortunate in that almost all the source-material which I have analysed is available either in print or in facsimile. My policy has been that where there is a facsimile or edition of a single manuscript, I have used this without actually going to the manuscript itself. However, where an edition of a text has been based on more than one manuscript, I have checked the edition against the important manuscripts in the manuscript-tradition of the text (except where there is a perfectly adequate modern edition, such as for the Senchus Fer nAlban). My main misfortune in this respect is that there is no modern edition of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum which would, indeed, be a vast undertaking. Professor Donald Watt, however, very kindly gave me access to the stemma of Fordun's manuscript-tradition which has been hypothesised as part of the process of editing Bower's Scotichronicon. with the benefit of this information, therefore, my practice has been to base myself on Skene's

edition of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which I have not been able to check myself, but which I have checked against BL Additional MS 37223 which is derived from the Wolfenbüttel MS and, like it, is dated to c.1450: I have also checked Skene's text against two manuscripts (BL Cotton. Vitellius e.11 and Edinburgh, Catholic Archives MM.2.1) which are distant from the Wolfenbüttel MS and also nearest to Fordun's original according to the stemma (although they are later in date, c.1475-97 and c.1480-c.1500 respectively: see R.J. Lyall, 'Fifteenth Century Scottish Manuscripts: A Revised Checklist', 1980). I have also had my eye on Thomas Hearne's edition of Trinity College, Cambridge MS Gale O.9.9. The result is that I have used Skene's text of the relevant origin-legend material almost untouched: there are very few instances where Skene's text and these manuscripts differ, and (not including chapter-headings) only by the addition, omission or replacement of a single word; and in no case does this significantly alter the meaning or offer with certainty a better reading. I have, however, altered the spelling of two names. I have given "Nembroth" (or "Nembrotht") instead of Skene's (and BL Add. MS 37223) "Nembricht", because this conforms to the readings in the BL Cotton. Vitellius and Edinburgh Catholic Archives MSS (and also Hearne's edition of the Trinity College, Cambridge, Gale MS),

and seems to be earlier (representing Nembroth). I have also given "Pertholonius" (representing Partholón) instead of "Pertholomus" because it is evidently earlier (and is attested in the Edinburgh Catholic Archives MS), with the "ni" easily becoming "m". I have also added the attribution of Chapter XVI of Book I to a 'legend of St. Brandán', which appears either marginally or in the chapter-heading in all the manuscripts I have seen, but not in Skene's Wolfenbüttel text. When quoting Fordun's genealogical material in Book I, Chapter XXVI, and Book V, Chapter L, I give Skene's readings (from the Wolfenbüttel MS) plus, in brackets, different readings which I have found from other manuscripts which are either probably better or which appear in at least two of the other manuscripts, and which are not manifestly more corrupt or otherwise of no apparent significance (such as the confusion between "c" and "t"). Very few manuscripts, however, give Fordun's (rather than Bower's) account of the royal genealogy in Gesta Annalia, Chapter XLVIII. Here I give Skene's readings with any significant variants from the Cotton. Vitellius MS in brackets.

As will become clear in my references, there are a number of detailed and trail-blazing studies which I consider myself fortunate to have been able to use, and without which this thesis would have been impossible.

I also consider myself particularly fortunate to have been able to work at a time of increasing activity and growing confidence in Scottish historiography. I can only hope that this thesis represents a sufficiently worthy addition to the studies on which it depends so much, and to the present growth of Scottish historiography in general.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

John of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum, completed before 1387, gives the fullest of the early surviving accounts of the Scottish origin-legend.¹ In outline, it tells how "Gaythelos" left Greece for Egypt, married Scota daughter of Pharaoh, left Egypt after Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea pursuing the Children of Israel, and arrived in Spain; how his sons "Hyber" and "Hymec" conquered Ireland; how the Scots remaining in Spain later conquered Ireland under the sons of "Micelius"; how, later still, "Smon Brek", a son of the king of the Scots yet remaining in Spain, conquered Ireland, taking with him the Stone of Scone; and how his descendant, Fergus son of "Fear^{re}chard"/"Ferchard" came over to Scotland with the Stone of Scone and became the first King of Scots in Scotland. This account of Scottish origins proved to be seminal, becoming a major element of Scottish historiography for many centuries. It would be interesting, therefore, to know what Fordun's sources were, and what previous accounts there were which articulated this or similar explanations of the

1. Edited by W.F. Skene, Chron. Fordun, i, 9-30 passim and 45f; trans. Felix J.H. Skene, Chron. Fordun, ii, 6-29, 41f.

origins of the Scots. How much of a history does this Scottish origin-legend have in Scotland before Fordun?

The current view is that this "myth was not fully formulated" until John of Fordun's work.² Certainly, to date the only traceable extant Scottish versions of this origin-legend before Fordun tend to be much briefer, as in the Declaration of Arbroath (1320)³ and the Scottish pleadings at the curia in 1301.⁴ Indeed, there are no readily identifiable Scottish references to the origin-legend before 1301. On the face of it, therefore, it has to date been difficult to say much about the development of the Scottish origin-legend before the fourteenth century, if indeed it existed at all: not unnaturally, recent comments vary considerably on this issue. The origin-legend has been described⁵ as "a new legend concocted to explain the ritual objects still in use" in the royal inaugurations of the thirteenth century, and as "remarkable

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2. Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut : Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Scotland and England 1286-1815, ed. Roger A. Mason (1987), 60-84, at 63. Modern descriptions of the legend are invariably paraphrases of Fordun's account: e.g. John and Winifred MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', in The History of Scottish Literature i, ed. R.D.S. Jack (1988), 227-44, at 232; and Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Kings (1967), 10.
 3. Sir James Fergusson, The Declaration of Arbroath (1970), 6.
 4. Chron. Picts-Scots, 241-2, 280.
 5. A.A.M. Duncan, The Declaration of Arbroath and the Scottish Nation (1970), 8.

flights of fancy which suggest that Scotland's most gifted composer of fiction was a nameless propagandist who lived at some unknown date in the Middle Ages".⁶ Alternatively, the Scottish propagandists of the Wars of Independence "rediscovered" the legend;⁷ or the legend is "an expression of 'native' traditions" "dating from well before the thirteenth century".⁸ There is little agreement, then, on whether the history of the origin-legend has its roots centuries before the Wars of Independence or was a new-fangled notion; and among those that think that the legend is linked to the past, there is little agreement on whether the link is a continuous tradition, or was interrupted, and how far this link goes back into the past.

This uncertainty on these issues is especially unfortunate because, as Susan Reynolds puts it,⁹ "The essential point about these origines gentium from the point of view of political ideas is that, at whatever date they were recounted, they concerned collectivities which formed significant social and political units at that time". Knowledge of the Scottish origin-legend has a direct bearing on what was understood by people in 'Scotland' to be a significant

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6. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Kings (1967), 10.
 7. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History (1980), 145-6.
 8. Bruce Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 (1975), 15.
 9. Susan Reynolds, Kingdoms and Communities in Northern Europe 900-1300 (1984), 258.

social and political unit and gives a detailed exposition of their perceptions of it. Or, as Bruce Webster puts it,¹⁰ "Such legends were a well-established expression of what we would now call Scottish national identity". The origin-legend, therefore, provides important evidence for the existence of such an identity which, through the legend's detail and development, can be fruitfully analysed.

Geoffrey Barrow,¹¹ and Norman Reid,¹² have ably demonstrated the importance of Scottish national identity, articulated in the phrase 'the community of the realm', as a central political idea by the later thirteenth century. As a statement of political identity, the origin-legend and its history could throw some light on the development and make-up of this Scottish identity. If, for instance, (as seems to be the current view)¹³ the legend was first adopted by the Scots in response to the English use of the Brutus legend to demonstrate that Scotland should be subject to the King of England, then this could suggest that Scottish nationality itself was founded as much on antipathy to English aggression as anything else, and perhaps therefore only emerged

10. Bruce Webster, op.cit., 15.

11. Barrow, Bruce, *passim*.

12. Norman Reid, The Political Role of the Monarchy in Scotland, 1244-1329 (University of Edinburgh, unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1985).

13. E.g., John and Winifred MacQueen, op.cit., 232; Roger A. Mason, op.cit., 63; G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History, 145.

in the late thirteenth century.¹⁴ Concomitantly, the longer the origin-legend has a continuous history before the Wars of Independence, the earlier one can suggest the emergence of Scottish nationality, and thereby the possibility of proposing different circumstances for its development, as well as perhaps some antecedents for the idea of the community of the realm itself.

The bulk of this thesis, then, will be an analysis of surviving accounts of the Scottish origin-legend, attempting to reconstruct their text-histories as far back as possible with a view to identifying recensions of origin-legend material that are now lost, and establishing their content, date and authorship, as far as is feasible. In the conclusion (Chapter 7), I will then attempt to apply this information to some aspects of Scottish political historiography and the development of Scottish political identity. In the process, I hope to be able to make some comment on the origins and development of Scottish nationality before the Wars of Independence.

The major chasm which I hope in part to fill is, of course, the existence of the Scottish origin-legend before 1301. Before embarking on my enquiry, therefore, I will discuss the work that has been done directly on this subject and on some possible aspects of it.

14. And see Norman Reid's view (*op.cit.*, 457) that "under Alexanders II and III, Scotland had started its development into a nation", and that (*op.cit.*, 462) "Robert I's unique achievement was to use and further that exaltation (of the kingship and the community of the realm), and weld the two elements together, to complete the formation of the nation".

Dominica Legge, in her edition of the Norman-French song on the Stone of Scone which she dates to c.1307,¹⁵ compared its version of the origin-legend with those in the Processus of the Scottish case at the curia (1301) and in the Vita Edwardi Secundi (1327).¹⁶ She argues¹⁷ that, because these three accounts of the legend, while independent of one another, have certain features in common, "a fairly extensive form of it was current in the thirteenth century". For this to be true, however, it is necessary to demonstrate that the version of the legend in the song and the Vita, which she recognises as being more closely related to each other than to the Processus, is not just a slightly developed version of the Processus account itself. However, she does not discuss this possibility.

Roger Mason,¹⁸ concurring with the view that the origin-legend can be traced to the thirteenth century, has suggested that it was concocted in response to English elaborations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the Brutus legend which made explicit their belief that the kingdom of the Scots was from the beginning subject ultimately to the English crown. He has not, however, demonstrated that there is any evidence for this English treatment of the Brutus legend that can be traced to before Edward I's reply to Pope Boniface VIII's

15. M. Dominica Legge, 'La Piere D'Escoce', SHR, xxxviii (1959), 109-13.

16. Chron. Picts-Scots, 280; Vita Edwardi Secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young (1957), 132.

17. M. Dominica Legge, op.cit., 111.

18. Roger A. Mason, op.cit., 63.

challenge to the English claims over Scotland in the bull Scimus fili. Indeed, E.L.G. Stones has pointed out¹⁹ that the Brutus legend was included in Edward I's reply only as an afterthought. This, plus the fact that the legend only came to light in this guise after the second countrywide search instigated by Edward for historical material relating to Scotland's status,²⁰ clearly suggests that the Brutus legend had not been thought of or used by the English government or indeed by anyone in English centres of learning as an example of English superiority over Scotland. If, therefore, the Scottish origin-legend was manufactured as a response to the English use of the Brutus legend, then it would seem that its appearance in the Scottish pleadings at the curia against Edward I's reply to Scimus fili must represent its original form.

In fact, the content of the legend makes it doubtful whether it was indeed originally designed as a "counter-mythology" to the Brutus legend. The English use of

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19. E.L.G. Stones, 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations between 1291 and 1401', Part I, Archives, ix (1969), 11-21, at 20; also E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296 (1978), i, 155 n.7.
20. E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, op.cit., 154-5. The Brutus legend had been used by a few English historians following Geoffrey of Monmouth: see T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (1950), 14, n.2; Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.500-c.1307 (1974), 422, 432-3. The Brutus legend was no doubt seen as a legend concerning the Britons (see T.D. Kendrick, op.cit., 12). As I will argue below, the Brutus legend itself seems to have been comfortable enough on its own for the Scottish proctors, once the new-fangled English slant was ignored.

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the Brutus legend, based on current ideas on inheritance, rested on the fact that Brutus was the first to take possession of Britain, and that Scotland was granted by Brutus to a younger son while his first-born son received England. These key elements were passed over by the Scottish proctors at the curia, who did not challenge them in detail but, rather, by taking a wholly different line of argument. If the origin-legend had been freshly concocted to counter the Brutus legend, they would no doubt have insisted on claiming that Scota reached Scotland before Brutus, or more ingeniously that Brutus only ever possessed England in the first place. In fact, such a detailed challenge to the Brutus legend had to wait until Fordun, more than sixty propaganda-packed years later. There is nothing to suggest that the Scottish proctors in 1301 (or any Scots before 1301),²¹ saw the Brutus legend itself, apart from the English treatment of it at the curia, as an "incubus". I would argue, therefore, that the account of Scottish origins given by the Scottish proctors looks less like a fresh creation designed to refute the Brutus legend and rather more like a version of a Scottish origin-legend which they already knew.

In fact, the existence of a Scottish text of the legend before 1301 has indeed been postulated. Bruce Webster has discussed²² the version of the legend in the "brief

21. See Chapter 7 below, at pp. 395-6.

22. Bruce Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603, 17.

Scottish chronicle", which he says (following Skene²³) was inserted by Sir Thomas Gray into his Scalacronica,²⁴ and argues that this Scottish chronicle seems from references to the death of Alexander III and to John Balliol probably to belong to the end of the thirteenth century (i.e. 1292 at the earliest). He describes the legend as "already well established in Celtic sources", but does not discuss this or any other possible antecedants beyond noticing traces of ~~it~~^t in genealogies dating from "well before the thirteenth century", and in the tract De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum.²⁵

De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum is the second item in a compilation of Scottish historical material put together during the reign of William I (1165-1214) and surviving only in the fourteenth-century "Poppleton Manuscript".²⁶ It is simply a collage of passages on Scythia copied from Isidore of Seville's Etymologiarum, Books IX and XIX, and was perhaps put together by the compiler of this collection of Scottish historical material himself. A few words and the odd sentence are interpolated into this Isidorian material. It is difficult to tell whether their author is the compiler or whether they existed already in the manuscript of Etymologiarum from which this collage copied its

23. Chron. Picts-Scots, lviii-lix.
 24. Scalacronica, 112-8; Chron. Picts-Scots, 194-208.
 25. Bruce Webster, op. cit., 15 and n.1.
 26. Edited by M.O. Anderson in KKES, 240-60 (De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum is at 243-5): she discusses the MS and its contents at 235-40.

material (or whether, indeed, they were part of a pre-existing text of the collage which the compiler merely copied dutifully). One of those interpolated sentences refers to the origin of the Scots from Scota daughter of Pharaoh 'who was, it is said, queen of Scotland'. The significance of this sentence is that it is the earliest readily identifiable reference to the Scottish origin-legend by someone writing in Scotland - it therefore merits some discussion.

In fact, E.J. Cowan has argued²⁷ that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum "cannot be dated much later than 877", and that it is the earliest reference anywhere to Scota. Indeed, he suggests²⁸ that "there would seem to be a strong possibility that (a passage from) the Lebor Gabála derived its information from the Pictish Chronicle" i.e. De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum. The Lebor Gabála Érenn is of course the principal Irish source of the Scota legend. He goes on to support this by arguing²⁹ that the Scota myth is not likely to have originated in Ireland where "patrilinear or agnatic instincts were better satisfied with male eponyms". He asks, "might it not be possible that the Scota story was concocted with Pictish susceptibilities in mind?" (referring to the Pictish system of matrilinear succession).

27. E.J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', SHR, lxxiii (1984), 111-35, at 122.

28. Ibid., 121-2.

29. Ibid., 123.

Unfortunately there are serious objections to all these points in this daring argument, with its tantalising offer of a major advance in the understanding of the history of the Scottish origin-legend.

E.J. Cowan's belief that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum dates from not much later than 877 appears to be the result of a misunderstanding of the passage which he refers to for support in Marjorie Anderson's discussion of the history of the Pictish king-lists, where she notices³⁰ that "a substantial section of pseudo-history" was attached to the beginning of 'king-list P' "not much later than 877". De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum is indeed followed in the Poppleton MS by a recension of king-list P; but it is clear that when Marjorie Anderson talks of a pseudo-historical section added to king-list P she is in fact referring to the first part of the lists of the P group, from Cruithne to Gede (which mentions the seven sons of Cruithne and the '30 Brudes'). She demonstrates³¹ that this has been added to the 'original' Pictish king-list because not only does it not appear in the other group of Pictish king-lists (the 'Q' group) but, more significantly, because it adopts a Gaelic orthography which contrasts with the older 'Pictish' orthography³² of the rest of list P (from Gede onwards). In fact, Marjorie Anderson could hardly have recommended that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum was part of list P,

30. Anderson, KKES, 101-2.

31. Ibid., 79, 84.

32. Ibid., 101-2. See also K.H. Jackson, 'The Pictish Language', in The Problem of the Picts ed. F.T. Wainwright (1955), 129-60, at 144f.

because in the other two recensions of list P apart from the one in the Poppleton MS³³ there is no trace of it. Indeed, it is unique to the Poppleton MS. Given the compilatory nature of the collection of Scottish material in the Poppleton MS, presumably De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum was not associated with a recension of king-list P until the collection of Scottish material in the Poppleton MS was put together. Furthermore, Marjorie Anderson tentatively arrived at the year 877 on the strength of internal evidence in the other recensions of list P apart from that in the Poppleton MS.³⁴ Clearly, therefore, such evidence cannot be used to date De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum.

The only evidence to suggest that the association of De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum with the recension of king-list P in the Poppleton MS is any older than the compilation of materials on Scottish history surviving in the Poppleton MS is the oddity of the title itself: the contents, as they stand, give more prominence to Scots than Picts. This, however, is a result of material interpolated into the extracts from Isidore. Perhaps De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum originally existed as an almost uninterpolated collage of extracts

33. They appear either in some MSS of the Lebor Bretnach or in the miscellany in Bodleian MS Laud 610: see Anderson, KKES, 77-8; list B (from Laud 610) is edited at 261-3, with the variants noted from the other lists (from the Lebor Bretnach).

34. Anderson, KKES, 78-9.

on Scythia from Isidore's Etymologiarum, made by someone who thought that Picts were originally Scythians; and the interpolations were afterwards written by someone interested in Scottish pseudo-history - perhaps the compiler himself of the Poppleton MS collection of Scottish historical materials.

The passage in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum referring to Scota is an interpolation into the Isidorian material, and there have been some quite precise comments made about its dating. Marjorie Anderson, in her edition of De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum, notices³⁵ that a passage on the Britons arriving in Britain in the Third Age and the 'Scythians i.e. the Scots', arriving in Ireland in the Fourth Age has been lifted from the Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV. Immediately before this comes the reference to Scota, which Marjorie Anderson claims is also derived from the Historia Brittonum Chapter XV (though not word for word), suggesting³⁶ that the Cambridge (or 'Nennian') version of the Historia Brittonum was used.

All extant Latin manuscripts of the 'Nennian' recension are derived from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 139 (hereafter CCCC MS 139), from the Cistercian Abbey of Sawley, Yorkshire.³⁷ CCCC MS 139

35. Ibid., 243-4.

36. Most easily seen in Lebor Bretnach, ed. A.G. van Hamel, 25.

37. See D.N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', BBCS, xxv (1972-4), 369-80.

is a collation of the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum with a vulgate text, made from 1164 at Sawley.³⁸ David Dumville has demonstrated³⁹ that in 1166 material from this collated version was in turn received into the text of the 'Gildasian' recension of the Historia Brittonum in Durham Cathedral Library MS B.2.35. If the reference to Scota in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum originates from the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum and comes from Sawley, then this means that it can be dated to sometime after 1164x6. David Dumville, however, in his discussion of the Scota passage in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum, notices⁴⁰ that part of the sentence from the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum from which De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum could ultimately have derived its reference to Scota has been erased. This is clear because the complete sentence is found in the text of the Historia Brittonum in Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.27, which David Dumville has shown⁴¹ to be a fair copy of the much annotated CCCC MS 139 made at Sawley between 1202 and c.1225. From this David Dumville concludes⁴² that the reference to Scota

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 372-3.

40. In Molly Miller, 'Matriliney by Treaty: the Pictish Foundation-legend', in Ireland in Medieval Europe ed. D. Whitelock et al. (1982), 133-61, at 138.

41. D.N. Dumville, op. cit.

42. As n.38 above.

in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum has been derived ultimately either from CCCC MS 139 before part of the sentence on Scota was erased, or from Camb. Univ. Libr. MS Ff.1.27 in or after 1202. The compilation of Scottish historical material in the Poppleton MS appears to have been composed during the reign of William I (1165-1214).⁴³ Molly Miller,⁴⁴ thus, prefers to date the reference to Scota in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum to sometime between 1202 and 1214; and, indeed, uses this to date the original composition of the Poppleton compilation. It has been suggested by Marjorie Anderson,⁴⁵ however, that the first part of the Poppleton compilation, De Situ Albanie, was written by the compiler as an introduction to his collection (or to an intended history of Scotland). De Situ Albanie appears to have been written before 1184, suggesting, therefore, that the Poppleton compilation was put together between 1165 and 1184:⁴⁶ these dates would serve equally well for the reference to Scota in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum.

It is as well, however, to note that it is only through these Sawley manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum that the Latin version of the 'Nennian' recension has survived. One should therefore, perhaps, guard against becoming mesmerised by the Sawley

43. It has a king-list which concludes with William, and a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots headed by William (Anderson, KKES, 256).

44. Molly Miller, op.cit., 139.

45. Anderson, KKES, 236.

46. De Situ Albanie refers to Andrew bishop of Caithness as if he were still alive: he died in 1184: see KKES, 140; and M.O. Anderson, 'Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', SHR, xxviii (1949), 31-42, at 34.

connection, neglecting the possibility of alternative places of origin for the Poppleton compiler's material from the 'Nennian' recension. This is more than just a formal possibility. The Lebor Bretnach, whose earliest extant MS dates from 1050x75,⁴⁷ is a translation into Middle Gaelic of a text of the Historia Brittonum akin to CCC MS 139⁴⁸ - including the sentence referring to Scota.⁴⁹ As David Dumville points out,⁵⁰ this suggests that the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum was in existence before 1050x75. David Dumville argues⁵¹ that the 'Nennian' recension was written around the middle of the eleventh century in Wales. Perhaps, therefore, the reference to Scota in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum is derived from a text of the 'Nennian' recension that came to Scotland without going through Sawley, and could thus be as early as the mid-eleventh century.

It should be said, furthermore, that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum's reference to Scota cannot safely be regarded as proof of its use of the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum. Only the phrases "Scotta filia Pharaonis" and "ut fertur" are common to both with ut fertur actually referring to something different. This is not compelling. The only other

47. See D.N. Dumville, 'The Textual History of the Lebor Bretnach: a Preliminary Study', Éigse xvi (1975-6), 255-73; and D.N. Dumville, '"Scéla Láí Brátha" and the collation of Leabhar na hUidhre', Éigse xvi (1975-6), 24-8, and Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The reviser of Leabhar na hUidhre', Éigse xv (1973-4), 277-88, esp. 287.

48. D.N. Dumville, '"Nennius" and the Historia Brittonum', Studia Celtica x-xi (1975-6), 78-95, at 88-9.

49. Lebor Bretnach, ed. A.G. van Hamel, 25.

50. D.N. Dumville, op.cit., 88-9.

51. Ibid., 94.

suggested indicator of its use of the 'Nennian' recension is the concurrence in saying that Scoti and Sciti are the same;⁵² but this was sufficiently well known to be arrived at independently, I would suggest. I feel, therefore, that there has to be at least a formal possibility either that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum has derived its Historia Brittonum material from a text of a recension other than the 'Nennian' which has, independently, had the reference to Scota interpolated into it; or that De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum's reference to Scota was not derived from a text of the Historia Brittonum at all, and could have been added by the compiler himself from his own general knowledge.

E.J. Cowan's proposal⁵³ that the Lebor Gabála derived information from De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum concerning Scota requires the rejection of the link with Sawley. The particular passage⁵⁴ in the Lebor Gabála which he uses in his attempt to demonstrate the affinity between it and De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum is from a section usually referred to as the Míniugud ('Explanation'); and it is dated to the eleventh century.⁵⁵ It has to be said, however, that the Scota passage in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum and the passage he cites in the Míniugud are not, in fact, similar in a way that suggests that one has been

52. Molly Miller, *op.cit.*, 138.

53. E.J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *SHR*, lxxiii (1984), 111-35.

54. *LG* i, 164.

55. E.g., in Rolf Baumgarten, 'A Hiberno-Isidorian Etymology', *Peritia* ii (1983), 225-8.

derived from the other. The 'common material' can be divided into two parts. The first part in each text is a slightly altered copy of a sentence from Isidore's Etymologiarum IX, 2 § 103. None of the alterations to the original Isidore in each text are the same. The Míniugud's interpolation of "aut idem et Picti" after Isidore's "Scoti" is reminiscent of De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum's substitution of "Picti" for Isidore's "Scoti": but, given that the sentence is describing how the Scots are so-called from their painted body, it is more than likely that the Míniugud's "aut idem et Picti" was arrived at independently.⁵⁶ The other part of the 'common material' in the Míniugud tells how the Scots are from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt, who was the wife of Nél: in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum it tells how the Scots are from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt, and 'queen of Scotland'; and that, alternatively, they are from Scythia. There is no remarkable verbal similarity between the two sentences and the only information they share is that the Scots are from Scota daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt. This is not impressive, and does not compel you to believe that one derived its information from the other.

56. Isidore says, "Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore...": Rolf Baumgarten, op.cit., describes the addition of "idem et Picti" as "almost predictable", and refers to Etymologiarum XIX, 23, § 7.

E.J. Cowan's argument, therefore, for the importance of the Scota passage in De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum for the history of the Scottish origin-legend is unconvincing. The passage is, in fact, quite unimportant. Its context is wholly 'academic', being copied (probably) from a manuscript of the Historia Brittonum and inserted into a collage of extracts from Isidore of Seville's Etymologiarum (or maybe into a manuscript of the Etymologiarum). There is nothing, then, to indicate that it reflects any government-espoused or widely-held belief on the origins of the Scots. Within the 'academic' world itself it seems on the face of it to have been unimportant. It belongs to a tract (De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum) which has left no trace independently of the obscure collection of Scottish historical materials in which it is found. The collection appears to have been used as a source only by Ranulph Higden and to have been copied (later) only by Roger of Poppleton, both in the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Molly Miller, in her discussion of the compilation,⁵⁸ notices that there are no surviving or recorded copies of six out of its seven items, and suggests that "the accretion was at one centre only, and was not widely circulated, or even widely read, as it would have been if it was a product of, for example, St. Andrews".

Only E.J. Cowan's qualms about the compatibility of attributing the Scots myth to the Gaels with their

57. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 3f and 12f.
 58. Molly Miller, op.cit., 142.

"patrilinear or agnatic instincts" remain for consideration. I feel, however, that such qualms are unfounded. As Cowan notices,⁵⁹ the rôle of eponym of the Scots in the Gaelic origin-legend is shared also by Gáedel Glas, Éber Scot and their ancestor Rifath Scot, as well as Fóenius Farsaid (corresponding to Féni). Significantly, however, Scota is rarely treated grudgingly in Gaelic sources,⁶⁰ as if she were indeed a foreign element to their origin-legend and their instincts. She is consistently represented as the wife of the leading character in the early, Biblical, part of the legend (usually Mil Espáine or Nél mac Fóeniusa Farsaid), and is thus either the mother of the Sons of Mil (the first Gaels to take Ireland and from whom all Gaels traced their descent) or is the mother of Gáedel Glas, "father of the Gaels".⁶¹ Indeed, she looks rather like an example of the female kingship-figure well attested in Gaelic literature and tradition, and often portrayed in association with the founder of a royal dynasty.⁶²

59. E.J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', SHR, lxiii (1984), 111-35, at 123.

60. Ibid., 123.

61. LG i, 196.

62. See especially Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The Theme of King and Goddess in Old Irish Literature', Études Celtiques, vii (1955-6), 76-114, 356-413; viii (1958-9), 59-65: also Tomás O Máille, 'Medb Chruachna', ZCP, xvii (1928), 129-46, T.F. O'Rahilly, 'On the Origins of the Names Érainn and Ériu', Ériu, xiv (1946), 7-28 and D.A. Binchy, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship (1970), esp. 11-2. For examples of eponymous or apical figures of kingships or dynasties being portrayed 'marrying' a sovereignty-figure, see e.g. Niall Noí Giallach in Echtra Mac nEchach Muigmedóin and Conn Cétchathach in Baile in Scáil: Myles Dillon, Cycles of the Kings (1946), 38-41 and 12-4.

The female kingship-figure symbolises both a kingdom and its rulership. In the Gaelic origin-legend, Scota does both, giving her name to Scotia and to the Scoti (i.e. "Gaeldom" and the "Gaels"), and representing the rulership of Ireland: the origin-legend has her marry her son Éremón mac Miled who in the legend's partition of Ireland between himself and his brother Éber, is sometimes represented as receiving Leth Cuinn (i.e. the northern half) "cum monarchia"⁶³ (meaning the kingship of Ireland). There is no necessity, therefore, to see any of the references to Scota in the Gaelic origin-legend as foreign to Gaelic tradition, and no reason, therefore, to suppose that there is anything Pictish about her at all.

At the end of the day, then, I have to reject all the points which E.J. Cowan makes in support of the proposal of a Scottish authorship for the Scota myth in the ninth century. Does this, then, leave us with only one mid twelfth-century scholar's reference to Scota as evidence for the Scottish origin-legend in Scotland before the Wars of Independence?

Such an unpromising outlook is surely only the immediate view from a non-Gaelic vantage point. Of course it has long been recognised⁶⁴ that the explanation

63. LG v, 32, 58, 74: CGH, 123 (R 502, 136b35-9); O'Rahilly, EIHM, 197 n.2.

64. Chron. Fordun ii, 381 (and f.).

of the origin of the Gaels found in medieval Irish texts not only shares Scota with Fordun's Scottish origin-legend, but is in outline the same legend. Thus, this Gaelic origin-legend - as established in Ireland in the Lebor Gabála texts from the twelfth century (at the latest)⁶⁵ - also mentions Gáedel Glas and his father Nél, Mil Espáine and his sons Éremón and Éber,⁶⁶ and also brings the Scoti through Egypt eventually to Brigancia in Spain, and thence to Ireland.⁶⁷ To date this similarity has been explained⁶⁸ by referring to Fordun's alleged quest for material in Ireland, supposing therefore that he has constructed his account of Scottish origins from what he learnt from the Irish scholars he met. The evidence for this, however, has yet to be examined critically. Furthermore, does this mean that the briefer pre-Fordun Scottish accounts of Scottish origins, including the fairly detailed account in the Scalacronica, all of which are clearly of the same stock as the Gaelic origin-legend of the Lebor Gabála, were also derived from Ireland? If not, then we should take seriously the possibility that the Gaelic origin-legend (no doubt with an additional section describing the colonisation of Scotland from Ireland) was known in Scotland from the

65. LG ii, 8-125 v, 11-135. On its text-history, see now R. Mark Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhala - Part I: the growth of the text', Ériu, xxxviii (1987), 81-142.

66. In Fordun, "Gaythelos", "Neolus", "Micelius Espayne", "Hermonius", "Hibertus".

67. Scottish accounts talk more often of a Greek origin, Irish accounts of a Scythian origin: perhaps there was not a clear distinction, however (see, e.g. LG i, 152: 'the Gáedil called Greeks of Scythia').

68. John and Winifred MacQueen, 'Latin Prose Literature', in The History of Scottish Literature i, ed. R.D.S. Jack (1988), 227-44, at 233.

period when it first took shape, long before the Wars of Independence; and that it was from this Scottish tradition of the Gaelic origin-legend that the early surviving accounts of Scottish origins - even including Fordun's - were drawn.

Certainly, it is only common sense that the Gaelic origin-legend was known and identified with by the Gaels in Scotland. Gaelic Scotland and Ireland both identified themselves as Gáedil (and still do), and formed a single cultural province with the same literate Gaelic language⁶⁹ and the same 'learned orders', both secular and ecclesiastical, who were in regular contact across the North Channel.⁷⁰ It is no surprise, therefore, to find texts of the Gaelic origin-legend which account for the Gaels in Scotland as an extension of the Gaels in Ireland, as in the Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV, and in the Life of St. Cadroe of Metz (late tenth century).⁷¹ These may not be Scottish, but texts along similar lines are likely to have been written and read in Scotland. Certainly, Bede's account of Reuda leading (some) Scoti from Ireland to Argyll was known by the Dál Riata.⁷²

It has long been recognised⁷³ that the Gaelic

69. See Jackson, Deer Notes, 125ff.; and Jackson, Common Gaelic.

70. Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', Scottish Studies xii (1968), 57-78.

71. The 'Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae' of John Colgan facs. (1948), 494-501, at 495; Chron. Picts-Scots, 108-9. The most recent discussion of its date and authorship is in A. Boyle, 'St. Cadroe in Scotland', Innes Review xxxi (1980), 3-6.

72. See Bannerman, Dalriada, 123.

73. E.g. Eoin Mac Neill, Phases of Irish History (1919), 93.

origin-legend is a product of early christian Gaelic scholarship. Thus, Scota is the female form of Latin Scotus, 'Gael'; Mil Espáine is a Gaelicisation of Latin miles Hispanie, 'soldier of Spain'; and the Spanish stage is no doubt inspired by the similarity between the names Hibernia and Iberia: other details have been shown to be based on early christian authors, for instance, Orosius,⁷⁴ from whom the notion of Ireland being first spotted from Brigancia, and the arrival of the sons of Mil at Inber Scéine, have been derived. Furthermore, it has been pointed out⁷⁵ that the legend parallels the biblical exodus of the Children of Israel to the Promised Land. Evidently, the motive behind this very scholarly construction was to provide the Gaels with a suitable place within the recently espoused christian cosmology. That the Gaelic origin-legend was indeed an early product of Gaelic christian scholarship is suggested by the appearance of different versions of some of its material in two archaic Leinster poems which have been dated by Donnchadh Ó Corráin⁷⁶ to the latter half of the seventh century. As he points out,⁷⁷ the fact that these poems give different versions suggests that they "represent variants of a broad historical construct in the making in the

74. Ibid.

75. LG i, xxvii.

76. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin-legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies' in History and Heroic Tale: a symposium, edd. Tore Nyberg et al. (1985), 51-96, at 67.

77. Ibid., 64.

schools" with a number of scholars engaged in the fabrication. By this time, he concludes,⁷⁸ "the main outline of the origin-legend (or variants of it) had come into existence". No doubt, therefore, the Gaelic origin-legend was known by the Scottish Dál Riata in the seventh century and thus became well established among the Gaelic literati in Scotland from then on.

After the seventh century a number of Irish recensions and references to the Gaelic origin-legend can be identified - for instance, in the poems Can mbunadas na nGáedil by Máel Muru of Othain (ob. 887),⁷⁹ and in Bruge na Bóinde, attributed to Cináed Ó hArtacáin (ob. 975),⁸⁰ and thus to the many redactions of the Lebor Gabála itself. Taking all the surviving accounts into consideration it is apparent that with the passage of time the legend became increasingly elaborate (e.g. the numeration of the sons of Mil⁸¹ and the itinerary of the exodus), and, at the same time, that more variants were spawned. This process was continued when scholarly attempts were made to synthesise different versions of the legend. Thus, the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála⁸²

78. Ibid.

79. Leabhar Bretnach: the Irish Nennius, ed. and trans. J.H. Todd (1848), 220-70.

80. Edward Gwynn, The Metrical Dinshenchas ii (1906), 10-16, at 10 (1.13).

81. See O'Rahilly, EIHM, 195f.

82. See Appendix III of chapter 7.

has interposed Mil on to the first redaction's account, so that Mil replaces Agnomain as the murderer of Refloir, for which deed (like Agnomain) he gets expelled from Scythia. Not only does Mil then make the journey to Spain which the first redaction represents as taking many generations to accomplish, but he also finds time to sojourn in Egypt and marry another Scota daughter of Pharaoh. This 'Mil version', therefore, looks as if it was originally a distinct recension of the legend in itself which represented the rôles of Nél, Gáedel Glas, Sru and Agnomain in the first redaction as that of one character, Mil; and that the second redactor has synthesised this with the version in the first redaction. This, as R.A.S. Macalister has argued,⁸³ is surely the explanation for the second redaction's repetition of detail - as in the second journey to Egypt, and in having two Scotas daughters of Pharaoh (using the device of two Pharaohs with different surnames).

We have already supposed that the Gaelic origin-legend was well known in Gaelic centres of learning in Scotland, and we can imagine that the legend was the subject of continuous scholarly interest resulting in versions that could be quite different from surviving Irish versions. The study of the Scottish origin-legend should, therefore, make some contribution to the history of the Gaelic origin-legend itself. To

83. LG ii, 2-3.

date we have sufficient understanding of the Scottish origin-legend to tell us that it is, in the main, a version of the Gaelic origin-legend: it could thus have a continuous history in Gaelic Scotland back to the seventh century. It need hardly be said that, like any 'sub-group' of Gaeldom, there was no doubt additionally a specifically 'Scottish' origin-legend describing the origins of the Gaels in Scotland. The possibility of this continuous history for the Scottish origin-legend of the fourteenth century back to the beginnings of christian Gaelic identity is enough on its own to inspire a detailed investigation of the legend before Fordun's celebrated account, offering as it does a possible new dimension to the relationship between the political identity in the non Gaelic east of Scotland of the fourteenth century and that of the Gaelic kingdom of Alba.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NAMELESS SOURCES OF FORDUN'S ACCOUNT OF
SCOTTISH ORIGINS

On the face of it, therefore, it is probable that the Gaelic origin-legend was known and identified with by the Gael in Scotland; and that there is some relationship between it and the Scottish origin-legend of the fourteenth century. More material, however, is needed with which to explore the history of the Scottish origin-legend, and in particular the nature of this relationship. An obvious step is to analyse the extant accounts of the Scottish origin-legend in the hope of uncovering lost source material which they used. Because of its historiographical importance and the length and detail of its account, John of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum is an obvious starting-point for such an analysis.

The faithfulness of extant accounts of the origin-legend to their sources is an important issue in the attempt at recovering the lost origin-legend material which they used. Medieval chroniclers did not set a premium on originality, so that (fortunately from our point of view) they were frequently willing to reproduce their source material, often to the point of plagiarism. While they can not be relied upon to repeat their material verbatim, nevertheless they can be used to identify sources and, with a degree of caution, to suggest their contents. Fortunately there has been

some recent scrutiny of Fordun's 'reliability' in this respect, particularly by W.W. Scott,¹ which has naturally focused on his historical material. Having studied Fordun's description of the inauguration of Alexander II in 1214² and his description of the Western Isles,³ and noticing also Fordun's detailed accuracy with regard to the Treaty of Norham (1209),⁴ Robert I's movements between 1307 and 1308,⁵ and the knighting of Sir John Stewart at David II's coronation (1331),⁶ he remarks⁷ that there is a "growing impression of Fordun as a careful compiler drawing upon material not otherwise known to have been preserved, and, for that reason, worthy of more consideration and critical examination", and he talks⁸

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1. W.W. Scott, 'Fordun's Description of the Western Isles', Scottish Studies, xxiii (1979), 1-13; and 'Fordun's Description of the Inauguration of Alexander II', SHR, 1 (1971), 198-200.
 2. Gesta Annalia, XXIX; Chron. Fordun i, 280; ii, 275-6.
 3. Book II, Chapter X; Chron. Fordun i, 43-4; ii, 39-40.
 4. Gesta Annalia, XXV; Chron. Fordun i, 276-7; ii, 272-3; see RRS ii, 446.
 5. Gesta Annalia, CXXI, CXXII, CXXIV; Chron. Fordun i, 342-5, ii, 335-7; see Patricia M. Barnes and G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Movements of Robert Bruce between September 1307 and May 1308', SHR, xlix (1970), 46-59.
 6. Gesta Annalia, CXLV; Chron. Fordun i, 354; ii, 346; see R. Nicholson, Edward III and the Scots (1965), 61 n.3.
 7. W.W. Scott, 'Fordun's Description of the Inauguration of Alexander II', SHR, 1 (1971), 198-200, at 200.
 8. W.W. Scott, 'Fordun's Description of the Western Isles', Scottish Studies, xxiii (1979), 1-13, at 9.

of Fordun's "usual practice of copying them (his sources) faithfully". Earlier, Dominica Legge, in her study of the inauguration of Alexander III,⁹ was so impressed by Fordun that she declared¹⁰ that he "stands out as a really great historian". The only recent voice of dissent has been Marjorie Anderson, who has stated¹¹ that Fordun's "efforts to inflate his materials to what he considered a proper size, and to make sense of them when they are irreconcilable, suggests that ... he lacked both critical judgement and a real desire to learn the facts of the past". But this verdict is based only on Fordun's attempt to give an account of Dark Age Scottish history, where his material was very thin on the ground; and we can not judge him according to modern standards of research. Where he did have a reasonable range of sources, he seems to have treated them with respect; as Bruce Webster has remarked,¹² when they contradicted each other "he had at least the integrity to quote his authority and admit defeat".

Only W.W. Scott, however, has produced an analysis of Fordun's treatment of his sources. He points out that, while Fordun does reproduce some passages verbatim (as, for instance, in his description of the inauguration

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9. Dominica Legge, 'The Inauguration of Alexander III', *PSAS*, lxxx (1945-6), 73-82.
 10. *Ibid.*, 82.
 11. M.O. Anderson, *KKES*, 215.
 12. Bruce Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 (1975), 45.

of Malcolm IV from John of Hexham's account)¹³ he is not beyond interfering with his material. When he does this, however, it is usually motivated by patriotism, and often only involves adding the odd significant word. Thus, W.W. Scott has shown¹⁴ how Fordun has touched up his source (the Chronicle of Melrose) for his account of relations between Alexander II and Henry III of England, by adding that the negotiations of 1237 were 'difficult'; that Alexander returned home 'prosperously'; that when the kings met in 1244 Henry III arrived at Newcastle with a 'large' army 'to wage war', and that, again, Alexander returned 'prosperously'. W.W. Scott has also noted¹⁵ similar patriotic interference by Fordun in his text of the Quit-claim of Canterbury. It should be added that, of all the nationalist historians of medieval Scotland, Fordun allows his patriotic feelings to influence his work least.¹⁶ Other types of interference are more

13. Gesta Annalia, I; Chron. Fordun i, 254; ii, 249: Symeonis Historia Regum continuata per Joannem Hagulstadensem ii, 331.

14. W.W. Scott, 'Fordun's Description of the Western Isles', Scottish Studies, xxiii (1979), 1-13, at 8.

15. Ibid.

16. See Bruce Webster, op.cit., 45-51; and F. Brie, Die Nationale Literatur Schottlands von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance (Halle, 1937). Thus, for instance, Bower, without any authority to back him up, happily rewrote Fordun's description of Alexander III's inauguration in order to give the King of Scots the dignity of coronation and anointment which were absent from Fordun's account: see W.F. Skene, 'The Coronation Stone', PSAS, viii (1868-9), 68-99, at 71-3.

straightforwardly editorial, and have been characterised by W.W. Scott¹⁷ as "Fordun the filleter" and "Fordun the blender". From our point of view the former is less worrying, insofar as those parts of his sources which Fordun treats in this way are usually reproduced faithfully: the latter, however, has to join patriotic bias as a possible manner in which he might not have accurately reproduced material from his origin-legend source-texts.

Turning to Fordun's account of Scottish origins itself (Appendix I), it seems, on the face of it, that it consists of passages quoted from a number of different sources, many of which are nameless, being attributed simply to 'a chronicle' or 'another chronicle'. It would appear, therefore, that these passages should at least be seen as Fordun's 'redactions'. as it were, of source-texts he has used: although they no doubt represent contents of the source-texts, it is probable that he has edited and paraphrased them, and perhaps added and rewritten bits. At the end of the day, whatever one might say about his treatment of other material, a judgement on how accurately he has represented the contents of his original-legend source material has to stand or fall by a consideration of his account of Scottish origins itself.

17. W.W. Scott, op.cit., 8-9.

Unfortunately, the only origin-legend passages that can be treated independently are those attributed to a 'legend of St. Brandán' and a 'history of St. Congal'. It is apparent from my discussion of these texts¹⁸ that, though we can not say that Fordun has quoted them verbatim, he has at least represented their contents fairly accurately. As far as the passages which Fordun attributes to 'a chronicle' or 'another chronicle' are concerned, his readiness to allow them to contradict each other and to repeat information needlessly indicates that their contents are also no doubt represented fairly by him. Thus, his account of Scottish origins opens, in Chapter VIII of Book I, with four passages attributed to four different sources (which I will refer to as VIII.1 to VIII.4), of which three are nameless, that altogether read more like a dispassionate compendium of differing accounts rather than a coherent and homogeneous piece of prose: he does not even help the reader to decide whether Gáedel went to Egypt to assist an ally, marrying Scota to seal the compact (VIII.2); was wayward and insolent and was thus driven out of Greece into exile in Egypt where his royal blood and courage earned him the hand of Scota (VIII.1; and with less detail, VIII.3); or whether he was expelled from Greece because of his attempt to usurp/tyrannise, and fled to

18. See Chapter III, below.

Egypt where he assisted Pharaoh in persecuting the Israelites and married Scota with an eye to succeeding to Pharaoh's kingdom (VIII.4). The reader therefore is left in confusion, wondering whether Gáedel was a friendly ally, a ruthless self-enhancer, or something in between. This propensity to quote passages which contradict or repeat information in other passages is noticeable throughout Fordun's account of Scottish origins, and suggests strongly that he has not bothered to "blend" his origin-legend material at all (especially as W.W. Scott points out¹⁹ how skilful a blender Fordun is when he puts his mind to it): neither, evidently, has he inflated his sources or tried to make sense of them when they are irreconcilable (to use Marjorie Anderson's words). Furthermore, it is remarkable that Fordun allows such ambivalence concerning the founding father of his nation, and gives, without comment, the thoroughly unflattering account of VIII.4. It is encouraging to note that he not only permits contradictions and repetitions, but also allows passages which one might have expected to offend his nationalist susceptibilities: indeed, on the face^e of it, he only seems to be spurred into action in this respect in order to refute the version of Partholón's invasion of Ireland which he takes (Chapter XXII) from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie,²⁰ - and, significantly, this is the only

19. W.W. Scott, op.cit., 9.

20. The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Neil Wright (1984), 31.

time in his account when the English could seem to have a claim over the Scots. It appears, therefore, that in his account of Scottish origins (certainly as far as the Scoti reaching Ireland) Fordun has not interfered with the material which he has taken from his origin-legend source-texts in the ways in which he is known to have interfered with other material. The general impression, indeed, is that he has not been particularly interested: certainly, he has not utilised all the material available to him, for there is no trace of the account of the Gaelic origin-legend which he must surely have come across in Higden's Polychronicon,²¹ which he certainly used.²² Such evident disinterest, indeed, raises the possibility that Fordun has not troubled to do much, if any, research on Scottish origins, but has been content to take his account of Scottish origins almost wholly from a source-text which had already put together all these contradictory and repetitive passages. This possibility will be discussed later. In conclusion, then, it seems fair to expect that each of these passages accurately represent contents of the source-text(s) from which Fordun has obtained them,-though it can not be said whether they represent these source-text(s) verbatim, or comprehensively.

21. Ranulf Higden, Polychronicon i, 340-4.

22. Fordun quotes from it in Book III, Chapter VIII; and Book IV, Chapter XXXVI. W.F. Skene suggests that Fordun used it as a model; Chron. Fordun i, xxxiv.

On this basis, therefore, I intend in this chapter to discuss the 'nameless' source-texts that lie behind Fordun's account of Scottish origins, all of which are lost: those which he names, but are no longer extant - the 'legend of St. Brandán', the 'story of St. Congal' and 'Grosseteste' - I will discuss in later chapters. I will deal initially with Fordun's account of the legend as far as the Scoti reaching Ireland (i.e. the Gaelic origin-legend).

The passages which he quotes from these lost nameless source-texts can be arranged according to the stages in the origin-legend which they describe: thus 'Gáedel to Egypt' is described in VIII.1, VIII.2 and VIII.4; 'In Egypt, and expulsion therefrom' is described in X.1, X.2, and XIII.1; 'Journey from Egypt' is described in XI.1, XI.2, and XI.3; 'Arrival in Spain' is described in XII.1, XII.2, and XIV.1; and the 'Taking of Ireland' is described in XVII.1, XXI.1, and XXI.2: this leaves XV.1 and XX.2, which relate to their sojourn in Spain; XVII.6, which is on the names "Hibernia" and 'Hiberian Sea'; XVII.7, which is on the name "Iberia"; XIX.4, on Gáedel giving Greek laws to his people; and XX.1, which appears to be a brief linking passage by Fordun himself using a text of the royal genealogy.²³ Each stage of the origin-legend is thus given three different versions, so that it appears that Fordun's account has been composed out of three different accounts:

23. On the use of a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots in Fordun's account of Scottish origins, see below, p. 51ff.

thus, these three account apparently (see below) described different people leading the Scoti from Spain to Ireland - one has Éber and "Hymec", another has the sons of Mil, and the last has Partholón. No doubt those passages which provide extra detail to the basic origin-legend belonged to one or other of these three accounts. To attempt to disentangle these three versions, it is necessary to go through each passage from these accounts of the legend systematically, using internal evidence to indicate which passages belong to which account. (All these passages are to be found in Appendix I).

Having already noticed the passages from these sources in Chapter VIII (VIII.1, VIII.2, and VIII.4), I will start with Chapter X:

X.1

The statement that Gáedel 'refused to pursue the inoffensive Hebrews' suggests that this passage does not belong to the same account as VIII.4 which is keen to present Gáedel as a persecutor of the Israelites.

X.2

There are two indications that this passage belongs to the same account as VIII.4. It and VIII.4 are the only passages to refer to Pharaoh usually as rex Pharao, and are the only passages which regard Gáedel as Pharaoh's heir apparent.

XI.1

'The expelled nobles of both nations' (Greek and Egyptian) must follow after X.I's description of Gáedel being driven out with all the nobles of the

Greeks and the Egyptians by the tax-oppressed villagers of Egypt. The reference to Gáedel's scelera that he had perpetrated in Greece suggests VIII.1's description of his disturbance of his father's kingdom horrenda crudelitate and multis cladibus. It certainly does not readily fit with VIII.2; and this passage can not be part of the same account as VIII.4 which does not match with X.1.

XI.2

Gáedel's companions in exile are here his wife and homines, which could follow X.2's description of the threat against 'him and his' if Gáedel does not immediately flee Egypt. In fact, X.2 and XI.2 appear to dove-tail together well as a continuous narrative: the first sentence of XI.2 smoothly follows on from the last sentence of X.2. The reference to Gáedel having veteres inimicitiae back home in Greece suggests that this passage does not belong to the same account as VIII.2, which leaves only VIII.4 (because VIII.1 goes with XI.1).

XI.3

If XI.1 goes with VIII.1, and XI.2 goes with VIII.4, then this passage should go with VIII.2. Certainly there is no internal evidence that suggests otherwise, and its opening sentence does not follow comfortably on from X.1 or X.2.

XII.1

This passage seems to portray Gáedel fleeing from Egypt by land, and would therefore follow on only from XI.2, and not from XI.1 and XI.3 which specify that Gáedel fled by sea.

XII.2

Like XI.3, the characteristic of this passage is its sparcity^s of specifics and abundance of words.

XIII.1

This is the third version of Gáedel's departure from Egypt taken from a nameless source. By a process of elimination this must be the passage explaining why Gáedel left Egypt which presumably existed in the account to which VIII.2 and XI.3 belong. Of the three versions of Gáedel's departure from Egypt this is the most sympathetic, and thus matches VIII.2 as the most sympathetic account of his departure from Greece. Because of its first sentence XIII.1 does not read well preceding any of the passages describing Gáedel's journey from Egypt, insofar as this would mean saying twice that Gáedel fled from Egypt. However, the first sentence, due to its position as the opening of a chapter and its phrases 'it is maintained elsewhere' and 'as said above', looks as if it was composed by Fordun in order to introduce a new idea (that Gáedel fled because of the plagues), linking it into the narrative. If this is so, reading XIII.1 between VIII.2 and XI.3 seems comfortable enough; and all three share a certain paucity of specific detail.

XIV.1

This is the third passage describing Gáedel's arrival in Spain. If XII.1 goes with XI.2, and probably XII.2 goes with XI.3, this passage should go with XI.1. There is some positive evidence for this conclusion in XV.1.

XV.1

This passage presupposes that the Scots are already in Brigancia; and the only passage from a nameless source which describes the Scots reaching (in fact, building) Brigancia is XIV.1. Presumably, therefore, this passage is a continuation of the account to which XIV.1 belongs. XIV.1's last sentence ('he thus passed all the days of his life...') does not flow smoothly into XV.1: perhaps, however, it was added by Fordun by way of rounding off XIV.1. XV.1's notion that Gáedel thought that he deserved to suffer constant warfare in Spain because he had failed to live up to his avowed intention of settling only in uninhabited lands, and had thus incurred divine displeasure, matches with XI.1, which describes him, on leaving Egypt, vowing to inhabit only 'desert lands' 'by the favour of the gods'. There is no sign of this element in the plot of the other accounts: indeed, XI.2 has Gáedel seeking out a place where the inhabitants could be more easily overcome. It follows from this that XIV.1 must go with XI.1.

XVII.1

'Having heard his father's words' refers to XVI.1, which is from the 'legend of St. Brandán': XVII.3, not XVII.1, however, is the passage from the 'legend of St. Brandán' describing Éber's invasion. These words have no doubt been interpolated by Fordun, linking in Chapter XVII with Chapter XVI. Indeed, this brief passage looks as if it could be Fordun's summary of an account, rather than (mostly) the account itself. It describes Ireland as uninhabited, which matches with XV.1's account of Gáedel seeking 'desert lands'. Éber's return to Spain is no doubt a device of Fordun's so that he can thread this together with the other takings of Ireland that he quotes later. With Éber made into the ancestor of the next Scottish conquerors of Ireland from Spain, it looks as if "Hymec" (who is otherwise unattested) has been invented by Fordun to fill the rôle of progenitor of the Scots who settled in Ireland at this stage, a rôle no doubt ascribed quite naturally to Éber in the source-account.

XX.2

This passage is evidently not from the same account as XV.1; the 240-year time-span makes this obvious enough on its own. It is, therefore, not part of the same account as XIV.1, and should follow on, therefore, from XII.1 or XII.2: unfortunately it is difficult to decide which. It is characteristic of XII.1 to portray the Scots as wretched in their peregrinations; and this emphasis on the misery of the Scots is a feature of this

passage. Furthermore, XII.1 is the only other passage (from a nameless source), apart from this one, to state the length of time which the Scots spent at a stage of their odyssey. Perhaps one could also say that the description is so detailed that it fits better with XII.1 than with the waffliness of XII.2. The last sentence, describing how the Scots despite their wretchedness preferred to live freely under their own king rather than endure foreign rule, looks conceivably like an addition by Fordun, given that it serves so well to introduce XX.3 (the quotation from 'Grosseteste' on how the Scots have always had a distinct kingdom).

XXI.1

If, as I will argue, XXI.2 follows on from XX.2, then this passage must represent the third independent account of the Scots reaching Ireland. Clearly, it cannot belong to XV.1's account - it simply does not fit - and so must follow on from either XII.1 or XII.2. If XII.1 belongs to the same account as XX.2, then this passage should be preceded by XII.2 - and, certainly, XII.2's capacity to say few specifics in many words is apparent in this passage as well. One need not doubt that the references to 'small tribes of the same race' and to Éremón returning to Spain are interpolations by Fordun in order to weld the invasion of Ireland by the sons of Mil Espáine with those from other accounts: XVII.1, XXI.1 (and XXI.2) must come from different versions of the origin-legend.

XXI.2

In Chapter XXVI, Fordun describes Símón Breac's invasion of Ireland as the third taking of Ireland; so, clearly, he regards the invasion of Ireland by Partholón, described in this passage, as the same event as the invasion by the sons of Mil Espáine described in XXI.1, (the first being Éber's in XVII.1). In XXI.1, one of the sons of Mil is, indeed, called Partholón: but it would appear that XXI.1, which has the three sons of Mil leading the invasion, and XXI.2, which only has Partholón leading the invasion, with no mention of Mil or anyone else, do not belong to the same account of the origin-legend. The incompatibility of these two passages is made clear when one considers that, in XXI.1, the Scots are portrayed as enjoying 'the tranquility of a long-desired peace which they had obtained from all around' in the period before their expedition to Ireland, while in XXI.2 the Scots are portrayed as being forced to quit Spain 'on account of the very frequent and grievous molestations of the hostile Hispani', and because of living on 'so barren a soil ... among such as reputed them the vilest of men'. In fact, it appears that XXI.2 belongs to the same account as XX.2: not only does its description of the wretched existence of the Scots in Spain match that of XX.2, but also it describes how the Scots set off for Ireland from the shore of the 'Gallic Sea' (i.e. the Bay of Biscay), fitting in noticeably with XX.2's account of the Scots settling in lands in the

Pyrenees. Perhaps it is also significant that, up to this point in the origin-legend, XX.2 and XXI.2 are the only passages to refer to the inhabitants of Spain as the Hispani.

To sum up, then, contradictory detail and peculiar features of the plot in these passages suggest that VIII.1, X.1, XI.1, XIV.1, XV.1, XVII.1 belonged to the same account; that VIII.4, X.2, XI.2, XII.1 belonged to the same account; and that XX.2 and XXI.2 also derived from one account. By a process of elimination it can be suggested that VIII.2, XIII.1, XI.3 and XII.2 share the same account: although it remains a formal possibility that they could have been derived from different accounts - none of which would therefore have been used comprehensively: such a conclusion is not supported by any internal evidence. Indeed, a certain uniformity of style and bias tends to confirm the more likely explanation that these passages were, in fact, derived from the same account. Finally, a consideration of their respective styles suggests that XII.2 was followed by XXI.1, and that XII.1 was followed by XX.2. It appears, therefore, that Fordun's account is based on three different nameless recensions of the Gaelic origin-legend, which can be reconstructed thus (referring to each one according to who they describe as leading the Scots to Ireland):

<u>Recension</u>	Éber son of Gáedel	The Sons of Mil Espáine	Partholón
<u>Stages in Legend</u>			
Gáedel to Egypt	VIII.1	VIII.2	VIII.4
in Egypt; exiled	X.1	XIII.1	X.2
Journey from Egypt	XI.1	XI.3	XI.2
Arrival in Spain	XIV.1	XII.2	XII.1
(in Spain)	XV.1		XX.2
Taking of Ireland	XVII.1	XXI.1	XXI.2

Each of these recensions is given in full in Appendix II. They appear to read coherently, and comprehensively, enough; though, perhaps, only a structural analysis of the language of these passages would demonstrate, finally, that these accounts are as homogeneous as they seem. Such an analysis would also suggest how far they represent the wording of their original source-texts used by Fordun (though, for our purposes, the veracity of their basic content is the only issue). It may seem, for instance, that the 'leading version' of each chapter, or of each stage in the legend, is more prone to being embellished for the sake of creating a readable and coherent narrative: (I do not think, however, that it is necessary to suggest that the Éber recension, which is entirely composed of passages which serve as the first 'version' for each chapter, is in fact the creation of Fordun himself, for the sake of

his narrative: almost always it is followed by a passage from 'another chronicle', which clearly implies that the preceding passage (from the 'Éber' recension) was also taken from a 'chronicle').

Fordun's account of Scottish origins does not cease at Chapter XXI, however. He goes on to describe another invasion of Ireland from Spain, this time by Símon Breac, and three arrivals of Scots in Scotland - first under "Ethachius Rothay", then under Fergus mac Ferchair ("Ferechad, sive Farchardi") 'first King of Scots in Scotland', and finally with king 'Rether'. (Fordun has the Scots briefly exiled from Scotland centuries later so that they can return under Fergus Mór mac Eirc). From Símon onwards, however, Fordun does not always appear to quote from all three versions of the origin-legend. Chapter XXVI opens with a brief mention of Símon Breac's invasion 'as the chronicles teach', which reads better as an introductory sentence by Fordun himself than as a quotation from a source-text. The Chapter is mainly composed of a passage synchronising his invasion with Biblical events, followed by Símon Breac's genealogy. Chapter XXVII commences with a passage taken from a 'legend of St. Congal' describing how Símon Breac gained Ireland, in which the Stone of Scone is a leading feature. After noting an additional detail which 'some say' - that Gáedel brought the Stone of Scone with him from Egypt to Spain - the Chapter continues with an account of how Símon came by the Stone which differs from the account quoted from the 'legend of St. Congal'. Fordun

merely attributes this alternative account to 'others', by which he no doubt means that he has taken it from 'another chronicle' (although there is always the possibility that it was, nevertheless, in the 'legend of St. Congal' source-text). The Chapter then continues with a prophetic stanza concerning the Stone of Scone, which Fordun comments on; and another stanza, on the names of Scota and Gáedel, which is preceded by some comment, no doubt drawn from it by Fordun himself.

Chapter XXVIII tells how "~~Eth~~achius Rothay", great-grandson of Símon Breac, was the first leader of the Scots who had spread from Ireland 'to the islands of Albion, tenanted by no inhabitants before, as it is related', and how the island of Rothesay is named after this "Ethachius Rothay". The 'it is related' could mean that Fordun found this passage, and not just the idea of the islands being uninhabited, in a source-text. It has been suggested,²⁴ however, that Fordun concocted the pioneering settlement of "Ethachius Rothay" in order to flatter the Stewarts (who were the Lords of Bute). This is made all the more likely by the fact that the name "Ethachius Rothay" has been taken from a text of the Scottish royal genealogy akin to that in Ralph de Diceto's Ymagines Historiarum, where "Ethachius

24. W.W. Scott, 'John of Fordun's Description of the Western Isles', Scottish Studies, xxiii (1979), 1-13, at 11. On the relationship between these texts, see Chapter V below. It is clear from Ch. V, App. I, that 'Echdach Buadaig' (gen. of Eochaid Buadach) is the original reading: he appears (recognisably) in the P and W recensions of the Genealogy, from which Diceto's text is ultimately derived: see Chapter V.

Rothay" appears as "Ecchach Rothai", a copyist's blunder for Echdach Buadaig: Fordun used such a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots for the genealogy he described being recited at the inauguration of Alexander III.²⁵ The Chapter continues by explaining the derivation for the island's present name of Bute. Fergus mac Ferchair's arrival in Scotland is described in Chapter XXXIV. This account is a continuation of Fordun's description in Chapter XXXI of the Scots accompanying the Picts to Britain, which appears to be his own composition inspired by Bede's account of Pictish origins²⁶ which he quotes in Chapter XXX. There is little, therefore, to suggest that any of Chapter XXXIV is taken from a source-text. In Book II, Chapter XII, he describes the extent of Fergus mac Ferchair's kingdom (taken from a king-list of the Y group),²⁷ followed by a verse on Fergus, a section synchronising his arrival in Scotland with Alexander the Great, followed by a passage describing Fergus mac Ferchair bringing the Stone of Scone to Scotland quoted from a 'historia of St. Congal'. Fordun then starts his account of King 'Rether', which he continues in Chapter XIII. He quotes the name "Retherdale" with 'Rether', and refers to 'British writers' saying that 'Rether' was slain there. Thinking that Bede's Reuda is this King

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25. Gesta Annalia XLVIII; Chron. Fordun i, 294-5; ii, 290: Ralph de Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. Wm. Stubbs, ii, 34.
 26. Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, Bk. I, Ch. 1.
 27. M.O. Anderson, KKES, 213. On the 'Y' group see 67 ff.; at 253f. she edits list 'E' of the 'Y' group.

'Rether', he links in Bede's account of the migration of the Scots to Scotland from Ireland, led by Reuda, by describing it as a second incoming of Scots, rather than as the original settlement of the Scots in Scotland as Bede intended. Beyond the 'British writers' and Bede, there is nothing to suggest that Fordun's account of King 'Rether' is drawn from any other source-texts.

It appears, therefore, that at least one of the nameless lost recensions gave a version of the Símón Breac legend; but that it is difficult to attribute to any of them any other passages in Fordun's description of the Scots arriving in Scotland. This could be taken to mean that such did not appear in all but one of these recensions; and that they only told versions of the Gaelic origin-legend (taking the Scoti only as far as Ireland). Perhaps they did mention that the Scots came to Scotland, but only cursorily (as in Giraldus Cambrensis' Topographia Hiberniae).²⁸ Alternatively, perhaps Fordun's interest has been roused by this most directly "Scottish" part of the legend and thus he has exercised his skill as a "blender".

Returning to the Gaelic origin-legend itself in Fordun (see Appendix I), it is apparent that, as well as these three nameless recensions, Fordun also used versions of the origin-legend from sources which he

28. Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera Omnia v, 147. Another example is Historia Brittonum, Chapter XIV.

identifies. VIII.3, XIV.2, XVI.1, XVII.3 (and XVII.5) are taken from a 'legend of Saint Brandán', adding up to what appears to be a full account of the legend. It seems likely, on the face of it, however, that some of Gáedel's speech in XVI.1 has been added by Fordun, because in it Gáedel refers to Ireland as 'devoid of inhabitants', wishing that he had gone there much sooner instead of staying in Spain, which was inhabited, and thereby suffered adversities for disobeying the 'just wishes of the gods' described in XI.1: in XVII.3, however, where Fordun quotes from the 'legend of St. Brandán''s description of the taking of Ireland, Éber does not find a virgin territory but, on the contrary, a few inhabitants, some of whom he slays, the rest he subdues - incurring no divine displeasure in the process. The detail that Gáedel's sworn design was to settle only uninhabited lands is a feature of the nameless 'Éber' recension alone of those that Fordun uses: no doubt Fordun is simply quoting Gáedel's speech in XVI.1 from this source.²⁹ (It is unlikely, it would seem, that Fordun made up this idea himself, otherwise one might have expected him to alter accordingly the other accounts which he quotes).

The other source which Fordun has used and identified is one which he ascribes to "Grossum Caput", which probably refers to Robert Grosseteste the renowned

29. It appears from Ch. III's Appendix I that the St. Brandán source-text describes Gáedel giving a speech to his sons at this point. The 'Éber' recension is derived from this St. Brandán source (see below, p.164ff). It seems, therefore, that the two accounts, which are in any case very similar, have merely been blended here.

thirteenth-century Bishop of Lincoln.³⁰ This seems to have been only a brief account of the legend, and is quoted at XIII.3, XVII.4 and XX.3. Both the 'legend of St. Brandán' and 'Grosseteste' accounts cannot be traced directly to any texts which share their title or authorship.

Fordun's account of the Gaelic origin-legend, therefore, has been drawn together from five separate recensions, all of them no longer extant. While the 'Éber' recension and the version from the 'legend of St. Brandán' tell much the same story, it is only the basic outline of the legend, and a couple of the leading characters, that are the same for all five accounts; and there are often serious differences: - for instance, concerning the motives for some of the principal events, the identity of the leader(s) in the taking of Ireland, and the location of some of the stages. It is with considerable skill, therefore, that Fordun, or whoever synthesised these recensions, has allowed these discrepancies between each account to survive and still managed to compose an account which is, at least, coherent enough for one to be able to follow without much difficulty. This synthesis has been achieved by identifying the leading characters with names in the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, thus making them chronologically distinct from each other. In this way

30. Skene mentions this possibility in Chron. Fordun ii, 382. If 'Grosseteste' does refer to the bishop of Lincoln, there is nothing to suggest that the attribution is not false.



he avoids the confusion, through giving merely as alternatives the six accounts (i.e. including the 'historia of St. Congal's' version) of the Scots migrating to Ireland, of having to describe the Scots four times under different leadership. Instead "Yber" son of Gáedel, who conquers Ireland in the 'legend of St. Brandán' and, along with his brother "Hymec", in the 'Éber' recension, is identified with the Genealogy's Éber son of Gáedel; he thus becomes the ancestor of the sons of "Micelius Espayn", who led the Scots to Ireland according to the 'Sons of Mil' recension, when "Micelius Espayn" and his son "Hermonius" are identified with the Genealogy's Mil Espáine and his son Éremón; in turn "Smonbrek", who takes possession of Ireland, again from Spain, in the 'historia of St. Congal', is identified with the Símón Breac of the Genealogy, and so becomes the descendant of "Micelius" and his son "Hermonius". All this, of course, necessitates bringing back to Spain the paternal ancestor of the next leader of the Scots' migration from there to Ireland; Éber returns to Spain so that Éremón can take the Scots from Spain to Ireland, and then Éremón returns to Spain so that Símón Breac can lead them over to Ireland again. The Genealogy is used in the same way to disentangle the different characters cast for the part of leading the Scots to Scotland from Ireland: as we have seen, "Ethachius Rothay" is known only to the recension of the Genealogy used

by Ralph de Diceto, in which "Rether" also finds a place (accounting thereby also for Bede's "Reuda"). Fergus mac Ferchair (i.e. son of "Ferechad"/"Farchardi"/"Ferchad") was the most difficult to reconcile with the Genealogy, however, with the Genealogy's Fuirgg mac Feredaig, a descendant of Símon Breac, being forced into the rôle. Gáedel Glas, Éber, Mil Espáine and Éremón are, in fact, the same characters in both the Genealogy and in other accounts of the origin-legend (pointing to the fact that they are, ultimately, the products of Gaelic historiography which originally concocted the Gaelic origin-legend in the early christian period). The same cannot be said for any of the other characters in Fordun's origin-legend material who are identified with names in the Genealogy; it is with his successful treatment of them, therefore, that the synthesist's skill is best appreciated.

Perhaps the synthesist's greatest problem in this respect, however, was the taking of Ireland by "Pertholonius" described in the 'Partholón' recension. He identifies "Pertholonius" with one of the sons of "Micelius Espayn" in the 'Sons of Mil' recension, thus making Partholón's conquest of Ireland appear to be part of the account of the taking of Ireland by the sons of Mil, and so keeping the 'Partholón' recension's account within the framework of the Genealogy. If the 'Sons of Mil' recension named one of Mil's sons

as Partholón then this identification is, of course, obvious enough. There is, however, no corroboration from any other account of the Gaelic origin-legend for this Partholón son of Mil, while Mil's sons Éber and Éremón are mentioned in nearly all of them. There must be a strong suspicion, therefore, that Partholón son of Mil did not actually exist in the source-text of the 'Sons of Mil' recension which the synthesist used. The synthesist would thus have had an account of an invasion of Ireland by the Scots under Partholón without anyone looking like "Pertholonius" in the Genealogy on whom to pin it. The solution of inventing a Partholón son of Mil not only manages to synthesise the account of the taking of Ireland by the Scoti in the 'Partholón' recension with the other accounts, but also disposes of the increasingly awkward necessity of bringing the Scots to and from Spain and Ireland in order to relate the version of the Scots' settlement of Ireland in each of the accounts that Fordun had in his possession.

The techniques employed in synthesising this material around the framework of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots are similar to those used by medieval Gaelic professional historians. There are many examples of different characters with similar names being identified with each other;³¹ more significantly,

31. E.g., Duibne in early Campbell pedigrees gives rise to the inclusion of the famous Diarmaid Ó Duibne in later genealogies (see W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells - Norman, Briton or Gael?', Scottish Studies, xvii (1973), 109-25, esp. 118f). An earlier example, from the twelfth century, is Loarn grandfather of Muirchertach mac Erca being identified with Loarn of the early Dál Riata (see Bannerman, Dalriada, 127-8).

one need look no further than the second Redaction of the Lebor Gabála for an exact parallel of different accounts of the same legend being welded together on an already established genealogical framework by the device of repeating the same exodus;³² and, equally distinctively, there are many examples of brothers or sons of apical figures being invented by the pseudo-historians, such as Ír the third son of Mil Espáine (in order to make the Cruithni/Dál nAraide appear a branch of the 'Goidelic' stock),³³ or Loarn and Óengus, eponyms of the Cenél Loairn and the Cenél nÓengusa, who became brothers of Fergus Mór mac Eirc.³⁴ Indeed, not only is this work of synthesis characteristic of medieval Gaelic historiography: it would be no exaggeration to describe it as one of the most accomplished works of pseudo-history in Ireland or Scotland. If this is Fordun's work, then we have to wonder whether Fordun belonged to a Gaelic professional kindred.³⁵

There ~~are~~^{is}, however, reasons to doubt whether Fordun himself was Gaelic.^{-speaking} In a famous passage he describes Gaelic ("Scotica") as spoken by those who inhabit the mountains and the outlying islands, while those who occupy the "maritimas ... et planas regiones"

32. As mentioned in previous chapter: p.26.

33. Ó.Rahilly, EIHM, 196 and 345.

34. Bannerman, Dalriada, 122-6.

35. There was a tendency (from the sixteenth century, at least) for members of Gaelic professional kindreds (who were not already clergymen) to move into the Church, especially when they ceased to find regular patronage for their original skills: see especially John Bannerman, The Beaton (1987). The translation of Breac as "Varius vel Lentiginosus" in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, (Chron. Fordun i, 22; ii, 22) indicates that either Fordun himself, or a source he used, knew at least some Gaelic.

speaking Scots ("Theuthonica"). If Fordun originated from the Mearns, then by his own reckoning it would appear that his background was Scots-speaking: even if he was not actually from Fordun it has to be unlikely that someone with his name and position in the North-East would belong to a Gaelic area.

There are two instances in his work where Fordun appears to betray a lack of understanding of Gaelic. In his description of Alexander III's inauguration (Gesta Annalia, Chapter XLVIII) he explains that Fergus, legendary first King of the Scots in Scotland, is sometimes called "filius Feredach" (as in his text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots which he quotes in that chapter), and sometimes "filius Ferechere" (as in his origin-legend material), because between them there is little discrepancy in sound. This has been taken to mean that Fordun was fairly sure of himself with regard to Gaelic. However, he quite unnecessarily goes on to explain that the discrepancy is perhaps due to a scribal corruption "propter difficultatem loquelae". Such an excuse is typical of someone struggling with an unfamiliar language, rather than of a native speaker.

The second instance is in Book I, Chapter XXVI, where he explains the name Bute as deriving from the fact that "... sanctus Brandanus in ea (insula) botham, ydiomate nostro bothe, id est cellam, construxit". This is the only example in D.O.S.T. of bothe (s.v. both) meaning anything more general in Old Scots than

a stall/shop. (It should not be confused with modern bothy). It is not a comfortable sentence in any event: botha means booth/stall, cella is a cell, so that it is pushing it to apply both to the same thing. In effect, Fordun is saying that St. Brandán set up a stall, but, not unsurprisingly, he has felt compelled by the incongruity of this proposition to add that, in fact, it was a cell. Such contortions are unnecessary, however, if "bothe" is understood to have originally been Gaelic both, a hut/cabin (whence Scots bothy). It would appear, then, that Fordun either heard of Bute being called after St. Brandán's both, but, out of his ignorance of Gaelic, could only understand this to mean Scots buth, and grappled with the ensuing incongruity as best he could; or he could have read this in a sentence which would originally have read something like '(St.B.) in ea ydiomate nostro both id est cellam construxit', and not only mistook both for Scots buth, but understood "ydiomate nostro" to mean Scots rather than Gaelic, and thus added "botham" because he felt it unsatisfactory to leave Scots buth equated simply with cella. The simple fact is that if Fordun knew Gaelic then surely he would have taken the easy road offered by equating Bute with St. Brandán's Gaelic both rather than the awkward Scots buth.

If it appears that Fordun was not a Gaelic speaker, then the use of Gaelic techniques in the synthesising

of the different origin-legend accounts raises the possibility that Fordun himself was not the synthesist. There are, in fact, some indications which suggest that Fordun was using a text which had already synthesised most, if not all, the accounts of the origin-legend found in Book I.

In Chapters XXII to XXV of Book I Fordun discusses at length Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of how the Scoti settled in Ireland³⁶ which tells how Partholón submitted to Gurgunt Bartruc, king of the Britons, by whom Partholón and his people were granted Ireland. Fordun, sensitive to how this portrays the Scots as a subject people, is keen to show that Geoffrey of Monmouth's account is false. A crucial part of his argument against Geoffrey is that Partholón (of the 'Partholón' recension) reigned in the Third Age, while Gurgunt Bartruc reigned in the Fifth, thus proving (or so he imagines) that Geoffrey of Monmouth's account is hopelessly, indeed maliciously, confused. He never doubts the veracity of his own account of Partholón's invasion (XXI.2). As we have seen, however, it is likely that the chronological position of Fordun's Partholón has been established by the concoction of a Partholón son of Mil by whoever synthesised the different accounts of the origin-legend. Is it possible that Fordun did this himself, and then proceeded to rest

36. The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Neil Wright (1984), 31.

the main part of his argument against Geoffrey of Monmouth on Partholón's chronological position? Perhaps Fordun did not invent Partholón's chronological position, but found it in a source-text which would, therefore, have already synthesised the different origin-legend accounts, making up Partholón son of Mil in the process.

There is another indication that Fordun could have been using such a source-text. While "Gathelus", for instance, is not a remarkable version of Gáedel's name, Fordun's usual spelling "Gaythelos" is a bit eccentric. Fordun cannot have taken it from his copy of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots which he recounts in his description of the inauguration of Alexander III (Gesta Annalia XLVIII) which is closely akin to the version used by Ralph of Diceto:³⁷ it gives "Gaithel Glas" (and Diceto has "Geithel Glas"). It could have been derived, however, from the other recension of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots which Fordun quotes in Book V, Chapter L,³⁸ which he says was relayed to him by Cardinal Walter of Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow: it gives "Gaythelos". It is likely that this spelling reflects the original reading of this recension of the Genealogy, and is not just Fordun's favourite spelling, because, uniquely in Fordun's text, it spells Gáedel's father "Neolos" (exhibiting the same peculiar "-os" ending):

37. The relationship between texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots is discussed in Chapter V.

38. Chron. Fordun i, 251-2; ii, 244-6. Marjorie Anderson suggests (KKES, 214 n.14) that the account of the genealogy of Cinaed mac Alpin in Book IV, Chapter VIII (Chron. Fordun i, 151; ii, 140) also belongs to this text. I hope to show in Chapter V that it has, in fact, been compiled by Fordun from his king-list material.

Gesta Annalia XLVIII has "Neoili", Diceto "Neoil". If, then, "Gaythelos" is unique to the 'Wardlaw' recension of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, then it is significant that all but one of the recensions of the Gaelic origin-legend put together in Fordun's account consistently use this spelling; one, attributed to 'Grosseteste', has the very different spelling "Gael" (or "Gayel").³⁹ The eccentric spelling "Gaythelos" surely cannot have been originally used independently by the four other recensions, which suggests that some effort has been taken to make the presumably divergent spellings of this name in the different recensions conform to "Gaythelos". It would not be a surprise if the spelling chosen as the standard was derived from the recension of the Genealogy which was being used to provide the chronological framework for the synthesis of these different recensions of the origin-legend. On the one hand, it is tempting to suggest that Fordun was responsible for this, and that, because he appears to have received the 'Wardlaw' recension of the Genealogy between 1383 and 1387,⁴⁰ to conclude that Fordun wrote his account of Scottish origins at some time between these years. On the other hand, however, if Fordun is responsible for the standard spelling "Gaythelos" then it is difficult to account for why he allowed "Gael"/"Gayel"

39. Chron. Fordun i, 13, and n.1.

40. M.O. Anderson, KKES, 214.

to stand in XIII.3: the difference is more significant than that between "Yber"/"Iber"/"Hiber"/"Hyber" which he allows (for Éber).

A possible solution is that Fordun was using a text which, in putting together the different recensions of the legend, had already standardised the spelling to "Gaythelos"; and that Fordun himself added the account from 'Grosseteste' (or maybe it had been added as a gloss to this standardising text, and was copied along with the rest of the text by Fordun?) The author of this standardising text would, no doubt, have used a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots akin to the 'Wardlaw' recension: it is not difficult, of course, to conceive of both he and Fordun possessing copies of this recension.

Another line of enquiry that could indicate that such a synthesising and standardising source-text might lie directly behind Fordun's account of Scottish origins concerns Fordun's own sureness of touch in organising different accounts within the chronological framework of the Genealogy. The difficulty, however, is in identifying what is Fordun's own work in this respect. There can be little doubt, though, that the annotations in his text of the 'Wardlaw' text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots (Book V, Chapter L) are his own, where he notes briefly the parts that Gáedel, Mil, Símon Breac etcetera play in the origin-

legend. You would imagine that, ^{since} ~~seeing~~ as all he has to do is copy what he had written in Book I, then nothing could go wrong. Interestingly, however, Fordun has made a serious blunder when he identifies the first Scot in the islands of Albion as "Rothacha" in the Genealogy, instead of "Ethachius Rothay": in the Genealogy "Rothacha" is actually an ancestor of Símón Breac and should therefore, according to the scheme of Book I, still have been in Spain.

This blunder presumably indicates that Fordun did not find "Ethachius Rothay" in his Wardlaw text of the Genealogy. That this is so is not unlikely. As we have already noticed,⁴¹ "Ethachius Rothay" appears as "Echach Rothai" in Diceto's text of the Genealogy, a mistake for Echdach Buadaig - the most significant development being the replacement of the 'B-' with the 'R-'. This is a serious error which is unlikely to have been repeated independently. If the Wardlaw text of the Genealogy had preserved a name like 'Echdach Buadaig' rather than "Ethachius Rothay" - especially if it did not have an 'R' instead of a 'B' - then one cannot be surprised if Fordun balked at describing him as the eponym of Rothesay (remembering that an important point in the story of "Ethachius Rothay"'s colonisation was that he gave his name to Rothesay). It is to Fordun's credit that he did not insert

41. Above, p. 48.

"Ethachius Rothay" into Wardlaw's text of the Genealogy, but looked desperately for an alternative eponym who would thus become, almost inadvertently, the first Scottish colonist in Scotland. This, I feel, is the most plausible explanation of Fordun's gauche error in describing "Rothacha" as the first Scot in the islands of Albion, and it serves to illustrate that Fordun was more conscious of getting names to match than in maintaining chronological order. Such a lack of chronological awareness, therefore, bodes ill for identifying Fordun himself as the synthesist of the recensions of the origin-legend.

It is unfortunate that Fordun nowhere quotes the section of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots in which "Ethachius Rothay" appears either from his Wardlaw text or from the text he uses in Gesta Annalia, XLVIII. It does, however, seem likely that "Ethachius Rothay" did not exist in the Wardlaw text; no doubt, therefore, Fordun took him from the Gesta Annalia, XLVIII's source-text. Significantly, the text of the Genealogy in Gesta Annalia is closer than Wardlaw's to the text in Diceto; and there are a few hints that the Wardlaw text may contain a few readings that are earlier than Diceto's.⁴² Unhappily, the argument that "Ethachius Rothay" existed in the Gesta Annalia XLVIII's source-

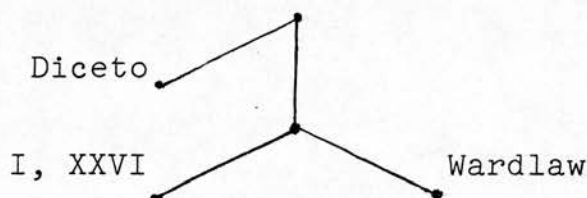
42. The relationship between the texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots is discussed in detail in Chapter V, where I will argue that all the texts mentioned so far are derived from a Gaelic text probably written down during the reign of David I.

text but not in the Wardlaw text is the best single piece of evidence to suggest that the Wardlaw text is not derived from Diceto, and that Gesta Annalia XLVIII's source-text is at least closely related to Diecto's.

Such a conclusion is important to the question of whether Fordun was the synthesiser of the different recensions of the origin-legend. In Book I, Chapter XXVI, a genealogy of Símón Breac is given as far as Mil Espáine. It is clearly not from the Wardlaw text; there are too many differences in spelling, and on a number of occasions it gives a reading that is earlier than the Wardlaw text, such as "Noethath" rather than "Nothachus" (for Nuadat, Diceto "Noethath") and "Demail" rather than "Demal" for Demail, and most obviously in its preservation of a name's second element which the Wardlaw text omits.^{42a} One's first inclination, then, is to presume that it belongs to the other text of the Genealogy that Fordun used, in Gesta Annalia XLVIII, which Fordun only quotes step by step as far as Fergus mac Ferchair. There are a few places, however, in which the genealogy of Símón Breac at Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, shares with Wardlaw a reading that is seriously different from Diceto: these are unlikely to have occurred independently. For instance, both Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, and Wardlaw read "Fonduf f. Etheon f. Glachus..." (Wardlaw has "Glathus") where Diceto reads "...Eon Duf f. Etheon f. Glachs...".

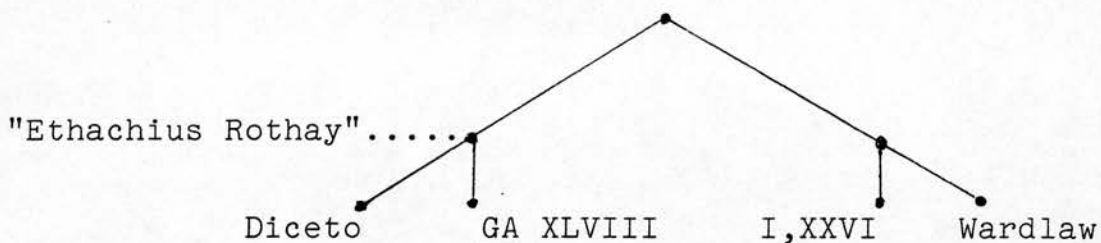
42a. It also has errors which do not appear in Wardlaw, e.g. "Emirnai" (Wardlaw "Smyrnay", Diceto "Smirnai") and "Falegis" (Wardlaw "Faleg"/"Faleng(e)", Diceto "Faleg").

This represents Éoin Duib m. Áedáin Glais: it is clear, therefore, that Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, and Wardlaw give later readings, with the "E" of "Eon Duf" changing to "F" and the "-s" of "Glachs" changing to "-us" (which is surely not intended to be a Latin ending). Clearly, therefore, all three texts of the Genealogy share a common ancestor, and Wardlaw and Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, are ^{re}most closely related to each other than to Diceto. One would naturally suppose that this suggests a stemma such as



However, the question of which text read "Ethachius Rothay" now becomes crucial. If we hold with the plausible conclusion that Gesta Annalia XLVIII's source-text read "Ethachius Rothay" along with Diecto, but that the Wardlaw text instead preserved a version of the earlier 'Echdach Buadaig', then it is impossible for the genealogy of Símon Breac in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, to have come from a text which contained the reading "Ethachius Rothay" or anything like it, because it is nearer in descent to the Wardlaw text than to Diceto. The Genealogy of Símon Breac in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, cannot, therefore, have

been quoted from the same text as Gesta Annalia
 XLVIII: the stemma would have to be something like



If the genealogy of Símón Breac in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, is neither from the same text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots as the one Fordun used in Gesta Annalia XLVIII, or from the one he obtained from Walter of Wardlaw, then where did he get it from? We do not have to suppose, rather uncomfortably, that he used for Bk. I, Ch. XXVI a third text of the Genealogy which, oddly, he refrained from using again. Rather, the fact that the only surviving part of this text of the Genealogy should be during Fordun's account of Scottish origins suggests that this section of it has been copied by him from an origin-legend source-text. This source-text would, surely, have to be the work which synthesised the five recensions of the origin-legend which lie behind Fordun's account, in that this section of the Genealogy serves (quite artificially, it seems),⁴³ to identify the Símón Breac of the legend with a Símón Breac in the Genealogy according to the method of the synthesist. This section of pedigree, therefore, would appear to be the only extant remnant of the text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots used by a synthesist as the

43. See p.122, below.

framework for his synthesis of the five recensions of the origin-legend: its close textual relationship to the Wardlaw text makes it entirely feasible to suppose that the synthesist could have adopted from it his distinctive standard spelling of "Gaythelos" for Gáedel. The fact, then, that the genealogy of Símón Breac in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, does not belong to either of the texts of the Genealogy which Fordun used, and that it appears only during Fordun's account of Scottish origins, is strong evidence for the argument that it was not Fordun himself who synthesised the differing accounts of the origin-legend, but that he used extensively a work which had skilfully managed the task of synthesis already, using for its chronological framework a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots of which only a small section survives, in Book I, Chapter XXVI.

It would appear, therefore, that if one chooses to stick by Fordun as the synthesist, you not only have to suppose that Fordun used three texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, and one of them only in Book I, Chapter XXVI; you also have to accept that Fordun used two texts during the work of synthesis - one (probably Bk. I, Ch. XXVI) for "Gaythelos" and the genealogy of Símón Breac, but another (the source-text of Gesta Annalia XLVIII) for "Ethachius Rothay". This is all uncomfortably clumsy. On the other hand, one could choose, rather stubbornly, to reject the crucial

argument that "Ethachius Rothay" did not appear in the Wardlaw text of the Genealogy. This, however, would require that Fordun failed to recognise him, despite managing earlier, correctly to describe him as Símon Breac's grandson, and opted instead, in his account of the Wardlaw text of the Genealogy, for a less satisfactory eponym for Rothesay who was in a chronologically ridiculous position to fit Fordun's description of him as the first Scot to dwell in the islands of Scotland. If such a level of incompetence is proposed for Fordun, then attributing any skilful work of chronologically based synthesis to him becomes rather unconvincing.

All these detailed pieces of evidence taken together concerning "Ethachius Rothay" and the genealogy of Símon Breac in Book I, Chapter XXVI, (and also the points made previously on how Fordun rebuts Geoffrey of Monmouth by using Partholón's chronological position, which is apparently a concoction of the synthesist; how Gáedel has been standardised to "Gaythelos", except in a passage quoted from 'Grosseteste'; and on Fordun's lack of chronological awareness) can quite cleanly be explained by supposing that Fordun was actually using a work which had already synthesised the different recensions of the origin-legend on the basis of a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots whose only extant portion survives in Book I, Chapter XXVI. On the other hand, any attempt to explain away these detailed points in order to hold on to the notion that Fordun himself was the synthesist soon becomes uncomfortably weighed down

with improbabilities.

One can note a few more details in support of the notion that the synthesist/standardiser used a text of the royal Genealogy related to Wardlaw's, of which the only surviving scrap is in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI. Mil is rendered "Micelius" in Fordun, rather than the usual Latin 'Milesius': "Micelius", however, appears in Wardlaw's text of the Genealogy (while Diceto reads "Micel"). In Bk. I, Ch. XXVI, Símón's genealogy finishes "... filii Hermonii fratris Partholonii et Hibert", sons of "Micelius Espain". Presumably "Hermonius" is, thus, the spelling of the source-text Genealogy used here. It is the spelling adopted by Fordun; while Wardlaw (and Diceto) have "Ermon". It appears, therefore, that the (more or less) 'standard' spellings "Hermonius", "Micelius" (and "Gaythelos") are likely to have been derived from the text of the Genealogy surviving, in part, only in Bk. I, Ch. XXVI.⁴⁴

44. Apropos the 'standardising' of names, however, it should be noted that, though Símón Breac is usually rendered "Smonbrec" in the passage attributed to an historia of St. Congal' and thereafter, he is introduced (Bk. I, Ch. XXVI) as "Scotice, Smonbricht, latine vero Simon Varius vel Lengitosus". ("Bricht" seems to be bric, genitive, rather than breac: whoever wrote this sentence can only have had a tenuous knowledge of Gaelic). Fergus mac Ferchair's father is not 'standardised' either: unlike Gáedel, Mil, etc., however, Fergus has been artificially identified with someone in the Genealogy (see above, p. 53).

The synthesising and standardising source-text which Fordun used would appear to have consisted of at least the three 'nameless' recensions of the Gaelic origin-legend and the account from the 'legend of St. Brandán' - and also the passages on Símon Breac and Fergus mac Ferchair taken from the 'historia of St. Congal' which I will be arguing, in the next chapter, belongs to the same source-text as the 'legend of St. Brandán' account. One can only speculate on how much more of Fordun's work has been derived from this synthesising source-text. If the passages cited to 'Grosseteste' were, indeed, glossed onto the synthesising source-text then it would be tempting to suggest that all Fordun's Scottish origin-legend material as far as the taking of Ireland (except Geoffrey of Monmouth's) was derived from his copy of this synthesising source-text. Certainly, the fact that Fordun overlooked the account of the Gaelic origin-legend in Higden's Polychronicon - despite the fact that Fordun appears to have modelled his Chronica on this work - makes it difficult to see why he would have bothered to add the account from 'Grosseteste' and might be taken to suggest that he felt that the quantity of material he had in the synthesising source-text was quite sufficient.

As I have noticed already, the methodology employed in this synthesising source-text is characteristic of Gaelic historiography: indeed, this origin-legend synthesis appears to be a highly accomplished example

of Gaelic synthetic pseudo-history. Fordun's use of such a source-text would, of course, be traditionally explained by supposing that he obtained it during his travels in Ireland. However, the notion that Fordun travelled in Ireland rests solely on the Prologue of the Book of Coupar.⁴⁵ The Book of Coupar is an abridged version, divided into 40 books, of Walter Bower's Scotichronicon, which is itself an expanded and continued version of John of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum written between 1441 and 1447.⁴⁶ Skene argued⁴⁷ that Bower himself was the author of the Book of Coupar, so that it was completed sometime between 1447 and Bower's death in 1449. Fordun wrote his Chronica Gentis Scottorum before 1387; and this Prologue in the Book of Coupar is absent from any of the surviving manuscripts of Fordun's work, of Bower's unabridged expansion and continuation of it, or of any of the other abridged versions of the Scotichronicon. On its own, then, the Prologue in the Book of Coupar can hardly be said to bear comfortably the burden of proof for Fordun's expedition to Ireland.

Confidence in the evidence of the Book of Coupar in this respect is not improved by its Prologue's description of how John of Fordun's travels around Ireland and Britain were in order to recover the

45. Printed by Skene in Chron. Fordun i, xlix-l. The Book of Coupar is NLS. MS.35.1.7: a copy, up to Book IV, is found in Dublin, Trinity College MS. E.2.28, which also contains this Prologue (see ibid., i, p.xxix).

46. Ibid. i, pp.xiv-xv, xviii-xix.

47. Ibid. i, pp. xviii-xix.

'ancient and authentic' chronicles of Scotland which, it alleges, Edward I of England stole or destroyed. Kathleen Hughes has convincingly demonstrated⁴⁸ that Edward did no such thing, however much of a vandal he was. However, the notion of Edward the destroyer of Scottish chronicles was at least as old as the Scottish pleadings at the papal court in 1301,⁴⁹ and was no doubt well established by the middle of the fifteenth century. As far as the author of the Prologue to the Book of Coupar was concerned, Fordun's Chronica were the fruits of his recovery of these 'chronicles': has the story of Fordun's travels been invented or exaggerated, as a result of the belief that Edward I was meant to have removed all Scottish historical material from Scotland, in order to account for and vouch for the material in Fordun's Chronica - on which the Book of Coupar itself is based? The point of the Prologue is, it would seem, to convince the reader of the veracity of the book's contents in the face of the established view of Edward's calamitous effect on the existence of sources available to be used in Scotland. There is no record of Fordun himself telling how he was driven to Ireland and elsewhere to make up for any lack of material: unlike the author of the Book of Coupar he actually did the research and knew better.

48. Kathleen Hughes, Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources, ed. David Dumville (1980), 3ff.

49. Ibid., 4.

The ultimate test of whether the synthesising source-text or its material originated in Ireland or not is simply to compare it with the versions of the Gaelic origin-legend current in Ireland. As we have already noticed,⁵⁰ the Lebor Gabála Érenn represents the orthodox account(s) of the Gaelic origin-legend in Ireland, monopolising the Irish view of Gaelic origins from the eleventh and twelfth centuries even until the nineteenth century (while nevertheless allowing a fair bit of variation in detail). If the synthesising source-text was composed in Ireland (or if its material derived from Ireland) then one would expect it to bear a reasonably close resemblance to material in the Lebor Gabála. It is significant, therefore, that, while both are telling the same basic legend, there are major differences between them. For instance, while the Lebor Gabála gives the leading rôle in the Egyptian episode to Néil mac Fóeniusa Farsaid or Mil (or both, depending on the redaction),⁵¹ the synthesising source-text's recensions of the legend all give it to Gáedel Glas; the Lebor Gabála, therefore, does not have Gáedel marrying Scota, making him the son of Scota instead. In the Lebor Gabála it is not Gáedel but one of his descendants that leads the Gáedil/Scoti out of Egypt.⁵² Neither does it have the Scoti going straight away to Spain, but has them return to Scythia for a

50. See previous chapter, pp. 22, 25.

51. LG ii, 10-1, 32-5, 38-41, 48-9, 52-3, 58-63, 68-9.

52. LG ii, 14-7, 36-7, 62-5.

time:⁵³ unlike the synthesising source-text, it has the Scoti originating in Scythia rather than Greece.⁵⁴ The taking of Ireland by the Scoti is only described in the Lebor Gabála under the leadership of the sons of Mil,⁵⁵ but even here there is little that can be found in the 'Sons of Mil' recension used by the synthesising source-text: of the eight sons of Mil in the Lebor Gabála, only two are known to the synthesising source-text, while, as you would expect, the Lebor Gabála knows nothing of Partholón son of Mil. Indeed, very little of the detail in the Lebor Gabála can be matched happily with any of the detail in the synthesising source-text. A rare instance is the building of Brigancia in Spain, from where the Scoti get their first sight of Ireland: but the Lebor Gabála has Bregoin build Brigancia and his son, Íth, see Ireland for the first time,⁵⁶ while the synthesising source-text (quoting ^athe 'legend of Brandán') has Gáedel do both. There is no evidence at all, therefore, to suggest that the synthesising source-text or its material came into contact with the Lebor Gabála. It is, therefore, very difficult to imagine how the synthesising source-text, or any of the recensions of the legend which it synthesises, could have any connection with Ireland after the eleventh century.

53. LG ii, 16-7, 36-9, 64-7.

54. LG ii, 8-11, 44-5, 48-51; i, 38-9.

55. LG v, 20ff., ~~20ff.~~, 70ff., 98ff.

56. LG ii, 30-3, 42-5, 78-9.

It is, surely, easier to believe that there is no immediate connection with Ireland; and that its apparent lack of awareness of well-established Irish versions of the legend indicates that it originated in Scotland.

I have argued that the synthesis of the recensions of the origin-legend which lie behind Fordun's account of Scottish origins is a work of Gaelic historiography; that every indication suggests that Fordun was not a Gaelic speaker; that, in any case, there are strong textual grounds for supposing that Fordun was not the synthesist, but has taken his account of Scottish origins almost wholly from a source-text which had already synthesised these different recensions of the origin-legend; and that this work of origin-legend synthesis did not originate in Ireland, but in Scotland. More evidence concerning the date and authorship of this origin-legend synthesis will unfold in the course of later discussion on the 'legend of St. Brandán' and 'story of St. Congal' text of the legend, and on the texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. At this stage, all that can be noticed is the evident skill of the author of such a highly accomplished work of synthesis, and the fact that the work was evidently written in Latin: indeed, the work appears to have been deliberately geared towards a non-Gaelic-literate audience, judging by the fact that the text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots which was used as the basis of the synthesis and for the standardising of

personal names was Latinate, rather than Gaelic. The author, therefore, was apparently a highly educated man living in a bi-cultural milieu - no doubt, thus, in the East of Scotland. It has to be doubtful whether he was simply an official in the Church, such as a fer leiginn or an abbot, considering that in the East of Scotland its upper echelons fairly speedily ceased to be Gaelic during and after David I's reign. He is, however, likely to be an ollamh, the professional poet-historian who in Gaelic society was a sine qua non for any ruler. Such a person is Muiredach Albanach Ó Dálaig, who seems to have been the ollamh of the mormaer of Lennox in the early thirteenth century;⁵⁷ and there is the later example of the MacMhuirichs who held the office of ollamh to the Lords of the Isles.⁵⁸ John Bannerman has recently demonstrated⁵⁹ that the office of ollamh ríge, 'King's Poet', survived for the kingship of the Scots at least to the inauguration of Alexander III (1249), where he performed the crucial ritual of reciting the new king's genealogy. Almost by definition, the ollamh ríge would have been one of the most skilful exponents of Gaelic historiography in the Kingdom of the Scots: also, by the definition of his office, he would have been required to suit the

57. See D.S. Thomson, 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family', TGSI, xliii (1960-3), 276-304. Two poems of his to mormaers of Lennox survive: Brian Ó Cuiv, 'Echtraí Mhuireadhaigh í Dhálaigh', Studia Hibernica, i (1961), 54-69, at 67-8.

58. See D.S. Thomson, op.cit. Thus Lachlann MacMhuirich "archipoeta" witnesses a charter of Angus Óg's in 1485: Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493, edd. Jean Munro and R.W. Munro (SHS, 1986), 188.

59. John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

needs of his patron the King, and his court, which seems to have become culturally 'Anglo-Norman' during the twelfth century. The ollamh ríge of (say) the first half of the thirteenth century would thus no doubt have been both highly skilled in Gaelic historiography and keen to make his work accessible within an 'Anglo-Norman' milieu. Furthermore, he would have had the authority to attempt such an ambitious project as this origin-legend synthesis. It is not difficult, within the context of the changes in the East of Scotland resulting from the gradual integration of much that can be described succinctly as 'Anglo-Norman', to imagine especially the surviving ollamh ríge as someone familiar with Gaelic historiography and adept in its techniques who had become equally adept at presenting his material in the new culture of literacy and education.

It is difficult to come to any conclusions about when, where, and by whom, each synthesised recension of the origin-legend was composed. In later chapters I will discuss those attributed to a 'legend of St. Brandán' and a 'story of St. Congal', and to 'Grosseteste', and also the 'Éber' "nameless" recension. For the remainder of this chapter, therefore, I will confine myself to those "nameless" accounts which I have called the 'Partholón' recension and the 'Sons of Mil' recension.

The 'Partholón' recension (see Appendix II) bears a certain resemblance to the Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV, which is the version of the Gaelic origin-legend which the author of the Historia Brittonum received from

peritissimi Scottorum. In outline, it tells how there was a nobleman who, expelled from his kingdom with a great familia, was living in Egypt at the time of the pursuit of the Children of Israel across the Red Sea - in which he played no part. The remaining Egyptians, seeing this disaster, and afraid in case he took over the kingship, expel him; and for forty-two years he wanders through North Africa and reaches Spain, where his people settled and multiplied. Afterwards they came to Ireland, and to Dál Riata etc. The 'Partholón' recension also describes the leader of the Scoti as an exile from his kingdom who sets himself up in Egypt, marrying Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He also does not participate in the pursuit of the Israelites, and is expelled from Egypt by the remaining Egyptians who, having seen the fate of their king, were afraid that he might take power. He, too, wanders across North Africa (for forty, rather than forty-two, years), and settles in Spain; and his people eventually reach Ireland. There are no conflicting details to speak of, except that the route across North Africa is described differently, and the Scoti are not made to prosper in Spain. Where there are differences, however, it seems to be because the 'Partholón' recension is fuller - for instance, it describes Gáedel's expulsion and journey from his homeland while the Historia Brittonum merely states that he was expelled from his kingdom. It would appear, therefore, that the 'Partholón'

recension is an expanded version of the pretty skeletal account in Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum, which has been used as a base rather than retained verbatim. I think that this is the explanation of the different descriptions of the journey across North Africa (rather than supposing that it is independent of the Historia Brittonum). Given that the other Gaelic origin-legend material, - notably concerning the sons of Mil⁶⁰ in the Historia Brittonum is so badly confused it is not surprising that there is no sign of it in the 'Partholón' recension. The lack of this other origin-legend material need not require us to suppose, therefore, that the 'Partholón' recension has not seen the Historia Brittonum itself, but, rather, a text which used only Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum's Gaelic origin-legend material. Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum is such a text, its eleventh Chapter of Book I being largely derived from Historia Brittonum Chapter XV. It, however, omits the detail in the Historia Brittonum's account that the journey across North Africa took forty-two years - a detail which appears, no doubt, as the forty years the 'Partholón' recension gives for the journey.

The part of the account in Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV, which the 'Partholón' recension has expanded most is the exodus to Ireland. Where the Historia Brittonum

60. See T.F. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 476.

says merely that they went to Ireland 1,002 years after the crossing of the Red Sea, the 'Partholón' recension gives a graphic account of the sufferings of the Scoti, who were moved to the Pyrenees by the hostile Hispani and who, under their leader Partholón, finally gave up the struggle of living in Spain and set sail from the 'Gallic Sea', arriving eventually in Ireland, which Partholón, having subdued the natives, secured as a 'perpetual possession'. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie, Book III, Chapter II, bears a notable resemblance to this account. It also has the Scoti led by Partholón from Spain to Ireland which 'they still hold today'; and, by identifying Partholón's people as "Basclenses" (i.e. Basques), implies that they left Spain from the 'Gallic Sea' and next the Pyrenees. If, however, the 'Partholón' recension has used Geoffrey of Monmouth, then he has omitted to mention certain features of Geoffrey's account - Partholón's meeting with Garguit Barbtruc, king of the Britons, near the Orkneys, the fact that Partholón's expedition consisted of 'thirty ships full of men and women', and that they had spent one-and-a-half years at sea looking for somewhere to settle. Moreover, the 'Partholón' recension says that Ireland was inhabited, and that the Scoti settled there freely, while Geoffrey of Monmouth has Partholón become Gurguit Barbtruc's vassal, and receives Ireland from him - which is described as 'an uninhabited desert'.

On the one hand, therefore, Geoffrey of Monmouth's account and the 'Partholón' recension are clearly related: while the idea of Partholón coming from Spain to take Ireland is not without precedent,⁶¹ nowhere else is Partholón described as the leader of a people from the Basque region of Spain. On the other hand, however, the nature of their relationship is not entirely clear.

It is possible that the 'Partholón' recension is only loosely based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, and that it has ignored and altered some of its details while expanding on others in much the same way as it appears to have done with its material derived from the Historia Brittonum. If the author was Scottish or Irish it would not be a surprise for him to reject Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Partholón's meeting with Gurguit Barbtruc. This same author, however, seems to be responsible for an account of Gáedel which is almost without parallel in its severity, portraying him as a person motivated by power-lust, and saying that 'he strove together with the Egyptians to keep the Children of Israel in perpetual bondage'. Gaelic and Scottish accounts of the origin-legend were, quite understandably, sensitive to the possibility of the charge of having a hand in the oppression of the Israelites;⁶² some redactions of the Lebor Gabála go so far as to portray the Gaels as their friends.⁶³ It would need to be explained, therefore, how the author of so unsympathetic a profile

61. Historia Brittonum, Ch. X.

62. Chron. Picts-Scots, 379-80.

63. LG ii, 34-5, 58-61.

of the hero of the legend could not bring himself to repeat Geoffrey of Monmouth's equally unsympathetic description of the relationship between the Scoti and the Britons.

A solution to this problem would be to suppose that the author of the 'Partholón' recension did not, in fact, see Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, but shared a source with it. It is easy to imagine, given his pro-British bias and the creative quality of his work,⁶⁴ that Geoffrey of Monmouth could have invented the relationship between Gurguit Barbtruc and Partholón and added it to the account of Partholón's taking of Ireland in this shared source. The 'Partholón' recension would, therefore, be giving the version originally in this shared account. There has been some controversy in the past on the question of whether Geoffrey of Monmouth's account is based on an Irish source⁶⁵ or whether it is merely a potpourri of details thrown together from the Historia Brittonum.⁶⁶ This debate did not take in the 'Partholón' recension in Fordun. Neither did it discuss Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum, Book I, Chapter XI, which interpolates into its material derived from the Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV a sentence which tells how a part of the Scoti remained in Spain 'still using the same language', and are called "Navarri": the "Navarri" are the Basques.

64. The most modern discussion of these aspects of the Historia Regum Britannie is in The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Neil Wright (1984).

65. A.G. van Hamel, 'Partholón', Revue Celtique, i (1933), 217ff.

66. R. Thurneysen, 'Partholón', ZCP, xx (1936), 375ff.

There is nothing to show that this passage has any direct connection with Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the "Basclenses" who settled in Ireland from Spain under Partholón's leadership. This suggests that at least this much was not invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and represents some sort of genuine tradition. Its origins, however, are obscure. It could be a learned deduction from the idea that the river Ebro and Hibernia are connected etymologically,⁶⁷ considering that the Ebro runs along the border of Navarre. Henry of Huntingdon's belief that both the Basques and the Gaels share a common language makes it more likely, however, that the knowledge of the legendary Spanish origins of the Gaels was allied to a rather simplistic Anglo-French perception that, because the Gaels and the Basques spoke what must have seemed to them rather strange languages, their languages were the same, with the result that the Basques were seen as Gaels left behind in Spain. I do not know of any statements of this supposed Anglo-French view (independent of Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth). Such an idea is most likely to have arisen after the French aristocracy (and clergy) spread, at one extreme, from Gascony (i.e. 'Basque-land') and the borders of Navarre, and at the other, into Scotland: i.e. during Henry of Huntingdon's lifetime. A crucial question with regard to the relationship between Geoffrey of Monmouth

67. E.g., XVII.7.

and the 'Partholón' recension is whether Partholón became associated with the idea that the Scoti and the Basques are the same people before Geoffrey of Monmouth. If, as seems likely, his account is, in fact, a potpourri of material from the Historia Brittonum, then it would seem probable that he was the first person to bring together Partholón with this idea: Partholón appears as a conqueror of Ireland from Spain earlier in the Historia Brittonum.⁶⁸ This seems especially attractive if, indeed, the idea of the Scoti and the Basques being the same people was quite a new one at the time when Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing his Historia Regum Britannie.⁶⁹

With Geoffrey of Monmouth as the probable author of Partholón leading the Basques/Scoti from Spain to Ireland, it is hard to argue against the conclusion that the 'Partholón' recension has based its account of the taking of Ireland on Geoffrey of Monmouth in much the same manner as the rest of its account appears to be based on the Historia Brittonum, Chapter XV. This, therefore, requires some explanation to be found for how the 'Partholón' recension could give such an unsympathetic portrayal of Gáedel but, later in its account, repress the aspects of Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Partholón which are prejudicial to the standing of the Scoti vis-a-vis the Britons.

68. Chapter XIII.

69. x1135x8: see The Historia Regum of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Neil Wright (1984), x-xvi, which supersedes the discussion in A. Griscom, 'The date of the composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie: new manuscript evidence', Speculum, i (1926), 129-56.

Such an apparently ambiguous view of the Scots need not be unprecedented, however. On the one hand the unsympathetic view is no doubt part of the same idea of the Scots found in Ailred of Rievaulx's Genealogia Regum Anglorum.⁷⁰ In its eulogy of David I,⁷¹ he describes David as softening 'the whole barbarity' of the Scots, and goes on to mention the neglected state of the Church and how David improved it. An important element in this perception of the Scots as 'barbarians' is the view that they are not very christian, and even heathen. In the same work Ailred says⁷² that, after Henry I's death, 'that nation, savage and most hostile to the English, raged beyond the manner of men, and wrought cruel dooms upon the church and the priests, upon either sex and every age'. In his De Standardo Bellum, he has Walter Espec say⁷³ that the Scots 'have defiled his (St. Michael's) church with human blood (and) have polluted his altar by placing upon it a human head', and also that the Scots 'are preceded by actors, dancers and dancing-girls; we, by the cross of Christ and relics of the saints'. This view of the Scots as almost heathen barbarians, whom David I attempted to civilise and make more christian (through "Anglicisation") is a common one among the Anglo-Norman historians of the time⁷⁴ (and is a view which,

70. Historia Anglicanae Scriptores X i, 347-70.

71. Translated in SAEC, 232-6; 232-3.

72. Ibid., 179 n.3.

73. Ibid., 183 n.2. The work is edited in Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. Richard Howlett, iii (1886), 179-99.

74. See SAEC, passim.

astonishingly, has persisted more or less unrefined even into this half of the twentieth century). Those who held such a view would not have hesitated to portray Gáedel - who was so long before David I, "the civiliser" - as an ungodly figure who not only oppressed the Israelites but lusted after power in sharp contrast to the current view that a good, christian, king should be humble and power-shy (for which attributes Ailred holds David I up as an example to the future Henry II).⁷⁵ At the same time, however, Ailred had close and friendly contact with the Scottish court: he served at David I's court from c.1131 to 1134⁷⁶ and maintained a high regard for David, his son Henry, and step-son St. Waltheof.⁷⁷ It is possible, therefore, that someone in his position, while clearly holding the view that the Scots were naturally heathen, would be mindful of the implications of Partholón's submission to Gurguit Barbtruc to the status of the Scottish kingship; and, due to his sympathy for the (then) King of Scots, might, indeed, repress this passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account. This would be more probable if he subscribed to the view that Geoffrey of Monmouth was not beyond lying,⁷⁸ or if he were addressing a Scottish audience (which is quite likely, given that the 'Partholón' recension only survives,

75. Ibid., 232.

76. See Walter Daniel, The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx, ed. F.M. Powicke (Oxford, 1950), xxxix-xli.

77. Ibid., xxxv, xlif., lxxi-v.

78. Ibid., lxxxviii.

of course, in Fordun). It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the same work could be so unflattering about Gáedel and yet repress Geoffrey of Monmouth's unsympathetic view of the political status of the Scots. Perhaps, however, one should not look for the author of such a work among the English who had close ties with the Scottish court, especially during the reign of David I, but among the new clergy, especially the new orders, in twelfth century Scotland, who might be expected to share the outlook of the brethren of their mother houses, such as Ailred, with regard to their contribution to the development of Scotland while, at the same time, be unhappy about anything which might reflect badly on the prestige of their royal patrons. One might add that the view of the Scots as semi-heathen by nature would probably have been increasingly difficult to find among such monks of the new orders during the thirteenth century, when the incomers were no longer identified as distinct from the Scots.⁷⁹

The fact that the 'Partholón' recension survives only in Scotland is not the only indication suggesting that the author worked in Scotland. Another indication is that it is Gáedel who plays the leading rôle as far as Spain. This seems to have become a Scottish feature, for, while it is common to all the recensions preserved in Fordun, it is not present in the Lebor Gabála, as has

79. Notice the dropping of the racial address in royal charters after c.1179 (RRS ii, 77). Also, notice the pro-Scottish sympathies of the Chronicle of Melrose s.a. 1190 reporting on the Quitclaim of Canterbury ES ii, 322). But the old view of the 'Scots' as "barbarians" can still be found in the Chronicle of Melrose s.a. 1216 (see G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity (1981), 153; ES ii, 407-8).

been noted;⁸⁰ and neither does it appear in any English or Welsh material (except very briefly in Giraldus Cambrensis' Topographia Hibernie and its derivatives: there is nothing, though, to suggest that the 'Partholón' recension made use of the Topographia). The description of Gáedel as the nepos of Nimrod ("Nembroth") is unprecedented, and certainly goes against the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots: this suggests that Gáedel was, indeed, an original feature of the 'Partholón' recension, and was not just imposed by the synthesist. Nimrod built the biblical tower of languages, so that the Tower of Babel is sometimes referred to as Tuir Nembroith and Nembrotica Turris. In most recensions of the Lebor Gabála⁸¹ Fóenius Farsaid, Gáedel's grandfather, is referred to as one of the builders of the Tower, and as the founder of the Gaelic language. It seems likely, therefore, that the 'Partholón' recension's statement that Gáedel was Nimrod's grandson is not a record of an (otherwise unattested) tradition concerning Gáedel's ancestry, but is, rather, the result of a confusion between Nimrod and Fóenius Farsaid. Such a confusion could arise, for instance, if the author of the 'Partholón' recension used for his source an ambiguous or garbled statement to the effect that 'Gáedel's grandfather built Nimrod's Tower' or suchlike. It would not be a surprise if such a confusion-begging statement originated in the confined space of an

80. See above, p.73.

81. LG i, 146-7; ii, 8-11, 44-5, 50-1.

interlinear or marginal gloss. It is possible, for instance, that the author of the 'Partholón' recension found this statement written on to his text of the Historia Brittonum, where the description of the leading character in the Egyptian episode of the origin-legend as merely 'a noble Scythian' could easily have invited a gloss identifying more specifically this important figure. Perhaps, then, the gloss read something like 'Gáedel nepos Nembroth turris constructoris'? I know, however, of no positive evidence from the text-history of the Historia Brittonum to confirm this conjecture. Given that the author of the 'Partholón' recension has apparently achieved his narrative by expanding his source material, it is quite possible that such an ambiguous and bland statement, in conjunction with the Historia Brittonum's information that the Scythian was an exile, is all the source material that lies behind the 'Partholón' recension's account of the pre-Egyptian stage of the origin-legend. One might add that the apparent confusion between Nimrod and Fóenius Farsaid by the author of the 'Partholón' recension could suggest that he was not particularly au fait with Gaelic pseudo-history.

It is possible to take this line of inquiry a stage further. The spelling of Nimrod as "Nembroth" is evidently Gaelic: only someone familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography is likely to understand 'd' to mean "th". Thus, "Nembroth" for Nimrod is frequently found

in Gaelic texts. If, indeed, the author of the 'Partholón' recension found "Nembroth" as a gloss in his text of the Historia Brittonum, then this would suggest that his manuscript of the Historia Brittonum belonged to a Gaelic religious house, where it was glossed. We should, therefore, probably look for the author of the 'Partholón' recension among the members of a new Order in a monastery which was an established scriptorium before the reforms of the twelfth century: probably, also, the house he belonged to was associated with the kingship, and was thus particularly mindful of its status; (but, at the same time, the house was probably not so important that texts written there had much of a currency). A monastery such as Scone fulfils all these criteria.

It appears, therefore, that the 'Partholón' recension is a version of the origin-legend which has put together and expanded material from the Historia Brittonum and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and has been composed by a member of a new Order at Scone (or a similar monastery). As it happens, there is evidence to suggest that there was both a manuscript of the Historia Brittonum and of the Historia Regum Britannie at Scone: both were apparently used by whoever put together the Poppleton compilation,⁸² which Molly Miller has suggested⁸³ originated at Scone. The manuscript of the Historia Brittonum used by the Poppleton compiler seems to have included a

82. Anderson, KKES, 241 n.5, 243-4.

83. Molly Miller, 'Matriliney by treaty: the Pictish foundation-legend', in Ireland in Early Medieval Europe, edd. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (1982), 133-64, at 142.

mention of Scota daughter of Pharaoh,⁸⁴ thus providing a source (if one be needed) for her appearance in the 'Partholón' recension. The mention of Scots in the Poppleton compilation is the basis of the suggestion that the compiler had to hand a manuscript of the 'Nennian' recension of the Historia Brittonum which originated at Sawley, Yorkshire.⁸⁵ The only words in the Poppleton compilation that correspond exactly with the text of the Historia Brittonum are "Scotta filia Pharaonis" and "ut fertur". This must leave it open to suppose that the compiler used a manuscript of the Historia Brittonum which mentioned Scota in a gloss quite independently of the 'Nennian' recension, - which would hardly be a surprise for a manuscript in a Scottish scriptorium. I would tentatively propose, therefore, that the 'Partholón' recension was composed at Scone, probably in the late twelfth-century; and that its author used a manuscript of the Historia Brittonum that had been glossed (by a Gael) with mentions of "Nembroth" and "Scotta".

Lastly, it is very difficult to say anything about the provenance and authorship of the 'Sons of Mil' recension due to its lack of specific detail. While its idea that Gáedel left his country to help its Egyptian allies against the Ethiopians is echoed in the account of the Scottish origin-legend in the Life of St. Cadroe, nothing else between these two

84. Anderson, KKES, 243(-4).

85. As discussed above, pp. 16-7.

accounts tallies significantly. The idea that Gáedel left home to help friends is the most sympathetic view of the circumstances behind Gáedel's arrival in Egypt and might be expected to be both old and capable of being thought up independently. If its portrayal of Gáedel as the leading character in this part of the legend is original, then this would suggest a Scottish origin. Its naming of only two sons of Mil is a tantalising detail; (the third, I have suggested previously,⁸⁶ was not originally in the source-text of this recension used by the synthesiser^t). It conforms to no surviving texts, Irish, Welsh or English, and would be a very old feature in the development of the Gaelic origin-legend.⁸⁷ However, taking the recension's characteristic lack of detail into account, I think that it is more likely that the source-text was content merely to confine itself to the two most important sons of Mil: Éremón and Éber are commonly described as dividing Ireland between them;⁸⁸ and the genealogical framework represents almost all the Gaels as divided between the descendants of Éremón and the descendants of Éber. This lack of detail suggests either that the author had only a bare account for a source, or, more probably, that he was writing it out of his own knowledge. In casting

86. Above, p. 53f.

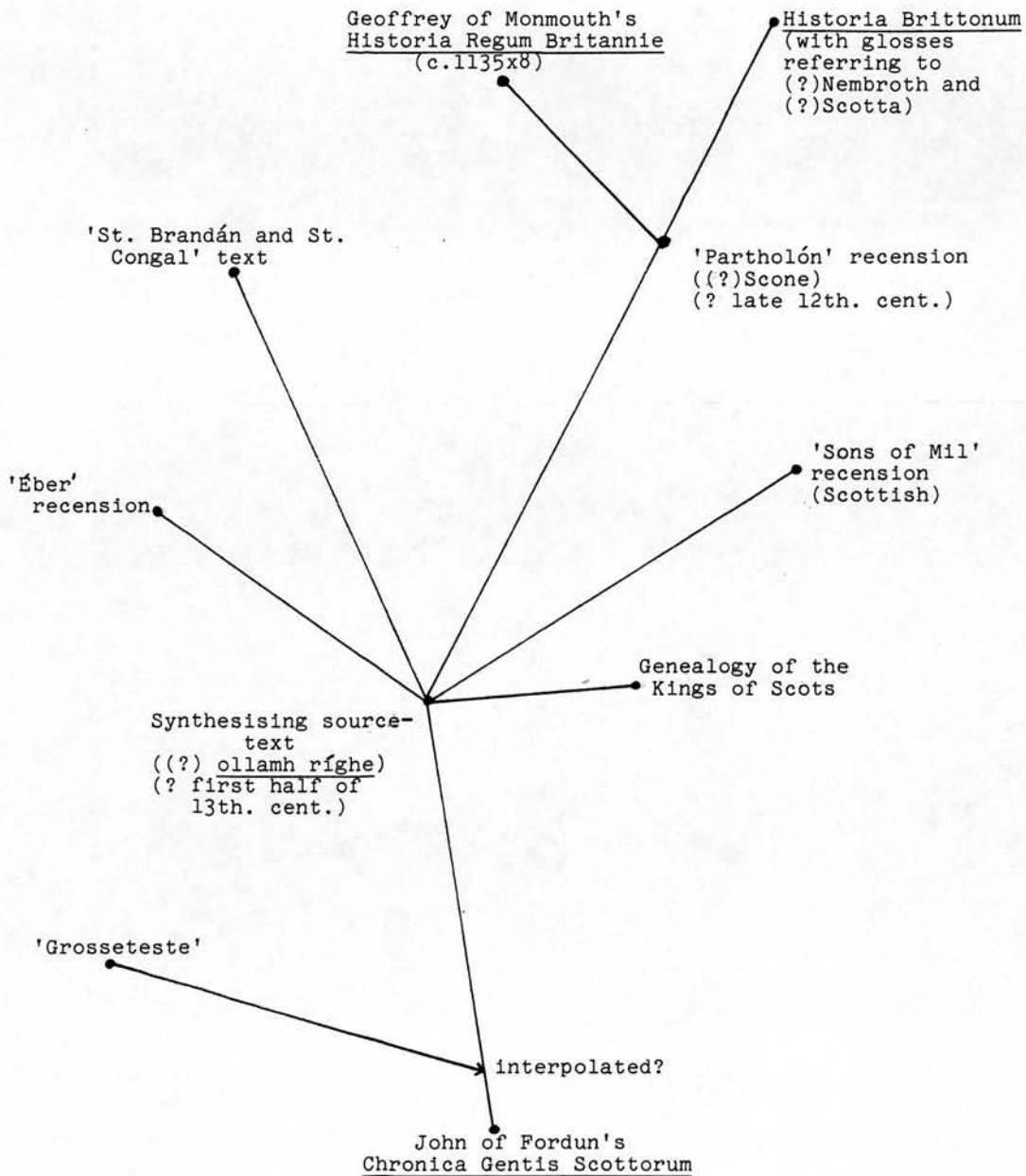
87. See T.F. O'Rahilly, *EIHM*, 195.

88. E.g., *LG* v, 46ff., 64ff., 164ff.; and *Lebor Bretnach*, ed. A.G. van Hamel, 27.

the leading characters as Gáedel, Scota, Mil, Éremón and Éber, and in taking the Scots directly from Egypt to Spain, he shows no readily identifiable reliance on the Lebor Gabála or any Welsh or English text; but is closest to those accounts which, so far, I have suggested have a Scottish provenance. All one can say, therefore, is that it would appear that the author was writing in Scotland.

I will finish by summarising the discussion so far, diagrammatically:

THE NAMELESS SOURCES OF FORDUN'S ACCOUNT OF SCOTTISH ORIGINS



APPENDIX I

THE GAELIC ORIGIN-LEGEND IN JOHN OF FORDUN'S CHRONICA GENTIS SCOTTORUM ed. W.F. Skene, trans. Felix J.F. Skene (Historians of Scotland vol. iv, Edinburgh, 1872):

BOOK I

Ch.VIII
(VIII.1)

In the third Age, in the days of Moses, a certain king of one of the countries of Greece, "Neolus", or "Heolaus", by name, had a son, beautiful in countenance, but wayward in spirit, called "Gaythelos", to whom he allowed no authority in the kingdom. Roused to anger, and backed by a numerous band of youths, "Gaythelos" disturbed his father's kingdom by many cruel misdeeds, and angered his father and his people by his insolence. He was, therefore, driven out by force from his native land, and sailed to Egypt, where, distinguished by courage and daring, and being of royal birth, he married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh.

(VIII.2)

Another Chronicle:

In those days, all Egypt was overrun by the Ethiopians, who, according to their usual custom, laid waste the country from the mountains to the town of Memphis and the Great Sea; so that "Gaythelos", the son of "Neolus", one of Pharaoh's allies, was sent to his assistance with a large army; and the king gave him his only daughter in marriage, to seal the compact.

(VIII.3)

The legend of St. Brandán:

A certain warrior, to whom the chiefs of his nation had assigned the sovereignty, reigned over Athens in Greece; and that his son, "Gaythelos" by name, married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Scota, from which also the Scots derived their name. And he, that is "Gaythelos", who was conspicuous for strength and boldness, exasperated his father, and every one, by his waywardness, and, departing on account of the failure of his cause, rather than of his own accord, retired to Egypt, supported by a spirited band of youths.

(VIII.4)

Another Chronicle:

But a certain "Gaythelos", the grandson, it is said, of "Nembroth", being unwilling to reign by right of succession, or because the people, assisted by the neighbouring nations, would not submit to his tyranny, left his country followed by a great crowd of young men, with an army. At length, harassed by many wars in various places, and compelled by want of provisions, he came to Egypt, and, having joined King Pharaoh, he strove, together with the Egyptians, to keep the children of Israel in perpetual bondage; and he finally married Pharaoh's only daughter, Scota, with the view of succeeding his father-in-law on the throne of Egypt.

Ch.X

(X.1)

(A computistical passage)... the above-mentioned Pharaoh was swallowed up, with his army of 600 chariots, 50,000 horse, and 200,000 foot; while the survivors, who remained at home, hoping to be released from the tax of grain formerly introduced by Joseph in the time of famine, suddenly drove clean out of the kingdom, with his followers, lest he should usurp dominion over them, the king's son-in-law "Gaythelos Glas", who had refused to pursue the inoffensive Hebrews. Thus, then, the assembled villagers cruelly expelled from their midst, by a servile insurrection, all the nobles of the Greeks, as well as those of the Egyptians, whom the greedy sea had not swallowed up.

(X.2)

Another Chronicle:

After the army was gone, "Gaythelos" remained behind in the city of Heliopolis, by a plan arranged between him and King Pharaoh, in case he should have to succeed him in his kingdom. But the remainder of the Egyptian people, perceiving what befell their king, and, at the same time, being on their guard lest, once subject to the yoke of a foreign tyranny, they should not be able to shake it off again, gathered together their forces, and sent word to "Gaythelos" that, if he did not hasten, as much as possible, his departure from the kingdom, endless mischief would result to him and his without delay.

Ch.XI
(XI.1)

Now "Gaythelos", since he was the king's son-in-law, and the most noble of all, is set up as king over them by the expelled nobles of both nations. But, although attended by a numerous army, he cautiously came to the conclusion that he could not withstand the hosts of so great a multitude of furious enemies; and knowing, also, that the path of his return into Greece was closed to him, on account of the crimes he had formerly perpetrated there, he decided, to a certain extent, indeed by the advice of his officers, that he would either seize from some other nation a kingdom and lands, and dwell there in continual warfare, or, by the favour of the gods, would only seek out some desert place to take possession of, for a settlement. This they all in concert swore to put into due execution, as far as they were able. Having, therefore, appointed "Gaythelos" their leader, the banished nobles, impelled to some extent by a youthful craving for adventure, soon made ready a good-sized fleet, laden with provisions in store and other necessaries for an expedition, to go in quest of new lands to settle in, on the uttermost confines of the world, hitherto, as they imagined, unoccupied.

(XI.2)

Another Chronicle:

"Gaythelos", therefore, assembled his retainers, and, with his wife Scota, quitted Egypt; and as, on account of an old feud, he feared to retrace his steps to those parts whence he had come to Egypt, he bent his course westwards, where, he knew, the inhabitants against whom he would have to struggle with his men, unskilled as these were in the use of arms, were fewer and less warlike.

(XI.3)

Another Chronicle:

At length all was ready; and "Gaythelos", with his wife and whole family, and the other leaders, trusting to the direction of their gods, embark, in boats, on board ships prepared for them; and when the sailors, with busy diligence, had weighed anchor, and cast off the warps, the sails are spread wide to the blasts of the winds. Then, sailing out into the inland channel, they made for the western tracts of the world, with prows cutting the waves of the sea between the southern limits of Europe and Africa.

Ch.XII
(XII.1)

"Gaythelos" then, having wandered through many provinces, and made various halts in such spots as he found convenient, because he knew that the people he had led, burdened with wives and children, and much baggage, were distressed beyond measure, entered Africa by the river Ansaga, and rested in quiet, for some time, in a province of Numidia, though the dwellers in that country have no habitation where they can be sure of quiet. For the forty years, therefore, that the children of Israel dwelt in the desert, under Moses, "Gaythelos" himself, also, with his followers, wandered, now here, now there, through many lands; but at length, leaving Africa, he embarked on such ships as he could then get, and went over into Spain, near the islands of Gades.

(XII.2)
Chronicle:

Thus, indeed, wandering hither and thither, they kept traversing, for a long time, many unknown parts of the sea; and, forasmuch as they were driven out by the violence of contrary winds, they were exposed to many dangers, and various risks, until, at length, just as they were being pinched by want of provisions, they unexpectedly arrive safely in some part of the coast of Spain. There the ships were laid up, made fast to moorings which had been laid down.

Ch.XIII
(XIII.1)

It is maintained, however, elsewhere, that

Many Egyptians as well as Greek foreigners, panic-stricken, not through fear of man only, as said above, but rather by dread of the gods, fled far from Egypt and their native country. Seeing the terrible plagues and wonders with which they had been afflicted, through Moses, they feared exceedingly, neither durst they remain there longer. For, as the regions of Sodom and Gomorrah, with their people, had, of old, been reduced to ashes, on account of their sins, so they expected that Egypt, with its inhabitants, would suddenly be overthrown.

(XIII.2)

This is also evident from the Historia Scholastica, where it is said:

Many of the Egyptians, indeed, fearing that Egypt would be destroyed, went forth; of whom Cecrops, crossing over into Greece, built the town of Athen, which was afterwards called Athens. It is believed, also, that Dionysian Bacchus, in that season, going forth out of Egypt, built the city of Argos, in Greece, and gave to Greece the use of the vine. Whether, indeed, she was led in this wise, of her own accord, by fear of the gods, or forcibly compelled by her enemies (but it was certainly in one or other of these two ways), it is taught that Scota, with her husband, followed by a large retinue, went forth in terror out of Egypt.

(XIII.3)

'Grosseteste':

In the olden time there went out of Egypt Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, with her husband, by name "Gayel", and a very large company. For they had heard the evils which were to come upon the Egyptians, and thus through the commands or the answers of the gods, flying from plagues which were to come, they launched out into the sea, intrusting themselves to the governance of their gods. And they, cruising thus, for many days, through the seas, with wavering minds, at length, on account of the inclement weather, were glad to bring up on a certain coast.

Ch.XIV

(XIV.1)

In the meantime, being harassed by the long fatigues of the sea, they hastened to the land of Spain, for the sake of obtaining food and rest. But the natives hastily assemble from every side; and, brooking ill the arrival of the new-comers, propose to withstand them by force of arms. They are soon engaged in battle, and, after a desperate struggle, the natives are overcome and put to flight. The victory thus gained, "Gaythelos" pursues the natives; and, having plundered part of the surrounding country, he returned to the shore, and pitched his tents, surrounded by a mound, on a certain hillock on rising ground, where he could more safely oppose the attacking columns of the enemy. He, there afterwards, the natives being subdued for a while, built by degrees a very strong town, by name "Brigancia", in the middle of which he erected a tower of exceeding height, surrounded by a deep ditch, which is still to be seen. He thus passed all the days of his life there, harassed by the continual assaults of war, and perpetually entangled in the various chances of fortune.

(XIV.2)

The legend of St. Brandán:

But "Gaythelos", driven out of Egypt, and thus sailing through the Mediterranean Sea, brings to in Spain; and, building, on the river "Hyberym", a tower, "Brigancia" by name, he usurped by force from the inhabitants a place to settle in.

Ch.XV
(XV.1)

Meanwhile, being there troubled by annoyances of many kinds, "Gaythelos", whose whole attention was engrossed in the guardianship of his people, as became a useful and careful chief, foresaw that there was no other fate in store for him there than that he himself, with his tribe, should either be blotted out from off the face of the whole earth, or subjected to the yoke of a perpetual slavery, by the powerful tribes of Spain; for though it very often had happened that he had inflicted very great slaughter on his adversaries, he had never, however, gained even one victory without loss to his small tribe, which, far from increasing, he foresees will rather be diminished by daily and continual wasting; and thus, forecasting with watchful care, he pondered in his mind this continual slaughter, which even threatened dispersion, and what steps he should take in consequence; and at length, debating within himself, he perceived that he deserved to suffer the difficulties he had incurred; for inasmuch as he had renounced the design he had originally formed, on consideration, namely, to seek out unoccupied lands, without bringing injury upon anyone, and had besides insulted territory held from heaven by another people, he feared that he had thus given manifold offence to his own gods. Minded, therefore, to return to the plan he had before conceived in Egypt, he, with the advice of his council, calls the seamen together, and straightway directs them, being provided with arms, and boats provisioned with victuals, to explore the boundless ocean, in search of some desert land. They duly put off to the ships, set sail, and leave the coast of Spain; and, leaving behind them the places they know, entered an unknown sea. After a most speedy passage, by the favour of the gods, they perceive, looming up afar off, an island washed by the sea on all sides; and having reached it, and put into the nearest harbour, they make the circuit of the island, to explore it. When they had examined it as thoroughly as they could, they row quickly back to "Brigancia", bringing their King "Gaythelos" tidings of a certain most beautiful tract of land, discovered in the ocean.

Ch. XVI
 (XVI.1)

The legend of St. Brandán

Now "Gaythelos", since he was unacceptable to the inhabitants, looking forth, one clear day, from "Brigancia", and seeing land far out at sea, arms some active and warlike youths, and directs them to explore it in three boats; and they commit themselves to the high seas. They, at length, against a northerly wind, come in a body to the island, and, rowing round it to reconnoitre, attacked the inhabitants they found, and slew them. And, thus, having explored the land, and admired its goodliness, they returned to Brigancia. But "Gaythelos", overtaken by sudden death, exhorted his sons, and impressed upon them that they should do their best to get possession of the aforesaid land, charging them with both slothfulness and cowardice if they gave up so noble a kingdom, and one which they could penetrate into without war or danger. "Whatever happen to me", said he, "you will be able, they say, to make this island your habitation. When we, driven by want of food, arrived in this country, our gods gave us the victory over the opposing inhabitants; and justly so, had we, as soon as our ships had been provisioned, set sail and gone to this island, which the gods now offer us, or to one, like it, devoid of inhabitants. We therefore deserve to suffer these adversities of ours, because we have been nowise careful to obey the just wishes of the gods. In these parts, I think, the possession of property is difficult to acquire, unless it be purchased at too dear a price, namely, by slavish subjection, or by the death of us all - far be it from us! But it is both pleasanter, and more praiseworthy, for us to suffer death in battle, than, barely dragging on an ignoble existence, to die daily, miserably fettered under the burden of an execrable subjection. For he, on whose neck, as on that of the ass, is imposed the yoke of continual slavery, is by no means worthy the name of man. Now, therefore, my sons, gratefully accept the gift the gods offer you, and go without delay to the island prepared for you, where you shall be able to live noble and free; for it is the highest nobleness of man, and the one delight, of all things most desired by every gentle heart, nay, the one gem which deserves to be preferred to all the jewels in the world, to endure the sway of no foreign ruler, but to submit voluntarily to a hereditary power of one's own nation".

Ch. XVII
(XVII.1)

"Iber", therefore, having heard his father's words, went, with his brother "Hymec", to the foresaid island, with a fleet, and took it, not by force, but untenanted, as some would have it, by a single inhabitant; and, making it over, when taken, to his brother and his family, he returned to Spain.

(XVII.2)

Some, indeed, relate that giants inhabited that island at first; and this, also, is Geoffrey of Monmouth's account in his Chronicle, when commemorating the deeds of Aurelius Ambrosius. in the seventh book, where he writes as follows

... (passage on giants inhabiting Ireland)...

(XVII.3)

The legend of St. Brandán

Now one of the sons of "Gaythelos", "Yber" by name, a young man, but valiant for his years, being incited to war by his spirit, took up arms, and, having prepared such a fleet as he could, went to the foresaid island, and slew part of the few inhabitants that he found, and part he subdued. He thus appropriated that whole land as a possession for himself and his brethren, calling it Scotia, from his mother's name.

(XVII.4)

'Grosseteste'

And because their princess herself, the most noble of all who were present, was called Scota, they called that part of the land which they reached first, that is, "Oylister", Scotia.

(XVII.5)

But afterwards, says a legend, from that same King "Yber", or rather from the Hyberian sea, they called it Hibernia.

(XVII.6)

From Chronicles .

"Hyber", therefore, by his frequent voyages to the island, and back again as often through the sea, left an eternal designation, from his own name, to that same sea, as well as to the island. That is, just as the sea was thenceforth called the Hyberian sea, so also was the island, either from that very king, or from the sea, always, up to the present day, called Hibernia.

(XVII.7)

Some writers, again, relate that the river "Hyberus", which, also, took its name from that very king, as we read, gave to the whole of Spain the name of Hyberia.

(XVII.8)

But Januensis has written... (passage on name of Spain).

Ch.XIX
(XIX.4)

Another Chronicle:

"Gaythelos", indeed, having his memory well stocked with the laws which King Phoroneus had imposed on the Greeks, and which were, in his time, practised amongst the Egyptians, imbued therewith the people which followed him, and by the regulations of these laws he managed them wisely, and with moderation, as long as he lived; whence our Scots have boasted that they have had the same laws up to this day.

Ch.XX
(XX.1)

To the government, however, of the Scots remaining in Spain after his father's death, succeeded "Hiber". His son "Nonael" succeeded him; then, indeed, the nation set up as their king him on whom the government had devolved by right of succession.

(XX.2)

Another Chronicle:

For about two hundred and forty years they made a stay, with sorry sustenance and mean clothing, amongst the Hispani, who molested them continually. For desert and forest lands in the Pyrenean mountains were granted them by the Hispani, so that they could scarcely live, sustaining life only with goat's milk and wild honey. In this misery, then, or worse, much time did that people live, dwelling in woods and hidden places, having nothing but what they were able to get by rapine and plunder (on account of which they were exceedingly detested by the nations around them on all sides); going barefoot, ill-fed, most meanly attired, - for they were nearly naked, but for furs, or hairy garments, which were their unshapely covering. And, in all these sufferings and straits, they could never be prevailed upon to be subject to, or to obey, a strange king; but always, on the contrary, humble and devoted under their own king, they elected only to lead this beastly life, in freedom.

(XX.3)

'Grosseteste'

The Scots have always had, nearly from the beginning, a distinct kingdom, and a king of their own.

Ch.XXI

(XXI.1)

At length, the supreme authority came to a man equally energetic and industrious, that is, King "Mycelius Espayn", one of whose ancestors had won for himself and his tribes, with their liberty, a place of abode, free, indeed, but too small for tribes so strong in numbers. The people, truly, at this time enjoyed the tranquillity of a long-desired peace, which they had obtained from all around, and for which they had long contended. "Mycelius" had three sons, named "Hermonius", "Pertholonius" and "Hibertus". These, then, when he had prepared a fleet, he sent with a numerous army to Ireland, knowing that they would find there a spacious, but nearly uninhabited, land to dwell in, though it had been settled, of old, by some small tribes of the same race. And when they had, a short time after, arrived there, and had easily taken possession of it, whether by force of arms, or with the consent of the inhabitants, Hermonius returned to Spain, to his father, while his brothers, "Pertholonius" and "Hibertus", with their tribes, remained in the island.

(XXI.2)

Another Chronicle:

After the death of "Gaythelos" and Scota, and of their sons, the next of kin always succeeded to the chieftainship in turn, as occasion arose, down to one whose proper name was "Pertholonius." He, being as sagacious in spirit as active in understanding, began to lament that he and his people could not increase nor multiply in those parts, on account of the very frequent and grievous molestations of the hostile Hispani. They, therefore, determined to escape from so barren a soil, which, too, they had held in misery, among such as reputed them the vilest of men, and to pass over to some more roomy place of abode, if possible. Having, at length, eagerly taken counsel with the elders, they come to the Gallic sea with bag and baggage, and having prepared ships, or procured them wherever they could, they commit themselves to the dangers of the deep, seeking, wherever fortune might lead them, a sure and perpetual home, in freedom. Thus "Pertholonius", with his family, set out for Ireland with a fleet, and, having subdued the natives, obtained it as a perpetual possession for himself.

(Ch. XXII gives Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the taking of Ireland by Pertholonius. Ch. XXIII-V is a discussion of this in which Fordun is concerned to refute Geoffrey's account of Pertholonius's invasion).

APPENDIX II

THE NAMELESS RECENSIONS IN FORDUN'S ACCOUNT
OF THE GAELIC ORIGIN-LEGEND

(as they appear in Fordun, without any interference on my part to distinguish what might or might not be the original wording of the sources).

Passages derived from the 'ÉBER' RECENSION.

(VIII.1)

In the third Age, in the days of Moses, a certain king of one of the countries of Greece, Néel by name, had a son, beautiful in countenance, but wayward in spirit, called Gáedel, to whom he allowed no authority in the kingdom. Roused to anger, and backed by a numerous band of youths, Gáedel disturbed his father's kingdom by many cruel misdeeds, and angered his father and his people by his insolence. He was, therefore, driven out by force from his native land, and sailed to Egypt, where, distinguished by courage and daring, and being of royal birth, he married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh.

(X.1)

The above-mentioned Pharaoh was swallowed up, with his army of 600 chariots, 50,000 horse, and 200,000 foot; while the survivors, who remained at home, hoping to be released from the tax of grain formerly introduced by Joseph in the time of famine, suddenly drove clean out of the kingdom, with his followers, lest he should usurp dominion over them, the king's son-in-law Gáedel Glas, who had refused to pursue the inoffensive Hebrews. Thus, then, the assembled villagers cruelly expelled from their midst, by a servile insurrection, all the nobles of the Greeks, as well as those of the Egyptians, whom the greedy sea had not swallowed up.

(XI.1)

Now Gáedel, since he was the king's son-in-law, and the most noble of all, is set up as king over them by the expelled nobles of both nations. But, although attended by a numerous army, he cautiously came to the conclusion that he could not withstand the hosts of so great a multitude of furious enemies; and knowing, also, that the path of his return into Greece was closed to him, on account of the crimes he had formerly perpetrated there, he decided, to a certain extent, indeed by the advice of his officers, that he would either /

either seize from some other nation a kingdom and lands, and dwell there in continual warfare, or, by the favour of the gods, would only seek out some desert place to take possession of, for a settlement. This they all in concert swore to put into due execution, as far as they were able. Having, therefore, appointed Gáedel their leader, the banished nobles, impelled to some extent by a youthful craving for adventure, soon made ready a good-sized fleet, laden with provisions in store and other necessities for an expedition, to go in quest of new lands to settle in, on the uttermost confines of the world, hitherto, as they imagined, unoccupied.

(XIV.1)

In the meantime, being harassed by the long fatigues of the sea, they hastened to the land of Spain, for the sake of obtaining food and rest. But the natives hastily assemble from every side; and, brooking ill the arrival of the new-comers, propose to withstand them by force of arms. They are soon engaged in battle, and, after a desperate struggle, the natives are overcome and put to flight. The victory thus gained, Gáedel pursues the natives; and, having plundered part of the surrounding country, he returned to the shore, and pitched his tents, surrounded by a mound, on a certain hillock on rising ground, where he could more safely oppose the attacking columns of the enemy. He, there afterwards, the natives being subdued for a while, built by degrees a very strong town; by name Brigancia, in the middle of which he erected a tower of exceeding height, surrounded by a deep ditch, which is still to be seen. He thus passed all the days of his life there, harassed by the continual assaults of war, and perpetually entangled in the various chances of fortune.

(XV.1)

Meanwhile, being there troubled by annoyances of many kinds, Gáedel, whose whole attention was engrossed in the guardianship of his people, as became a useful and careful chief, foresaw that there was no other fate in store for him there than that he himself, with his tribe, should either be blotted out from off the face of the whole earth, or subjected to the yoke of a perpetual slavery, by the powerful tribes of Spain; for though it very often had happened that he had inflicted very great slaughter on his adversaries, he had never, however, gained even one victory without loss to his small tribe, which, far from increasing, he foresees will rather be diminished by daily and continual wasting; and thus, forecasting with watchful care, he pondered in his mind this continual slaughter, which even threatened dispersion, and what steps he should take in consequence; and at length, debating /

debating within himself, he perceived that he deserved to suffer the difficulties he had incurred; for inasmuch as he had renounced the design he had originally formed, on consideration, namely, to seek out unoccupied lands, without bringing injury upon anyone, and had besides insulted territory held from heaven by another people, he feared that he had thus given manifold offence to his own gods. Minded, therefore, to return to the plan he had before conceived in Egypt, he, with the advice of his council, calls the seamen together, and straightway directs them, being provided with arms, and boats provisioned with victuals, to explore the boundless ocean, in search of some desert land. They duly put off to the ships, set sail, and leave the coast of Spain; and, leaving behind them the places they knew, entered an unknown sea. After a most speedy passage, by the favour of the gods, they perceive, looming up afar off, an island washed by the sea on all sides; and having reached it, and put into the nearest harbour, they make the circuit of the island, to explore it. When they had examined it as thoroughly as they could, they row quickly back to Brigancia, bringing their King Gáedel tidings of a certain most beautiful tract of land, discovered in the ocean.

(XVII.1)

Éber, therefore, having heard his father's words, went, with his brother Hymec, to the foresaid island, with a fleet, and took it, not by force, but untenanted, as some would have it, by a single inhabitant; and, making it over, when taken, to his brother and his family, he returned to Spain.

Passages derived from the 'SONS OF MIL' RECENSION

(VIII.2)

In those days, all Egypt was overrun by the Ethiopians, who, according to their usual custom, laid waste the country from the mountains to the town of Memphis and the Great Sea; so that Gáedel, the son of Néel, one of Pharaoh's allies, was sent to his assistance with a large army; and the king gave him his only daughter in marriage, to seal the compact.

(XIII.1)

Many Egyptians as well as Greek foreigners, panic-stricken, not through fear of man only, as said above, but rather by dread of the gods, fled far from Egypt and their native country. Seeing the terrible plagues and wonders with which they had been afflicted, through Moses, they feared exceedingly, neither durst they remain there longer. For, as the regions of Sodom and Gomorrah, with their people, had, of old, been reduced to ashes, on account of their sins, so they expected that Egypt, with its inhabitants, would suddenly be overthrown.

(XI.3)

At length all was ready; and Gáedel, with his wife and whole family, and the other leaders, trusting to the direction of their gods, embark, in boats, on board ships prepared for them; and when the sailors, with busy diligence, had weighed anchor, and cast off the warps, the sails are spread wide to the blasts of the winds. Then, sailing out into the inland channel, they made for the western tracts of the world, with prows cutting the waves of the sea between the southern limits of Europe and Africa.

(XII.2)

Thus, indeed, wandering hither and thither, they kept traversing, for a long time, many unknown parts of the sea; and, forasmuch as they were driven out by the violence of contrary winds, they were exposed to many dangers, and various risks, until, at length, just as they were being pinched by want of provisions, they unexpectedly arrive safely in some part of the coast of Spain. There the ships were laid up, made fast to moorings which had been laid down.

(XXI.1)

At length, the supreme authority came to a man equally energetic and industrious, that is, King Mil Espáine, one of whose ancestors had won for himself and his tribes, with their liberty, a place of abode, free, indeed, but too small for tribes so strong in numbers. The people, truly, at this time enjoyed the tranquillity of a long-desired peace, which they had obtained from all around, and for which they had long contended. Mil had three sons, named Éremón, Partholón, and Éber. These, then, when he had prepared /

prepared a fleet, he sent with a numerous army to Ireland, knowing that they would find there a spacious, but nearly uninhabited land to dwell in, though it had been settled, of old, by some small tribes of the same race. And when they had, a short time after, arrived there, and had easily taken possession of it, whether by force of arms, or with the consent of the inhabitants, Éremón returned to Spain, to his father, while his brothers, Partholón and Éber, with their tribes, remained in the island.

Passages derived from the 'PARTHOLÓN' RECENSION

(VIII.4)

But a certain Gáedel, the grandson, it is said, of Nembroth, being unwilling to reign by right of succession, or because the people, assisted by the neighbouring nations, would not submit to his tyranny, left his country followed by a great crowd of young men, with an army. At length, harassed by many wars in various places, and compelled by want of provisions, he came to Egypt, and, having joined King Pharaoh, he strove, together with the Egyptians, to keep the children of Israel in perpetual bondage; and he finally married Pharaoh's only daughter, Scota, with the view of succeeding his father-in-law on the throne of Egypt.

(X.2)

After the army was gone, Gáedel remained behind in the city of Heliopolis, by a plan arranged between him and King Pharaoh, in case he should have to succeed him in his kingdom. But the remainder of the Egyptian people, perceiving what befell their king, and, at the same time, being on their guard lest, once subject to the yoke of a foreign tyranny they should not be able to shake it off again, gathered together their forces, and sent word to Gáedel that, if he did not hasten, as much as possible, his departure from the kingdom, endless mischief would result to him and his without delay.

(XI.2)

Gáedel, therefore, assembled his retainers, and, with his wife Scota, quitted Egypt; and as, on account of an old feud, he feared to retrace his steps to those parts whence he had come to Egypt, he bent his course westwards, where, he knew, the inhabitants against whom he would have to struggle with his men, unskilled as these were in the use of arms, were fewer and less warlike.

(XII.1)

Gáedel then, having wandered through many provinces, and made various halts in such spots as he found convenient, because he knew that the people he had led, burdened with wives and children, and much baggage, were distressed beyond measure, entered Africa by the river Ansaga, and rested in quiet, for some time, in a province of Numidia, though the dwellers in that country have no habitation where they can be sure of quiet. For the forty years, therefore, that the children of Israel dwelt in the desert, under Moses, Gáedel himself, also, with his followers, wandered, now here, now there, through many lands; but at length, leaving Africa, he embarked on such ships as he could then get, and went over into Spain, near the islands of Gades.

(XX.2)

For about two hundred and forty years they made a stay, with sorry sustenance and mean clothing, amongst the Hispani, who molested them continually. For desert and forest lands in the Pyrenean mountains were granted them by the Hispani, so that they could scarcely live, sustaining life only with goat's milk and wild honey. In this misery, then, or worse, much time did that people live, dwelling in woods and hidden places, having nothing but what they were able to get by rapine and plunder (on account of which they were exceedingly detested by the nations around them on all sides); going barefoot, ill-fed, most meanly attired, - for they were nearly naked, but for furs, or hairy garments, which were their unshapely covering. And, in all these sufferings and straits, they could never be prevailed upon to be subject to, or to obey, a strange king; but always, on the contrary, humble and devoted under their own king, they elected only to lead this beastly life, in freedom.

(XXI.2)

After the death of Gáedel and Scota, and of their sons, the next of kin always succeeded to the chieftanship in turn, as occasion arose, down to one whose proper name was Partholón. He, being as sagacious in spirit as active in understanding, began to lament that he and his people could not increase nor multiply in those parts, on account of the very frequent and grievous molestations of the hostile Hispani. They, therefore, determined to escape from so barren a soil, which, too, they had held in misery, among such as reputed them the vilest of men, and to pass over to some more roomy place of abode, if possible. Having, at length, eagerly taken counsel with the elders, they come to the Gallic sea with bag and baggage, and having prepared ships, or procured them wherever they could, they commit themselves to the dangers of the deep, seeking wherever fortune might lead them, a sure and perpetual home, in freedom. Thus, Partholón, with his family, set out for Ireland with a fleet, and, having subdued the natives, obtained it as a perpetual possession for himself.

Passages attributed to 'GROSSETESTE'

(XIII.3)

In the olden time there went out of Egypt Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, with her husband, by name Gáedel, and a very large company. For they had heard the evils which were to come upon the Egyptians, and thus through the commands or the answers of the gods, flying from the plagues which were to come, they launched out into the sea, intrusting themselves to the governance of their gods. And they, cruising thus, for many days, through the seas, with wavering minds, at length, on account of the inclement weather, were glad to bring up on a certain coast.

(XVII.4)

And because their princess herself, the most noble of all who were present, was called Scota, they called that part of the land which they reached first, that is, Oylister, Scotia.

(XX.3)

The Scots have always had, nearly from the beginning, a distinct kingdom, and a king of their own.

Passages attributed to a 'LEGEND OF ST. BRANDÁN'

(VIII.3)

A certain warrior, to whom the chiefs of his nation had assigned the sovereignty, reigned over Athens in Greece; and that his son Gáedel by name, married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, Scota, from whom also the Scots derived their name. And he, that is Gáedel, who was conspicuous for strength and boldness, exasperated his father, and every one, by his waywardness, and, departing on account of the failure of his cause, rather than of his own accord, retired to Egypt, supported by a spirited band of youths.

(XIV.2)

But Gáedel, driven out of Egypt, and thus sailing through the Mediterranean Sea, brings to in Spain; and, building, on the river Ebro a tower, Brigancia by name, he usurped by force from the inhabitants a place to settle in.

(XVI.1)

(Gáedel's speech has been taken from 'Éber' recension, see p. 50 n.29).

Now Gáedel, since he was unacceptable to the inhabitants, looking forth, one clear day, from Brigancia, and seeing land far out at sea, arms some active and warlike youths, and directs them to explore it in three boats; and they commit themselves to the high seas. They, at length, against a northerly wind, come in a body to the island, and, rowing round it to reconnoitre, attacked the inhabitants they found, and slew them. And, thus, having explored the land, and admired its goodliness, they returned to Brigancia. But Gáedel, overtaken by sudden death, exhorted his sons, and impressed upon them that they should do their best to get possession of the aforesaid land, charging them with both slothfulness and cowardice if they gave up so noble a kingdom, and one which they could penetrate into without war or danger. "Whatever happen to me", said he, "you will be able, they say, to make this island your habitation. When we, driven by want of food, arrived in this country, our gods gave us the victory over the opposing inhabitants; and justly so, had we, as soon as our ships had been provisioned, set sail and gone to this island, which the gods now offer us, or to one, like it, devoid of inhabitants. We therefore deserve to suffer these adversities of ours, because we have been nowise careful to obey the just wishes of the gods. In these parts, I think, the possession of property is difficult to acquire, unless it be purchased at too dear a price, namely, by slavish subjection, or by the death of us all - far be it from us! But it is both pleasanter, and more praiseworthy, for us to suffer death in battle, than, barely dragging on an ignoble existence, to die daily, miserably fettered under the burden of an execrable subjection. For he, on whose neck, as on that of the ass, is imposed the yoke of continual slavery, is by no means worthy the name of man. Now, therefore, my sons, gratefully accept the gift the gods offer you, and go without delay to the island prepared for you, where you shall be able to live noble and free; for it is the highest nobleness of man, and the one delight, of all things most desired by every gentle heart, nay, the one gem which deserves to be preferred to all the jewels in the world, to endure the sway of no foreign ruler, but to submit voluntarily to a hereditary power of one's own nation".

(XVII.3)

Now one of the sons of Gáedel, Éber by name, a young man, but valiant for his years, being incited to war by his spirit, took up arms, and, having prepared such a fleet as he could, went to the foresaid island, and slew part of the few inhabitants that he found, and part he subdued. He thus appropriated that whole land as a possession for himself and his brethren, calling it Scotia, from his mother's name.

(XVII.5)

But afterwards, from that same King Éber, or rather from the Hyberian sea, they called it Hibernia.

CHAPTER THREE

SIR THOMAS GRAY'S SCALACRONICA AND ANDREW
WYNTOUN'S ORIGINAL CHRONICLE

In the light of the analysis of Fordun's 'nameless' material on Scottish origins, it appears that he should no longer be credited as the first to formulate fully the myth of Scottish origins that dominates subsequent Scottish historiography. It appears, rather, that Fordun was, at most, a simple redactor, and that the Scottish origin-legend has a longer and more substantial history in Scotland, continuous to the time of Fordun, than has hitherto been suspected. An obvious way of continuing this investigation of the legend before Fordun is to discuss the sources behind other detailed accounts of Scottish origins that can be found in works which are approximately contemporaneous with, and are independent of, Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum. Such works are Sir Thomas Gray's Scalacronica and Andrew of Wyntoun's Original Chronicle of Scotland. In this chapter I will discuss in turn the sources behind their accounts of the Scottish origin-legend: this will, not surprisingly, include some of the material in Fordun as well.

Sir Thomas Gray of Heton began to write the

Scalacronica¹ during his two years of captivity in Edinburgh Castle after his capture in 1355. His declared intention² was to 'translate into shorter sentences [in French] the chronicles of Great Britain and the deeds of the English' from 'books of chronicles, in verse and prose, in Latin, in French, and in English, about the deeds of [his] ancestors' which he found in Edinburgh Castle. The Scalacronica starts with the Creation and finishes with the marriage of David II to Margaret Logie in April 1363. It includes much original material, especially concerning the Wars of Independence, while the earlier part of the work is heavily dependent on such well-known authorities as Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Ranulf Higden.³ The Scalacronica survives only in the unique manuscript, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 133.

Between folios 193b and 197⁴ there is what has been described as an independent "chronicle" which, it has been suggested,⁵ Thomas Gray has

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1. Scalacronica, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton Knight, edited (from 1066) by Joseph Stevenson (Maitland Club, 1866 [hereafter Scalacronica]). The later part has been translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Scalacronica, The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III (Glasgow 1907): [hereafter Scalacronica (Maxwell)].
 2. Scalacronica (Maxwell), viii.
 3. As Higden uses and quotes from all these sources it would be interesting to know whether the earlier part of the Scalacronica is wholly or very largely drawn from Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon.
 4. Edited in Scalacronica 112-8, and edited and translated in Chron. Picts-Scots, 194-208.
 5. Chron. Picts-Scots, lix (calling it the 'Chronicle of Lochleven'); Bruce Webster, Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603 (1975), 17.

translated into French from Latin and inserted into his Scalacronica. He introduces it after his account of the Scottish embassy informing Edward I of the death of Margaret "the Maid of Norway", and asking him to arbitrate in deciding on her successor.

This "inserted chronicle" is, in effect, a compilation of Scottish historical material. The first item is an account of Scottish origins which it declares to be taken from "La vie saint Brandane" (and is a version of the Gaelic origin-legend); the second item is a list of kings of Dál Riata; the third is an account of Pictish origins which serves to introduce the fourth item, a list of kings of the Picts; the fifth item describes the eclipse and destruction of the Picts by the Scoti and of the establishment of the dominance of the Scoti in Scotland; and the sixth and final item is an annotated list of the kings of Scots from Cináed mac Alpín. It has been assumed by those who have commented on the date of this "inserted chronicle" that it was put together all at once. W.F. Skene suggested⁶ that it was originally composed in 1280, but this was on the strength of its summa annorum for the kingship after Cináed mac Alpín: Marjorie Anderson has since demonstrated⁷ that Skene's idea that the summa was

6. Chron. Picts-Scots, lix.

7. KKES, Appendix 4, esp. at 217.

calculated from 850 is groundless, and that it is dangerous for such summae to be taken literally to indicate when an extant king-list was composed. Bruce Webster has suggested⁸ that the "inserted chronicle" was composed at the end of the thirteenth century - no doubt not long after King John's inauguration in 1292, because that is the latest event mentioned (right at the end of the annotated list of the kings of Scots from Cináed mac Alpín). If this were so, one could quite confidently date the Life of St. Brandán, which was the source of its account of Scottish origins, to sometime prior to the reign of John Balliol.

Unfortunately, this would be a premature conclusion. Bruce Webster's dating (which I interpret to mean 1292 x 1306 at the most, if not 1292 x 1304)⁹ holds good only for the king-lists - of the kings from Cináed mac Alpín (plus notes), of the Picts, and of the Dál Riata - which Marjorie Anderson has demonstrated¹⁰ are derived from the source of the 'X' group (which included all three lists) composed between 1214 and 1249. On the face of it, therefore, there is nothing to prevent the other material in this "inserted chronicle" from having been interpolated into the king-lists (conventionally referred to as king-list 'K') between 1292 x 1306 and the composition of the

8. Bruce Webster, op.cit., 17.

9. From a Scottish point of view, King John's 'reign' continued certainly as long as the Scottish Guardians were acting in his name until their final surrender in 1304: see Barrow, Bruce, 90-131.

10. Anderson, KKES, 49f, 52, and 61.

Scalacronica by Sir Thomas Gray.

In fact, looking closer, it is likely that all the material extraneous to K, apart from the account of Scottish origins, has been taken from Higden's Polychronicon.¹¹ The passage on Cináed mac Alpín's expansion south of the Forth and strengthening of the kingship of the Scots¹² is peculiar to Higden, as is the naming of the king as Roderic¹³ who the Picts allied with on arriving in Britain. The other extraneous material (except the origin-legend account) can be found in Higden, derived from such well-known texts as the Historia Regum Britannie, Giraldus Cambrensis' De Instructione Principum and Topographia Hibernica, and Florence of Worcester. Sir Thomas Gray, in writing his Scalacronica, heavily relied on Higden's Polychronicon. It is irresistible to conclude, therefore, that it was Thomas Gray himself who interpolated all this material from Higden into king-list K. It remains open to question, however, whether he added the account of Scottish origins from the Life of St. Brandán to K, or whether he found it already prefacing the king-list. Fortunately it is possible to understand a bit more of the history of this account of Scottish origins from the Life of St. Brandán by comparing it with the account in Fordun attributed to a 'Legend of St. Brandán'.¹⁴

11. Polychronicon ii, 144, 148-50, 154-6.

12. Ibid., 156. This is largely derived from the Scottish Chronicle (extant only in the Poppleton MS), which seems to have been used as a source by Higden alone.

13. Ibid., 144. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the source for this passage, calls the king Sodric: The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Neil Wright (1984), 45.

14. For which see Chapter Two, Appendix II.

It has long been noticed¹⁵ that the Scalacronica's account taken from a Life of St. Brandán and Fordun's taken from a 'Legend of St. Brandán' are similar, and it has been suggested¹⁶ that Fordun and Thomas Gray (or whoever joined the account of Scottish origins to king-list K) were in fact noting the same work. On the face of it this seems quite likely - a Life of St. Brandán could be referred to as a 'legend' of St. Brandán. It is significant that Fordun does not seem to use 'legend' as if it were the title, but merely as his own description of the work (so that one should correctly refer to it as a 'legend of St. Brandán' rather than a Legend of St. Brandán): he refers to both 'a legend of St. Congal' and 'an historia of the Blessed Congal' when he must be referring to the same work (probably a Life of a St. Congal);¹⁷ and he says that he is quoting from 'an historia of the Blessed Kentigern' when he is quoting from the Life of St. Kentigern.¹⁸

Looking at Appendix I it is evident, at a glance, that both Fordun and the Scalacronica's St. Brandán material are derived from the same version of the origin-legend. The basic story is the same: Gáedel goes from Greece to Egypt and marries Scota daughter of Pharaoh; he leaves Egypt and sails to Spain where he founds Brigancia; Ireland

15. Chron. Fordun ii, 381.

16. Chron. Fordun i, xxxv.

17. Ibid., 23-4, 45.

18. Ibid., 95.

is discovered and explored, and is then invaded and conquered by Éber son of Gáedel. Some of the detail is the same in both accounts: for instance, Gáedel is the son of an Athenian nobleman; the exploratory expedition to Ireland consists of 3 vessels; on the expedition's return, Gáedel dies suddenly, and exhorts his sons to settle in Ireland which, he says, is easy to conquer. In a few places there are noticeable verbal similarities; e.g.

Fordun's St. Brandán source

The Scalacronica's St. Brandán source

"... [Éber] predictam aggressus insulam, partem paucorum incolarum, quos reperit, necat, sibique partem subegit
... Postmodum autem ab eodem Ybero rege, vel mari potius Hyberico, Hiberniam vocaverunt..."

"...[Éber] se addressa od sez freirs al auant dit Ile, qi le seisy, et tuerent et soutz-mistrent a lour obeisaunce ceaux qe ils y trouerent, et puis appellerent le Ile Iberniam, apres lour frier eyne Eberus, ou apres la mere Eberiaco ..."

This goes to confirm the suggestion that both the origin-legend accounts attributed to a St. Brandán source in Fordun and the Scalacronica do indeed share a common source, no doubt a Life of St. Brandán interpolated with this account of the Gaelic origin-legend.

It is evident, looking at Appendix II, that accounts of the Símon Breac and Fergus mac Ferchair legend that

appear in Fordun and in the Scalacronica are also both ultimately derived from a common source. Coincidence of detail, as well as the odd verbal similarity, suggest that this would have told that Símón Breac was not in line to succeed his father, the King of Spain; but that being his father's best-loved son, he was given the stone 'throne' of the Kings of Spain to take with him to Ireland, over which he ruled.

"Lapidem vero prefatum, scilicet, "... enmyst le auant dit cathedram in eminentiori loco pere en le plus souerain regni Themor nomine posuit, qui bele lieu du pays, qe au regia sedes locusque regni iour de huy port le noune, superior de cetero dictus est..." li Lieu Real".

This stone throne (it would have continued) was afterwards taken to Scotland by Fergus mac Ferchair, who was inaugurated first king of Scots upon it, and on which all subsequent Kings of Scots have been inaugurated.

In Fordun's account, however, the Símón Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend is not attributed to a St. Brandán source, but to what he variously calls a "historia" or a "legenda" of St. Congal.¹⁹ On the face of it, therefore, it seems that the St. Brandán source appearing in Fordun contained only the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend, and that the St. Congal source evident in Fordun contained only the Símón Breac/

19. Chron. Fordun i, 23-4, 45.

Fergus mac Ferchair legend. Indeed, both the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus legends, as they appear in Fordun, read like two independent accounts of the conquest of Ireland: evidently they have only been welded into the framework of the account of Scottish origins that appears in Fordun by the skill of the author of the synthetic origin-legend text which Fordun, I have suggested, used so extensively in his work. The synthesist has identified Símon Breac with a figure of the same name in the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots who is, in fact, a quite separate person, being no more than a space-filling pseudo-historical High-King of Ireland with no association anywhere else with Spain, conquest, or a stone throne.²⁰ Conveniently, the Genealogy's Símon Breac appears as a descendant of Éber: Éber is thus made to return to Spain, so that the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus legends of the conquest of Ireland are made (a little awkwardly) to become parts of the coherent account of the Scoti constructed by the synthesist.

Where Fordun's St. Congal account of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend describes how Símon became ruler of Ireland by conquest, however, the Scalacronica

20. He appears as a king of the line of Éremón mac Miled in the Reim Riograide: LG v, 252, 507. As a descendant of Mil, he could hardly have been conceived of in Gaelic tradition as a conqueror of Ireland and a son of a king of Spain.

account relates that Símón became king by marrying 'a daughter of the Scoti.' It is not difficult, though, to see the Scalacronica's version as a later attempt to resolve the awkward discontinuity of having the descendants of Scota in Ireland conquered by a younger son of a king of Spain. Thus, the version in the Scalacronica rather dissipates the narrative force of the gift of the stone to Símón by his father 'as a token that he would be made king of it (Ireland)', which makes more sense backed up by an army (as in Fordun's St. Congal account) than with nothing. Furthermore, the notion of Símón becoming king by marriage has a non-Gaelic post-twelfth century hue about it, and thus appears to be later than Fordun's St. Congal source which looks as if it is originally a product of Gaelic learning: it is difficult to imagine a Life of a St. Congal being produced originally outwith a Gaelic context.²¹

Evidently Símón was not described as a descendant of Scota in the common source of the legend: only in Fordun does he appear as a 'Scot', no doubt as an innovation of the synthesist. The fact that the Símón Breac of the legend was not, therefore, described as a descendant of Scota in the common source no doubt especially compelled the recensionist

21. For evidence that the text of this legend shared by the Scalacronica and Fordun was written by a Gael, see below, p.137.

of the Scalacronica version to alter the explanation for Símón's rulership of Ireland from conquest to marriage, thereby maintaining dynastic continuity and avoiding a possible portrayal of the Scoti as a conquered people. It appears, therefore, that the legends of Éber and Símón are not just independent of each other, but are each probably an account of the conquest of Ireland by a different people. Éber's settlement clearly represents that of the Gaels; Símón's, however, appears to represent that of a non-Goidelic population-group. The Érainn are such a group, and appear, indeed, to have belonged to the Fir Bolg, occasionally referred to as the Cland Sémóin:²² the Érainn consisted, amongst others, of the Dál Riata and the Dál Fiatach.²³ The Símón legend could, therefore, be particularly old: as far as Fergus mac Ferchair is concerned, though, he could too easily be a later Scottish addition.

It appears, therefore, that the Scalacronica account is a recension of the origin-legend which confronts and attempts to reconcile awkward difficulties that it finds in its material. This impression is confirmed when one compares again (see

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22. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 54; also 75ff; LG, iii, 124, 144-6. The invasion of Nemed thus apparently represents the Érainn; the descendants of Nemed are later expelled from Ireland; some (the Fir Bolg) descended from Sémóin, subsequently return after a sojourn in Greece.
23. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 81.

Appendix I) its version of the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend with the account in Fordun's St. Brandán source - both of which, I have argued, appear (ultimately) to be derived from the same text of a Life of St. Brandán. The most serious disagreement between the two accounts concerns the manner in which Gáedel Glas first becomes aware of Ireland's existence. In the Scalacronica account, Gáedel is first made aware of Ireland when he is told by some fishermen that they had seen signs of the existence of land beyond the sea when they were driven off-course by a storm. In Fordun's St. Brandán account, however, Gáedel discovers Ireland when he sees it far away across the sea while he was looking from the Tower of Brigancia one clear day. Significantly, this account matches the version given at the comparable point of the origin-legend in all the redactions of the Lebor Gabála,²⁴ which tell how Ireland is first discovered by the Gaels when Íth mac Breogain sights land when looking across the sea from Breogain's Tower (i.e. Brigancia). (Íth mac Breogain is the uncle of Mil Espáine whose rôle in the Lebor Gabála's second redaction is comparable to Gáedel's in the Scalacronica's and Fordun's St. Brandán source).²⁵ It is notable, in contrast, that the Scalacronica's

24. LG ii, 32, 44.

25. See LG ii, 38ff., 66ff.; v, 48f.

version of this event is uncorroborated by any other account of the Gaelic origin-legend. It would appear, therefore, that the recensionist who composed the Scalacronica account has (perhaps not surprisingly) considered the story, which would appear to have been in his source, of Gáedel sighting Ireland from a tower in Spain, to be unconvincing and awkward; and has sought to improve this passage by replacing it with a more credible and satisfactory explanation of how the Scoti discovered Ireland.

There are other instances where the Scalacronica account and Fordun's St. Brandán source differ; and it is the version in Fordun's St. Brandán account which is corroborated by other independent accounts of the origin-legend. The emigration of Gáedel Glas (or his counterpart) from Greece/Scythia to Egypt is an important feature of the origin-legend:²⁶ the Scalacronica account, uniquely for a recension with its detail, however, omits to describe Gáedel's Egyptian sojourn. Again, one suspects that the recensionist of the Scalacronica account has sought to improve on his source because he found the Egyptian episode uncomfortable - possibly because he was mindful of the fact that it is placed in the time of Moses in the other accounts, including those that appear in Scotland (though perhaps not explicitly in

26. E.g., LG ii, 32ff., 38-40, 52ff.

his source, for this detail is absent from Fordun's St. Brandán account), thus running the risk of associating Gáedel too closely with the wrong side in the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt. Another possible instance of 'improvement by omission' is where the Scalacronica account, in the passage on the name(s) of Ireland and their etymologies, does not include the mention of Ireland being called Scotia which appears at this point in Fordun's St. Brandán account; possibly because, from a Scottish point of view, it was felt to be at least puzzling, if not confused and erroneous, to have Ireland called Scotia when Scotia (certainly by the Wars of Independence) was the everyday Latin word for Scotland.

Finally, the notion in Fordun's St. Brandán account that 'Brigancia' was a tower built on the River "Hyber" (evidently the Ebro), contrasts with the Scalacronica's description of Brigancia as a strong castle on the coast of the 'Hibernian Sea'. It is probable that the recensionist of the Scalacronica account noticed that the River Ebro is in the part of Spain from which one is least likely to have set sail for Ireland, and has thus substituted a more credible description of Brigancia's location. Presumably his change of Brigancia from a tower to a strong castle is also meant to be an improvement.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to find the information with which to compare in this manner every difference in detail between these two accounts of the Gáedel Glas/Éber origin-legend. It is evident, however, that whenever this is possible, it is Fordun's St. Brandán source which is corroborated by other versions of the origin-legend, not the Scalacronica account. It is, therefore, the Scalacronica account which has altered the version of the legend in their common source; and it frequently appears that its alterations were intended to improve the credibility of the origin-legend, smoothing out its rough edges. This relationship between Fordun's source and the Scalacronica account is also evident from their one notable disagreement in their versions of the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend, (and it is not challenged by any of their differences which invariably consist of one account giving detail which is absent from the other).

It is clear, therefore, that the Scalacronica version represents a considerably revised recension of the account of the legends of Gáedel Glas/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair which belonged to the source it (ultimately, at least) shares with Fordun's St. Brandán and St. Congal accounts. It is also evident that this recensionist was keen to remove any unconvincing or awkward detail, and his efforts

show his sensitivity, not to say fastidiousness, in this respect, as well as a high degree of skill. It goes without saying that he was guided by Scottish sympathies; and that he was familiar with the idea of inheritance through marriage to an heiress.

It is difficult to imagine that Sir Thomas Gray would have been inclined to have improved the credibility of this account of the Scottish origin-legend, let alone gone to such painstaking lengths in the process. The proper question to ask first, therefore, is whether Sir Thomas Gray put this recension of the origin-legend together with king-list K, or whether he found it already prefacing the king-list in his source. The beginning of king-list K (following on immediately from the origin-legend account) reads,

"Et fait asauoir qe Fergus fitz
Ferthair de Ireland, extrait de
Scota, estoit le primer qi se disoit
roy Descoce. Si regna iij. aunz
oultre Dunbretaine en Ynchgalle";

but instead of this, all of K's cognate lists (Marjorie Anderson's X group), e.g. list F,²⁷ read (save the odd difference in spelling),

"Fergus filius Erth primus in Scotia
regnavit tribus annis ultra Drumalban
usque Sluagh muner et usque ad Incheagal".

27. Edited in Anderson, KKES, 269-78, at 270.

It is evident that the beginning of king-list K's source-list has been altered in order to make it follow more easily the preceding account of the Scottish origin-legend. Thus Fergus mac Ferchair has replaced Fergus mac Eirc as the first King of Scots in Scotland in line with the origin-legend's account of Fergus mac Ferchair being the first King of Scots to be inaugurated in Scotland on the Stone of Scone; also, the reference to Fergus mac Ferchair's descent from Scota is in line with the explicit emphasis of the continuity of Símon Breac and Fergus mac Ferchair with Scota and the origin-legend's original 'Scottish' colonisation of Ireland by Éber. Furthermore, the substitution of Drumalban by "Dunbretaine" (i.e. Dumbarton) seems to have been inspired by a desire to relate more obviously the source-list's description of the first King of Scots in Scotland's realm to that of Fergus mac Ferchair's, in the preceding account of the origin-legend, as the territory "oultre Bretaine deuers septentioun, et, de cost lez Bretouns..."

- which, of course, exactly corresponds to 'beyond Dumbarton'.²⁸ It seems clear from these examples, therefore, that the source-list of K has been scrupulously adapted to fit in with the account of the origin-legend that precedes it, so that the origin-legend plus the king-list has been welded into a continuous and skilfully coherent history of the Scots from their very beginnings to the coronation of King John. Again, it is very difficult to imagine that Sir Thomas Gray himself

28. The idea of the Scots settling beyond the Britons, north of Dumbarton, originates from Bede (ultimately) (Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum I,i), and could have been added in order to emphasise the idea that the Scots were the first to colonise Scotia, and that 'Britain' meant only the area from Dumbarton southwards. In Gray, 'Beyond the laund Porry', describing the location of Caithness, appears to mean 'beyond the open ground around Cape Wrath': this 'open ground' is called 'Am Parph' in Gaelic. A.B. Taylor, 'Cape Wrath and its Various Names', Scottish Studies, xvii (1973), 61-9, shows that until recently, at least, two forms of this name survived, of which one /'parau'/, could in an earlier form be represented by 'Porry'. A.B. Taylor's argument that the initial 'p' was an 'f' until the seventeenth century is not incontestable: he does not explain how his c.1600 forms (which suggest Gaelic 'rubha na farbh') changed from being feminine (An Fharbh) into masculine (Am Parph); it is possible that his initial 'f' forms, which do not come from Gaelic sources, can be accounted for by the lenition of the initial 'p' of a masculine noun preceded by the definite article (in the genitive). The 'Porry' here could thus be taken as evidence for Am Parph/Parbh being much older than A.B. Taylor allows.

Finally, perhaps the description of the Scots colonising 'the most remote country beyond Britain' is comparable to the portrayal of Scotland as 'poor little Scotland, beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all' in the Declaration of Arbroath (Sir James Fergusson, The Declaration of Arbroath (1970), 9).

went to such pains to match the king-list with the origin-legend; far easier to believe that this carefully put-together history of the Scots already existed in the library of Edinburgh Castle in the 1350s, leaving Sir Thomas Gray with only the labour of translating it from Latin into French. It is, surely, irresistible to attribute the adaption of the beginning of the king-list, in order to make it flow comfortably on from the origin-legend, to the fastidious, sensitive, and skilful recensionist of the origin-legend account - who, I have already suggested, welded into a coherent account the legends of Gáedel Glas/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair. Perhaps we can also detect his hand at work in the other passages in which king-list K is more elaborate than its cognate lists in group X which, presumably, preserve the original reading of K's list-source: for instance, instead of merely saying, as do the other lists in the X group,²⁹ that Alpin (Cináed's father) was killed in Galloway, having almost destroyed it, list K tells³⁰ how Alpin, having destroyed Galloway, was assassinated by a 'single man' who ambushed him at the mouth of a ford.

It follows, from the conclusion that the recensionist of the origin-legend account also put it together with the king-list, that it is admissible to use internal evidence from the king-list in order

29. E.g., Anderson, KKES, 265, 271, 282.

30. List K, ed. Anderson, KKES, 286-9, at 286.

to find answers to the date and location of the recension of the origin-legend. It has already been suggested that the king-list took its present form during the reign of John Balliol. Certainly for the list to finish with an unqualified reference to the inauguration of King John would appear to be unlikely after the triumph of Robert I, since Robert I's achievement was at the expense of John's claim and, to a certain extent, depended on the denial of John's right to the kingship. Not surprisingly, therefore, after Robert had established himself, King John was either brushed aside or rubbished;³¹ his reign, nevertheless, must have remained a highly sensitive subject, especially as long as Edward Balliol was active. All the indications, then, point to the recensionist producing this work between 1292 and the final failure of King John's cause in the early months of 1304.

Marjorie Anderson,³² elaborating on Skene,³³ has considered the question of the place of origin of K's source-list. She suggests persuasively that the references to St. Serf under the list's Pictish king "Brude fitz Dergert" and to St. Regulus under "Hungus fitz Fergusu" were probably derived from a Life of St. Serf and a version of the St. Andrews

31. RMS i, no. 26; G.G. Simpson, 'Why was John Balliol called 'Toom Tabard'?', SHR, xlvii (1968), 196-9.

32. Anderson, KKES, 66.

33. Chron. Picts-Scots, lix.

foundation story. She also notices that the spelling of "Dergert" for Brude's father is a peculiar feature shared by the Life of St. Serf, the Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun (Prior of Loch Leven), a notitia copied into the Liber cartarum of St. Andrews from an 'old book' belonging to the Céli Dé of Loch Leven, and finally king-list D, written for/by James Gray who was secretary to two archbishops of St. Andrews from 1478 to 1504.³⁴ Loch Leven was the centre of the cult of St. Serf, and was closely associated with St. Andrews. This evidence suggests, therefore, that the Scalacronica's recension of the king-list is at least derived from a list within the ambit of St. Andrews; and the same can probably be said for its origin-legend material also, which appears to have belonged originally to a religious centre. Sir Thomas Gray, however, found this 'origin-legend plus king-list' text in Edinburgh Castle, which suggests that its author was probably someone connected with St. Andrews who was involved in Scottish government between 1292 and 1304. Such a person is Nicholas of Balmyle,³⁵ who was associated with St. Andrews for most of his professional life (he first appears on record in the familia of Bishop Gamelin of St. Andrews in 1259, and later became Official of the diocese exercising

34. Anderson, KKES, 64.

35. On his career, see Watt, Scottish Graduates, 23-5; and Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots, (1973), 245-7.

sede vacante jurisdiction between the death of Bishop Fraser in 1297 and the arrival of Bishop William of Lamberton in 1299), and who was Chancellor in 1301. He was, therefore, one of the key men in the Scottish government at the time when Edward I first brought the legend of Brutus into the diplomatic arena (evidently as an afterthought) in the English pleadings at the curia in response to Boniface VIII's bull Scimus fili.³⁶ The origin-legend material in the Instructiones (see below, pp. 231-2) sent to the Scottish proctors at the curia in response to Edward I's counter-arguments does not appear to be closely related to the Scalacronica's material. Perhaps, therefore, the Scalacronica's recension of the origin-legend represents a slightly later response of the Scottish government, in the aftermath of the initial debates concerning the origin-legend, to the need for a coherent and credible account of Scottish origins that was certainly more considered, and more diligently and sensitively produced, than the Instructiones, and which perhaps was intended thereby as a permanent source for future diplomatic exchanges on the subject. Given his background and his circumstances, it is not difficult to imagine Nicholas of Balmyle having the motivation, skill, and the occasion to compose the Scalacronica recension

36. See E.L.G. Stones, 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations between 1291 and 1401: Part I', Archives, ix (1969), 11-21, at 19-20; and E.L.G. Stones and Grant G. Simpson, Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296, i (1978), 154-6.

of the origin-legend, and of the king-list, which should take its place as one of the intellectual achievements undertaken for the Scottish cause during the Wars of Independence. For safety's sake, however, I will refer to it hereafter as simply the 'Edinburgh recension'.

I have already noted that the origin-legend material in both this 'Edinburgh recension' and the passages in Fordun attributed to a St. Brandán and a St. Congal source are derived from a common source. On the face of it, it seems likely that this shared source had already brought together both the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legends respectively from a Life of St. Brandán and a Life of St. Congal (rather than that they were put together from these sources independently). There are, however, no extant manuscripts of a Life of any saint of these names which includes these origin-legend accounts (as far as I am aware). It is likely, therefore, that the Gáedel/Éber and Símon/Fergus legends were interpolated into manuscripts of the respective Lives of saints called Brandán and Congal within an area that had left few extant copies of the Lives of Celtic saints. Such an area is the East of Scotland, from where the only surviving traces of the interpolated manuscripts of these Lives originate. There

can be little doubt, in any case, that the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend is Scottish; while the Gáedel/Éber legend gives a significantly different version of the Gaelic origin-legend than can be found in Irish texts.³⁷

There is orthographical evidence which suggests, at least, that a Gaelic scribe wrote the manuscripts of the Lives from which the source-text common to the Scalacronica and Fordun derived its origin-legend account. Thus, in Fordun's telling of the Símon Breac legend attributed to the St. Congal source, Tara is spelt "Themor", which is a Gaelic spelling (more correctly Themuir, in the dative case). Likewise, in the Scalacronica, Gáedel is spelt "Gaidel", which is recognisably Gaelic. Furthermore, both the Lives are evidently of Celtic saints, though it is difficult to say exactly who. St. Brandán could be St. Brandán moccu Altaí of Cluain Fertae (Clonfert); the only St. Congal I know of, however, is the one implied by the place-name Doire Congail, which became the site of the abbey of Holywood.³⁸ No doubt the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend was added to a copy of the Life of St. Congal because it referred to a population-group to which the saint belonged: he could conceivably have thus been of the Dál Riata, who were both of the Cland Semóin and came to Scotland.³⁹ It is highly likely, therefore,

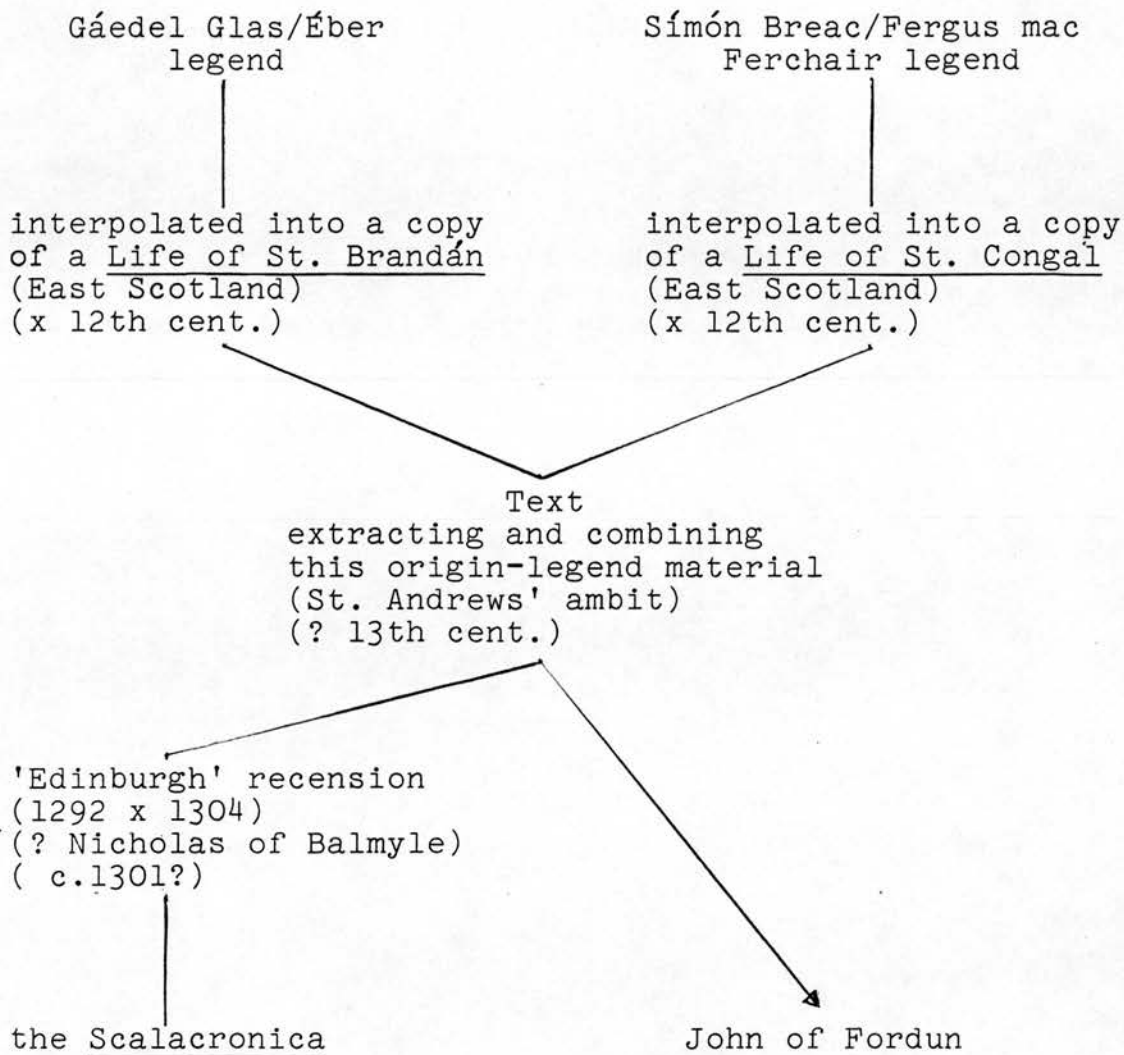
37. See below, pp. 380ff.

38. W.J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland (1926), 169. No St. Congal appears in the Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae, ed. Pádraig Ó Riain

39. Fergus mac Ferchair could be an error for Fergus mac Eirc, but this cannot be proved.

that the Gáedel/Éber and Símón/Fergus legends have been derived from manuscripts of a Life of a St. Brandán and a Life of a St. Congal which were transcribed (probably in Latin), or at least interpolated, in a Gaelic scriptorium in the East of Scotland. Given that the Church in the East of Scotland appears to have ceased to be Gaelic during the twelfth century it seems fair to suppose that the mid twelfth-century is the latest likely date of the manuscripts of these Lives from which the common source of Fordun and the Scalacronica derived its origin-legend material.

Before discussing Andrew of Wyntoun's Scottish origin-legend material, it will be useful to summarise diagrammatically the text-history that has so far been suggested:



Turning to Wyntoun, it appears from the notes to F.J. Amours' edition of this work⁴⁰ that Andrew of Wyntoun did derive some of his material from John of Fordun, but that this material stretches only from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth. W.F. Skene, in his discussion of the different recensions

40. Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), esp. 69-128 passim.

of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum, argued⁴¹ persuasively that Fordun initially composed a history that started only with Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm III) and continued as far as 1363 when (presumably) it was written. It appears highly likely, on the face of it, therefore, that Andrew of Wyntoun used this earliest version of Fordun's work, so that what he has written concerning Scottish history prior to Máel Coluim mac Donnchada is independent of John of Fordun, who, as Skene has shown,⁴² only extended his Chronica Gentis Scottorum back from Máel Coluim mac Donnchada in later recensions, composed in the mid-1380s.

In Book II Chapter VIII of his Original Chronicle Andrew of Wyntoun gives an account of the Gáedel Glas/Éber origin-legend; and, as can be seen in Appendix III, most of it is similar to the version in Fordun's St. Brandán account and the Scalacronica. Many passages can be readily identified which appear to have been derived from a source which is shared with the material attributed in Fordun to a St. Brandán source and with the Scalacronica version; for instance, the story of Gáedel Glas marrying Scota daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt; and of Gáedel fleeing Egypt through the Mediterranean Sea to Spain where, on the River Ebro, he builds a tower,

41. Chron. Fordun i, xxxii: Trinity College, Dublin, MS E.2.28, which preserves this first edition, begins it with a reference to a "liber chronicarum regni Scocie incipiens ad Malcolmum Canmor..."; Chron. Fordun i, xxix.

42. Chron. Fordun i, xxxii-xxxiii.

called "Brigancy", and subjected the local population; how Gáedel saw Ireland across the sea, and sent explorers in three ships, who killed some of the inhabitants and reconnoitred round Ireland; how, on their return, Gáedel is struck mortally ill, and his sons are advised that they should conquer Ireland, which presents no danger, and that such a project would only be declined by cowards; how the valiant Éber, Gáedel's son, arms a fleet and takes Ireland, slaying some and subduing the rest; and how it is called Hibernia from Éber's name. There is enough coincidence of detail, as well as the odd verbal similarity, to suggest convincingly that the accounts of (at least) the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend in Wyntoun's Original Chronicle, Fordun's St. Brandán source, and the Scalacronica, go back to a common written source.

F.J. Amours⁴³ and W.F. Skene,⁴⁴ noticing the similarity between these accounts of the legend, also drew attention to an account of the Scottish origin-legend contained in the lost Register of St. Andrews, into which it was written probably soon after 1331:⁴⁵ the surviving list of the contents of the lost Register has, as its seventeenth item,⁴⁶

43. Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), xxxi.

44. Chron. Fordun i, xxxvff.

45. 1331 is the date of the last historical item, apart from a charter of 1396 which would appear to be a late addition. The last item is a list of Priors of St. Andrews, ending with John of Forfar (1313-22).

46. The list is edited in the St. Andrews Liber, xxv-xxx.

"Historia originis Scotorum ex
Egypto ad Hispaniam, in Hiberniam,
breviter inde in Britanniam, fol.
57. Et genealogia sancte Margarete
uxoris Malcolmi, fo. 57".

They suggest that this account of the origin-legend in the Register was, in fact, derived from a Life of St. Brandán, and that it was from this version in the Register that Fordun's St. Brandán-source account and Wyntoun's account in Book II, Chapter VIII are derived.

There are, unhappily, a number of problems with this argument which makes it rather unlikely. To begin with, judging from the length of these accounts of the legend derived by Wyntoun and Fordun (ultimately) from the St. Brandán Life, it does not seem probable that this source's rendition of the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend would have been able to fit on to only a part of one folio - and not an especially large part if the genealogy of Saint Margaret, with which it shares folio 57, is a copy of the chapter on her forebears in Turgot's biography, as has been suggested.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the brief description which survives of the Register's version of the origin-legend does not fit comfortably the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend of Wyntoun and Fordun's St. Brandán source which does not start the Scots off in Egypt and, on its own, does not take them beyond Ireland.

47. Chron. Fordun i, xxxvii. Cf. Turgot, Life of St. Margaret, trans. Wm. Forbes-Leith (2nd edn., 1884) 24-7.

And finally, there is no evidence which suggests that Fordun used material from the Register: as Marjorie Anderson has demonstrated,⁴⁸ Fordun does not seem to have used the version of the king-list (from the X group) which was in the Register; and Marjorie Anderson has noticed⁴⁹ a reading which suggests that Fordun did not use the version of the St. Andrews foundation-legend which was also in the Register.

Happily, there is a more plausible identification for the Register's version of the origin-legend. Later on in Book II, Chapter VIII, Wyntoun gives another account of the Scottish origin-legend, which follows very closely the account given in Book I, Chapter XI, of Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum,⁵⁰ which in turn follows closely the account of the Historia Brittonum.⁵¹ It is clear, from his use of Henry of Huntingdon elsewhere,⁵² that Wyntoun must have seen a text of the Historia Anglorum itself. In this version of the origin-legend the action is started in Egypt, and it takes the Scots beyond Ireland to Britain. It is much shorter than Wyntoun's account of the Gáedel Glas/Éber origin-legend. And,

48. Anderson, KKES, 55-6.

49. Ibid., 215. St. Regulus is called 'abbot' by Fordun, as in the shorter (and probably older) version of the St. Andrews foundation-legend, rather than 'bishop', as in the longer version used by the Register.

50. Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, ed. Thomas Arnold (1879), 15.

51. These connections are noticed by F.J. Amours; Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), 15.

52. Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), lxxiv.

furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that Fordun's material is derived from it. All the available indications, therefore, point to the Register's version of the origin-legend being extracted from Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum.

Maybe it was extracted from the same manuscript of the Historia Anglorum as Wyntoun used in his day; this seems likely, on the fact of it, ^{since} ~~seeing~~ as both the Register and Andrew of Wyntoun were closely associated with St. Andrews. There is an interesting connection between Wyntoun's account of the origin-legend extracted from the Historia Anglorum and the Declaration of Arbroath, which suggests that the text of the Historia Anglorum used by Wyntoun was already in existence in the early fourteenth century. Henry of Huntingdon says that there were 1,002 years between the crossing of the Red Sea by Moses and the arrival of the Scots in Ireland - a figure he copied from the Historia Brittonum. Andrew of Wyntoun, however, gives this figure as 1,200 years - as does the Declaration of Arbroath.⁵³ This suggests that both the Declaration of Arbroath and Andrew of Wyntoun used the same text of the Historia Anglorum, which had made the simple mistake of miscopying 1,002 as 1,200 (mii becoming mii^c, probably). It would seem, therefore, that the Declaration of Arbroath derived its very brief account of the Scottish

53. Sir James Fergusson, The Declaration of Arbroath (1970), 9. Like Henry of Huntingdon, its account is (ultimately) derived almost wholly from material in Historia Brittonum, ch. XV.

origin-legend from a St. Andrews text, now lost, of Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum.

Andrew of Wyntoun follows his account of the Gáedel Glas/Éber legend, which takes the Scots only as far as Ireland, with a brief account derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth,⁵⁴ which only concerns the Scots reaching Ireland, and then with the account derived from Henry of Huntingdon, which only has any detail for the journey as far as Ireland, merely adding that the Scots reached Britain in the Fourth Age. It is not until Book III, Chapter IX, that Wyntoun gives a detailed account of the Scots reaching Scotland; and the tale that he recounts at this point is, in fact, the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair origin-legend. As can be seen at the end of Appendix III, it is in many respects closely similar to the accounts of the legend given in the Scalacronica and in Fordun's St. Congal account. Indeed, comparing it with Appendix II as far as Fergus mac Ferchair's bringing the stone to Scone, there is very little that would not appear to have been able to have been derived from the common source of the accounts of the legend in the Scalacronica and Fordun's passages accredited to a St. Congal source. It would appear, then,

54. Historia Regum Britanniae III, xii: F.J. Amours argues that when Wyntoun names 'The Brute' as his authority (as he does here), he is referring to a lost work of Barbour: Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), lxxv.

that Wyntoun's accounts of the Gáedel Glas/
Éber legend and the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair
legend are derived from a source shared with the
accounts of these legends in the Scalacronica
and Fordun's St. Brandán and St. Congal material.
On the face of it, therefore, this common source
for all these accounts would appear to be the text
which brought these legends together from Lives
of a St. Brandán and a St. Congal; if it is difficult
to believe that Fordun and the 'Edinburgh' recensionist
independently drew this material from these Lives, then
this has to be increased by the improbability that
Wyntoun as well could have obtained it directly
from these Lives. Significantly, Wyntoun's account
contains detail which looks as if it appeared in
the common source-text that originally combined the
Gáedel/Éber and Símon/Fergus legends, but which cannot
be found in Fordun or in the Scalacronica. Thus,
Wyntoun is alone in specifically siting Brigancia in
Galicia, thus apparently agreeing with the original
version of this part of the Gaelic origin-legend.⁵⁵
Moving on to the Símon/Fergus legend, Wyntoun is
alone in saying that Fergus⁵⁶ first brought the
Stone of Scone to Iona. The idea of the Scots
arriving in Scotland first at Iona is corroborated

55. See, e.g., Eoin Mac Neill, Phases of Irish History
(1919), 93.

56. On the conflation of Fergus mac Ferchair and Fergus
mac Eirc in Wyntoun, see below, pp. 149-51.

independently by the account of the Scottish origin-legend in the Life of St. Cadroe.⁵⁷ More significantly, however, Wyntoun uses neither the Latin or Scots form of Iona but "Icolmkyll", which is the Gaelic Í Coluim Cille.

The question, then, is what is the relationship between the accounts from this common source in Fordun, Wyntoun and the Scalacronica. It is clear, comparing Appendices I and II with Appendix III, that where there is disagreement between Fordun's accounts and the Scalacronica, Wyntoun agrees with Fordun. Thus, for example, Fordun and Wyntoun have Brigancia as a tower on the River Ebro, not a castle on the 'Hibernian Sea'; they have Gáedel seeing Ireland from Brigancia, not getting to know of it from fishermen; they have Gáedel sending an exploratory force which goes right round Ireland, killing some of the inhabitants, rather than Gáedel and his sons going personally on the exploratory expedition without any mention of going round Ireland or of killing anyone; and they have Símon Breac gaining Ireland by conquest, not through marrying an heiress. It is clear, therefore, that if Fordun's material is much more representative of the original common source than the 'Edinburgh' recension, then so also is Wyntoun's account.

57. The Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae of John Colgan, facs. (1948), 495. There is an obvious resonance here with Adomnán's account of Áedán's 'ordination' where Iona appears to be an inauguration site: Adomnan, Columba, 107ab. On this, see now John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

It is difficult, however, to say how far any two of these three accounts share a recension intermediate to the original common source. There are few places where the Scalacronica and Wyntoun are similar against Fordun: they say specifically that Gáedel Glas and Scota had 'fair' offspring - no doubt this was originally in the common source, but has been omitted from Fordun's St. Bráandán account; they both mention Edward I taking the Stone of Scone down to London - which might be said to have implications for the dating of these texts, except that there are no verbal similarities at this point which would compel one to think that these references to Edward's seizure of the stone are, in fact, derived from a common source; and the few significant bits of Fordun's account which they both omit - for instance, naming Tara as the place in Ireland where the stone throne was placed, or mentioning specifically that Símon Breac went to Ireland with 'a great crowd of men' - could, of course, still have been present in the original common source. There are even fewer places where Fordun and the Scalacronica are similar against Wyntoun - perhaps the only significant instance is that both give the possibility that 'Hibernia' was named from the 'Hiberian' Sea, which was probably in the common source but has been omitted from Wyntoun's account. There is not

enough evidence, therefore, to draw any conclusions from either Wyntoun's or Fordun's material being closer than the other to the 'Edinburgh' recension. Neither can a plausible case be made for any of the differences between Fordun and Wyntoun indicating that they share an intermediate recension which has made an alteration to the version of the legends in the original common source which they ultimately share with the Scalacronica. All that can be said overall, it seems, is that where Fordun's and Wyntoun's accounts are similar, we appear to be reading the version that was in the original common source.

It is, however, unlikely that Wyntoun used the original common source-text itself. There is a suggestion of this in his handling of Fergus mac Eirc. In his earlier editions of his Original Chronicle, as F.J. Amours has shown,⁵⁸ Wyntoun is content to resume his account of Scottish history after Fergus's arrival in Scotland with a statement of the first half of the Dál Riata section of a king-list from Marjorie Anderson's X group:⁵⁹ this king-list gave Wyntoun the idea that the Scots ruled before the Picts. By the time of his last edition of his Original Chronicle, however, Wyntoun had noticed that when he compared the period between

58. Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), lxxxvii-xc, esp. xc.

59. Anderson, KKES, 49-50, 63f.

Fergus mac Eirc and Cináed mac Alpín according to his chosen chronology, based on his king-list material, with the same period in his copy of the royal genealogy, his chronology required that ten generations covered 1,200 years plus, - a situation which, in his final edition, he admits as unsatisfactory. He tentatively proposes that Fergus and the kings of Scots after him did not reign before the Picts but during the same period; but (despite having hit the correct solution) Wyntoun is, in the end, left baffled by his sources, and despairs:⁶⁰

"Giff oþir, of mare sufficians,
Can fynde bettyr accordance,
þis buk at likyn þai may mende"

His difficulty seems to rest on the fact that all his sources - the origin-legend as well as the king-list - told him that Fergus mac Eirc was the first King of Scots in Scotland: if, however, his source-text's version of the origin-legend had said that Fergus mac Ferchair was the first King of Scots in Scotland then he could have had the opportunity to take the solution in Fordun - which was to identify Fergus mac Ferchair with a similarly named character much earlier in the royal genealogy than Fergus mac Eirc, thus allowing Fergus mac Ferchair to remain as the first King of Scots in Scotland seven-hundred odd years before Fergus mac

60. Chron. Wyntoun, iii (1903-4), 87.

Eirc.⁶¹ At least we might expect Wyntoun to have mentioned Fergus mac Ferchair had he known of him, and thereby not have made his difficulty seem so impenetrable by changing the origin-legend's Fergus mac Ferchair into Fergus mac Eirc. It is much more likely, therefore, that this change had already been made in the account of his source-text.

If, therefore, Wyntoun was using a recension of the original common source of this origin-legend material, then maybe some of the features of his account which make it distinctive compared with those in Fordun and the Scalacronica also belong to this recension: one notices the speech urging the conquest of Ireland is delivered to the Scottish barons by the explorers ("spyis") (II, ll. 717-36), not to his sons by the dying Gáedel Glas as in Fordun's St. Brandán account; the indigenous inhabitants of Ireland are described as "wnhonest" and "wnwtyle" (II, ll. 699-700) (and thus presumably alright to subjugate); there is a much more detailed account of Gáedel's expulsion from Egypt (II, ll. 651-70); and then there is the 'introduction' (II, ll. 631-40), which bears a significant verbal similarity with the first part of that odd assemblage of patriotic

61. See below, p.163.

legendary scraps added (at folio 20) to the manuscript of Bower's Scotichronicon known as the Black Book of Paisley.⁶² It is not difficult to imagine that these were added to the original common source's account (no doubt in order to improve it).

The apparent change made in the account of the origin-legend in Wyntoun's source-text of Fergus mac Ferchair to Fergus mac Eirc suggests that it has been influenced by a king-list like that used by Wyntoun which, being of the X group (as Marjorie Anderson has shown)⁶³ must have described Fergus mac Eirc as primus regnavit in Scotia:⁶⁴ the origin-legend's Fergus mac Ferchair would thus have been identified with Fergus mac Eirc, making it conform to the king-list - the opposite of what I argued the 'Edinburgh' recensionist did when also confronted by Fergus mac Ferchair as the first King of Scots in Scotland according to the legend, but Fergus mac Eirc as the first King of Scots in Scotland according to the king-list. This raises the possibility that Wyntoun used a recension of the origin-legend which preceded a king-list of the X group in his source. In turn, this raises the question of whether the source shared by Wyntoun and the 'Edinburgh' recensionist

62. Edited in Chron. Picts-Scots, 330-1.

63. Anderson, KKES, 63f.

64. E.g., lists edited in Anderson, KKES, 264, 270, 281.

also consisted of origin-legend followed by king-list.

In fact, the possibility that the original source, common to Fordun as well, which combined the origin-legends from the Lives of a St. Brandán and a St. Congal, followed its origin-legend account with a king-list of the X group, is greatly increased when one looks at the text-history of the king-lists used by Fordun, Wyntoun and the Scalacronica. Marjorie Anderson, in her study of the medieval Scottish king-lists, has shown⁶⁵ that there are seventeen surviving texts of the Latin king-list that was composed in the twelfth century in Scotland: nine of these are derived from the X-list, which she demonstrates⁶⁶ must have been composed before Alexander II's death in 1249, and suggests⁶⁷ persuasively must have been composed after William I's death in 1214. She further demonstrates⁶⁸ that a branch of the X-group is represented by lists D, N (only from Cináed mac Alpín), K (i.e. the Scalacronica), Fordun's "principal list source", and the list used by Wyntoun, a conclusion based on the fact that these sources share some distinctive features: for instance, in the Pictish section the foundation of Abernethy is attributed to 'Garnard son of Dompnach'

65. Anderson, KKES, 49ff., and stemma at 234.

66. Ibid., 61.

67. Ibid., 52.

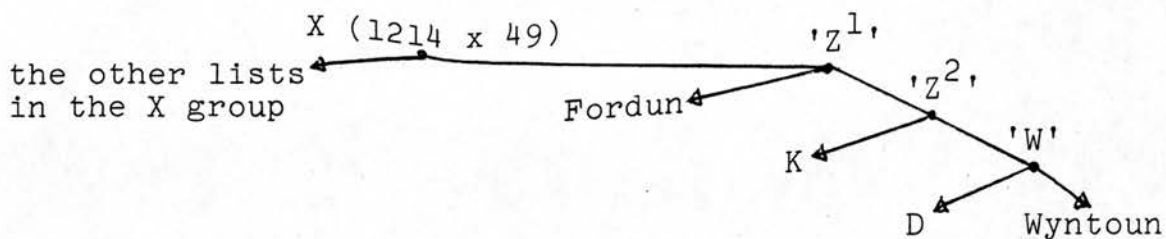
68. Ibid., 63. See also the evidence of the summa given for the Dalriadan kingship, below, p.

by D, K, Fordun and Wyntoun, rather than to his successor Nechtan; and in the Dál Riata section Comgall mac Domongairt is given a reign of twenty-four years in D,K, Fordun and Wyntoun, rather than twenty-two. Marjorie Anderson goes on to show⁶⁹ that D, K and Wyntoun share features absent from Fordun (or any other king-list): for instance, they seemed to have used a list which named a date 443 B.C. for the beginning of the Scottish kingdom, while Fordun gives 330 B.C.;⁷⁰ they have "Methon"/"Methor" for Maelchon the father of Bridei, Columba's contemporary; and they have "Dergard"/"Dergert" for Derile the father of Bridei (King of the Picts, 696-?706). Finally, she demonstrates⁷¹ that Wyntoun's list source "may have been very close to D", giving, for instance a reign of twelve years to Eochaid mac Domongairt meic Domnaill Bric, resembling D's xxii as against the other lists' iii. Marjorie Anderson's suggested text-history of the lists in Wyntoun, Fordun (his principal list) and the Scalacronica (i.e. K) can be represented diagrammatically:

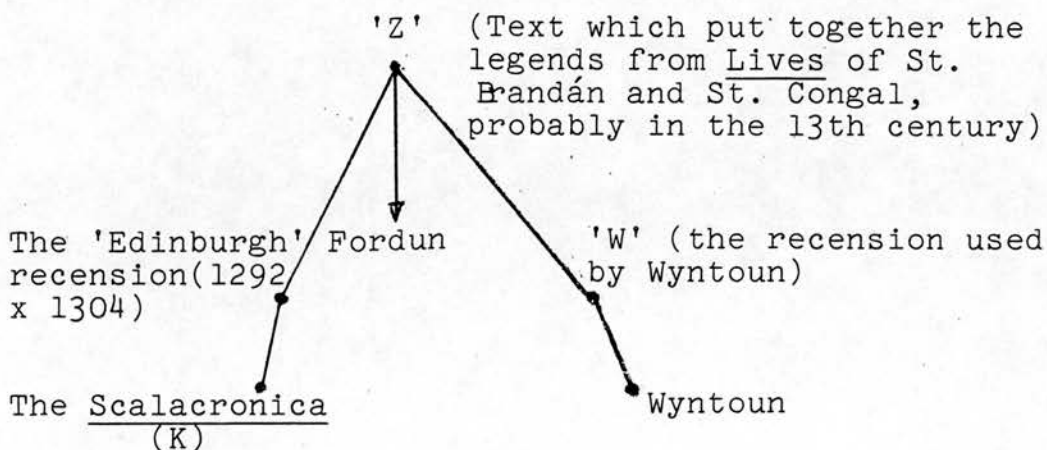
69. Ibid., 63-4.

70. Different recensions of Wyntoun give 452 and 442 - mistakes, no doubt, for 443 B.C., which could also be a mistake: Anderson, KKES, 221.

71. Anderson, KKES, 64.



I have named the intermediate stages Z^1 , Z^2 and W for reasons which are revealed by comparing the text-history of Fordun's, Wyntoun's, and the Scalacronica's king-lists with a diagrammatic representation of the text-history of their common source for the combined Gáedel Glas/Éber, Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair origin-legend:



It is clear from this that there is nothing to suggest that the common source-text which first put together the origin-legend material from the Lives of St. Brandán and St. Congal did not also contain the king-list which is the common source-list for Fordun,

Wyntoun, and K. This common source-text for the legend and the list would be Z¹. Z² would be a copy of it from which Wyntoun (ultimately) and the 'Edinburgh' recensionist derived not just their king-list but also their accounts of this origin-legend: for what it is worth, if one had to say on the basis of internal evidence whether the 'Edinburgh recension' had more in common with Wyntoun or with Fordun, I think one would plump for Wyntoun. W would then be the recension from which Wyntoun got his first origin-legend account and his king-list, and from which D is derived. It is interesting to note that Wyntoun's list and list D not only share distinctive readings, but also that list D, like Andrew of Wyntoun, shares a close connection with St. Andrews: it was written for/by James Gray, who was secretary to two archbishops of St. Andrews from 1478 to 1504.⁷²

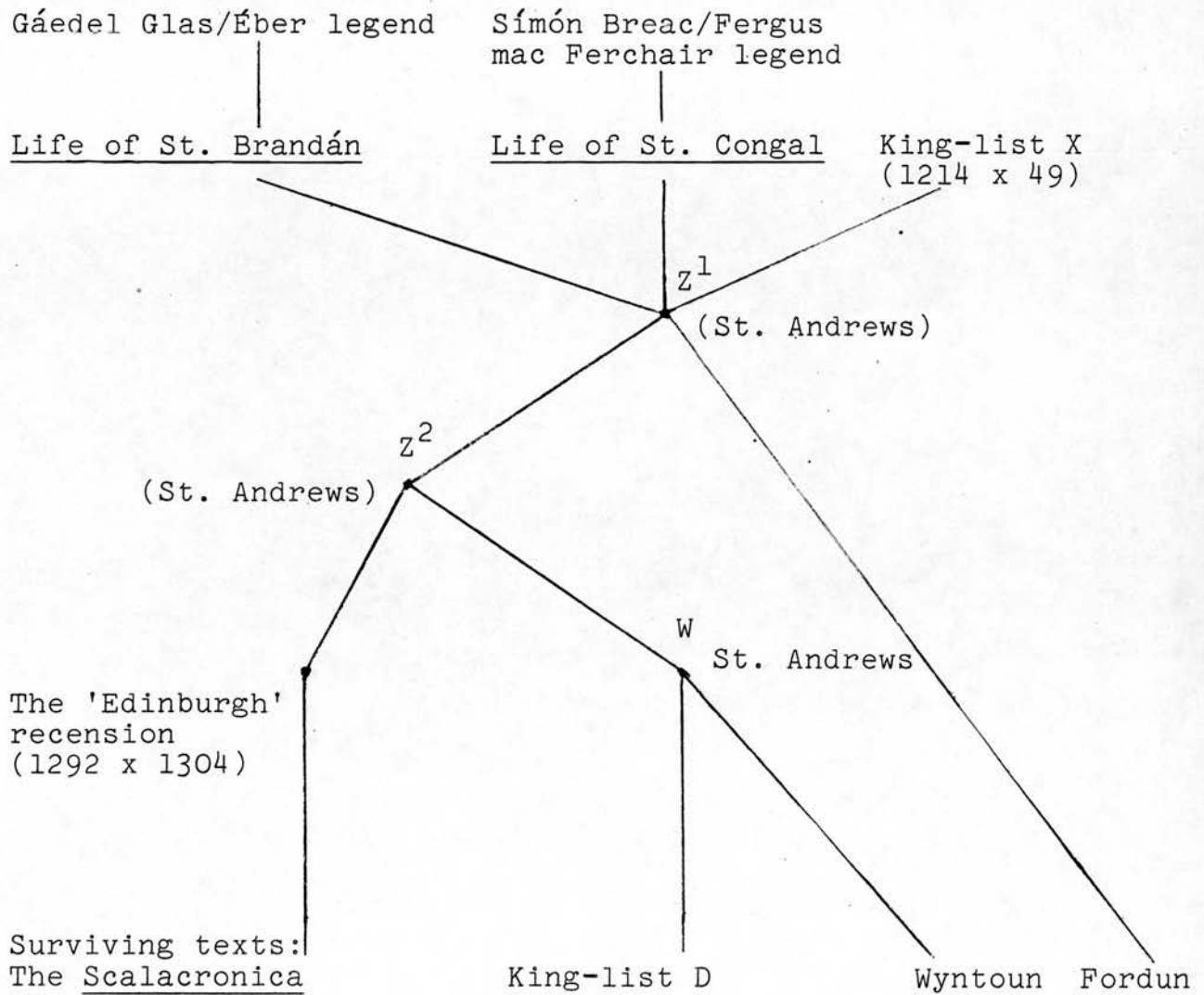
That the text-history of the king-list, despite the large number of exemplars that survive, should match so exactly the text-history of this Gáedel Glas/Éber, Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair origin-legend, insofar as every indication suggests, back as far as the original common source which combined the two legends from the two saints Lives, is surely too much of a coincidence. This,

72. Anderson, KKES, 64.

plus the fact that both origin-legend and king-list form a single source-text of the Scalacronica, and the fact that Wyntoun also seems to have used a related 'origin-legend plus king-list' text, irresistibly suggests that the source-text shared by Fordun's St. Brandán and St. Congal accounts, the Scalacronica, and Wyntoun, was a compilation not only of the Gáedel Glas/Éber and the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legends derived respectively from copies of a Life of St. Brandán and a Life of St. Congal, but also of a copy of Marjorie Anderson's original king-list X. This source-text, which I have called Z¹, would thus have given a history of the Scots from their beginning to the then present day which was brief, but at the same time without any significant chronological gaps. One is inclined to suggest that Z¹ was put together in St. Andrews (or somewhere closely connected) not just because Z² was used to create at least one recension in St. Andrews (W), but also because at least one of the other king-lists of the X group, whose common source with Z¹ is probably only the original X list itself, is a St. Andrews text, appearing in the lost St. Andrews Register.⁷³

73. Anderson, KKES, 54ff. The Verse Chronicle, derived from one of the earliest traceable text of the X group, appears in both Bower and Wyntoun, and thus probably was also associated early on with St. Andrews: see ibid., 60-1. With so many texts, and branches of the X group connected with St. Andrews, it seems likely that the original X list was itself a St. Andrews text.

It would be very difficult to argue for this 'origin-legend and king-list text' being put together before 1214, by which time it would appear that Z^1 's parent-list X was already in existence. The diagrammatical representation of the text-history, therefore, in so far as I have been able to suggest it, looks like this:



It is not difficult to find a scenario which might have prompted the creation of Z¹. Between 1220/1 and 1259 Alexander II and Alexander III attempted, each on at least two occasions, to obtain from the papacy the right to coronation and anointment,⁷⁴ but they were successfully resisted by Henry III of England who claimed that the acquisition of such an honour by the King of Scots was incompatible with his alleged superiority over the Scottish king.⁷⁵ Z¹, suggesting as it does that the Scots had a very long history of independence and kingship, and were a distinct gens, would have been useful propaganda against this, by then, long-lasting English argument. Perhaps its use of saints' Lives was meant to appeal to the papacy. Perhaps, furthermore, the use of at least one obscure Celtic saint's Life (St. Congal) suggests that Z¹ was composed in relation to the earliest request for anointment and coronation in 1220/1. Such a date is also tempting because of the perhaps not too fanciful impression that it was compiled in a bit of a hurry: it is not much more than a throwing together of items extracted from other sources without any apparent attempt to iron out the contradictions between them. All we know of Alexander II's first request for anointment and coronation are the surviving instructions

74. See below, p. 429 n.123.

75. E.g., Robertson, Concilia, xlvi, n.1.

to his legate in Scotland by Pope Honorius III⁷⁶ ordering him not to crown Alexander: it looks as if Alexander had not done any diplomatic preparation for his request, so that it seems that he did not consider the matter until the legate was already on his doorstep. Did he then issue instructions to St. Andrews to assemble quickly some material with which to argue his case for his coronation and anointment by the legate himself? Whether Z¹ was put together in 1220/1 or as late as the 1250s, the close connections between the King of Scots and the most important ecclesiastical centre in his regnum makes it rather likely that Z¹, so obviously a politically conscious statement of Scottish independence and nationhood, was produced in response to a royal initiative. If Z¹ was put together in St. Andrews at Alexander II's behest, then Z² could be derived from the copy that was retained at St. Andrews.

The identification of this Z¹ 'origin-legend plus king-list' text has an important bearing on elucidating the contents of the synthetic origin-legend text which, I have suggested,⁷⁷ was used extensively by John of Fordun in his account of Scottish origins. The fact that the passages in Fordun attributed to a St. Brandán and a St. Congal source appear to be homogeneous parts of the origin-legend synthesis suggests that Z¹ was used

76. *Ibid.*, xiv, n.2.

77. See above, pp. 68-9.

by the synthesist, and not directly by Fordun: indeed, it has to be probable, given that Fordun has evidently preserved the oldest extant traces of this 'origin-legend plus king-list' compilation, that Fordun was not using Z¹ directly. No doubt, therefore, Fordun obtained Z¹'s king-list material because it, too, was to be found in his synthetic origin-legend source-text. This work of origin-legend synthesis which he used seems, thus, to have followed its origin-legend material with, at least, the bare king-list material of Z¹, taking the kingship of the Scots from Fergus Mór mac Eirc through Cináed mac Alpín to its present day, and including a Pictish king-list. It was, therefore, not just a work of origin-legend synthesis, but a veritable history of the Scottish nation, its combination of origin-legend synthesis and king-list being noticeably comparable to the latest and fullest manifestation of the Lebor Gabála Érenn.

This suggests that Fordun inherited the basic chronological structure of his work from this 'origin-legend synthesis plus king-list' text. Thus, a peculiarity of lists D and K (the Scalacronica), as well as Wyntoun, is that they state explicitly that the kings of Scots from Fergus Mór mac Eirc to Alpín ruled before the Picts. Fordun, however, makes them coexistent with the Picts, a view which apparently was that of the original X list: no doubt he derived

it from the Z^1 material in the 'origin-legend synthesis plus king-list' work. The notion of the Dalriadan kings ruling before the Picts appears, therefore, to have been an innovation of Z^2 . Fordun also seems to have taken his date of 403 A.D. for the advent of Fergus Mór mac Eirc from the synthetic origin-legend plus king-list text. Marjorie Anderson has argued⁷⁸ that the source of the X group of lists probably gave a summa of 506 years for the kings from Cináed mac Alpín to 1214: this is the figure which appears in list N, which shares a common source (in this section) with lists K and D, and Wyntoun's list-source. List K (the Scalacronica) gives a summa of 305 years (and 3 months) for the Dál Riata king-list - (the other branch derived from Z^2 gives a corrupt figure).⁷⁹ If you add 506 and 305, and subtract the total from 1214, you arrive at 403. This suggests that both these summae appeared in Z^2 , which no doubt took them from Z^1 . Thus, the date 403 for the advent of Fergus mac Eirc appears to have been calculated by the author of the synthetic origin-legend plus king-list text, and hence been adopted by Fordun.

The date of 330 B.C. in Fordun for the advent of Fergus mac Ferchair, however, bears no apparent relationship to the Z^1 king-list: it is introduced

78. Anderson, KKES, 218-9.

79. See Chapter IV, Appendix II.

as coinciding with the succession of Alexander the Great, which suggests that the date was selected in order to synchronise the advents of Fergus and Alexander. The author of the origin-legend synthesis would have found in Z¹ both Fergus mac Ferchair and Fergus mac Eirc, each appearing to be the first King of Scots in Scotland. Evidently he has accepted their separate identities, and sought to reconcile their status as founding figures in the same manner as he synthesised the different accounts of the taking of Ireland, by bringing the dynasty back from the kingdom they had established so that a later member of the lineage could, by returning, appear to be another "founder" of the kingship. Thus, the Scots are described as exiled in c.360, and are then led back to Scotland by Fergus mac Eirc in 403. The synthesist has, thus, sought to find a name to fit Fergus mac Ferchair in his text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots between Símon Breac and Fergus mac Eirc. The nearest he could find was a Fuirgg mac Feredaig, who in Diceto appears as "f. Forgso f. Feredach" : evidently the synthesist's text of the Genealogy read "Ferechad" by metathesis. Thus "Fergus filius Ferechad, sive Farchardi" in Book I, Chapter XXXIV was created by the same use of the Genealogy that characterises the synthesis of the earlier origin-legend material. All

in all, therefore, it appears that Fordun was heavily indebted to this origin-legend synthesis plus king-list text: further analysis of Fordun's work would possibly reveal other material which he derived from it. It is quite possible, for instance, that where Fordun appears to have conflated a king-list of the Y group with his king-list material (ultimately) from Z¹, he is merely relaying readings he found in his synthetic origin-legend source-text:⁸⁰ indeed, it may seem probable that the conflation was the work of the synthesist in light of the fact that both the (slightly) different descriptions of the extent of Fergus mac Eirc's kingdom that characterise each group of lists appear in Fordun, with the X group's description relating to Fergus mac Eirc and the Y group's description relating to Fergus mac Ferchair.⁸¹

There is, finally, another recension of the origin-legend which is evidently related to Z¹. The nameless 'Éber' recension used by the synthetic origin-legend text gives a version of the Gáedel/Éber legend that is not only similar in outline to the accounts derived from Z¹, but shares some of their detail. Thus, its description of Gáedel as 'beautiful in countenance but wayward in spirit', who, 'backed by a numerous band of youths', disturbed

80. On Fordun's use of a list of the Y group, as well as his principal list-source of the X group, see Anderson, *KKES*, 212-3.

81. A probable example of Fordun's own chronological work independent of the synthetic origin-legend text, though, is his dating of Cinaed mac Alpín and his father: see below, p. 201.

his father's kingdom because he had not been allowed any authority, and was thus 'driven by force from his native land', is noticeably close to the portrayal of Gáedel in Fordun's St. Brandán account as 'conspicuous for his strength and boldness' who, 'supported by a spirited band of youths', left 'on account of the failure of his cause, rather than on his own accord', because he had 'exasperated his father and everybody by his waywardness'. It agrees also with the detail in all the accounts from Z¹ in telling how Gáedel arrived in Spain and built a tower/castle at Brigancia, and in describing how the expeditionary force despatched by Gáedel circumnavigated Ireland (not in the Scalacronica) and reported it to be bountiful. Clearly, therefore, this is a version of the same Gáedel/Éber legend that appeared in Z¹, to which it seems to bear some textual relationship. In my discussion of Fordun's nameless source material I noticed⁸² that he gave another account of the Símon Breac legend apart from that which he attributed to a 'historia of St. Congal': no doubt both appeared in the synthetic origin-legend work. Given that the Símon Breac legend can only be traced back through Z¹ to this St. Congal source, and that every other surviving text of the Gáedel/Éber legend continues the account of Scottish origins with the Símon Breac legend, it seems likely both that the Éber recension is the source for Fordun's 'other'

82. Above, pp. 46-7.

account of the Símon Breac legend, and that the 'Éber' recension was derived from Z^1 , which, I have argued, put the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac legends together for the first time. There is a formal possibility that the 'Éber' recension was, in fact, derived from Z^2 rather than Z^1 , but I think this is unlikely in view of the fact that the origin-legend synthesis of which it forms a part has itself used Z^1 .

The 'Éber' recension, as I have identified it, is however significantly different from any other accounts derived from Z^1 . I would argue, though, that this is because it is a considerably modified version of this material, representing an attempt at improving on the ambiguous and awkward areas of Z^1 's account. Thus, like the 'Edinburgh' recensionist, its author seems to have been unconvinced by the account of Gáedel spotting Ireland from the tower of Brigancia; and describes instead how Gáedel, fearing that the Scots would be overwhelmed by the inhabitants of Spain, despatched an expeditionary force to explore the boundless ocean for uninhabited lands, which thus came upon Ireland: this, of course, is quite different from the 'Edinburgh recension'. Another passage he seems to have baulked at, as did the 'Edinburgh' recensionist, is the description of Símon as the son of a king of Spain, apparently unrelated to the descendants of Scota, so that his taking of Ireland can be read as a conquest of the Scots by a 'non Scot', as

it were. He thus seems (in the 'alternative' account of the Símón legend in Fordun: Book I, Chapter XXVII) to have replaced the story that Símón got the Stone (of Scone) from his father, the King of Spain, as a token of future rulership, by describing instead how Símón accidentally took the Stone up from the sea on his anchor while sailing near the coast of Ireland, and took it as an omen that he would become a king. Another of Z¹'s ambiguities that perhaps he ironed out is the description of two first kings of Scots in Scotland, Fergus mac Ferchair and Fergus mac Eirc respectively. There is nothing in Fordun's text which suggests that the 'Éber' recension mentioned Fergus mac Ferchair: it is conceivable, therefore, that its author has identified Fergus mac Ferchair with Fergus mac Eirc (as did W), so that he only had to describe one 'first king of Scots in Scotland'. If, as is probable, the 'Éber' recension included Z¹'s king-list, then it would no doubt now be indistinguishable from the king-list that appeared in the synthetic origin-legend text, bearing in mind that the synthesist seems also to have used Z¹'s king-list material.

The 'Éber' recension, therefore, appears to have been written as an 'improved' version of Z¹'s origin-legend material. Not all its 'improvements' need to have been provoked by the awkward aspects of Z¹'s text, of course. Thus, a notable innovation of

the 'Éber' recension is that it (apparently) portrayed Ireland as uninhabited before the arrival of the Scoti: it makes this an important feature of the plot, describing how Gáedel, on being expelled from Egypt, vowed to seek an uninhabited land to settle in, and how he subsequently blamed his misfortune in Spain on his failure to keep to this vow and, thus, despatched an expeditionary force into the unknown to find a 'desert place'.

Was the 'Éber' recension the royal administration's polished version of the rather raw material, Z¹, which it had (possibly) requested from St. Andrews? The association of the royal administration with the 'Éber' recension as well as Z¹ would tally with the suggestion that it was the ollamh ríge who composed the synthetic origin-legend work from these and other texts. The synthesist's use of Z¹ and the 'Éber' recension probably suggests that he produced his work in the mid thirteenth century at the earliest, tempting in turn the suggestion that he was the same ollamh ríge who John Bannerman has identified in Fordun's description of Alexander III's inauguration.⁸³

I will conclude this chapter with a complete stemma of the suggested text-history of the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legends as far as I have discussed them:

83. John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

APPENDIX I

Comparison of Fordun's account from a 'legend of Saint Brandán' with the extract from a 'Life of Saint Brandán' in the Scalacronica. (Each account is slightly abbreviated).

KEY: underlining = notable similarity between the texts
boxes = notable disagreement between the texts
brackets = some conjectured interpolations

Stages in the tale

Greece → Egypt

Fordun

(VIII) A certain warrior to whom the chiefs of his nation assigned sovereignty reigned over Athens in Greece. His son Gaythelos married daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt, Scota, from whom the Scots derived their name. Gaythelos, conspicuous for his strength and boldness, exasperated his father and everybody by his waywardness, and, departing on account of the failure of his cause rather than of his own accord, retired into Egypt, supported by a spirited band of youths.

Scalacronica

In the country of Athens in Greece there was a noble knight who had one son whose name was Gaidel, who had for his wife the daughter of Pharaoh King of Egypt, whose name was Scota, by whom he had fair offspring. Gaidel was chivalrous, and gathered the youth of his country,

Fordun

Spain

(XIV) But Gaythelos, driven out of Egypt, and thus sailing through the Mediterranean Sea, brings-to in Spain; and building on the river Hyber a tower, Brigancia by name, he usurped by force from the inhabitants a place to settle in.

Sighting of

Ireland

(XVI) Unacceptable to the inhabitants, Gaythelos, looking out one clear day from Brigancia, and seeing land far away, arms some warlike youths, and directs them to explore it in 3 boats.

Scalacronica

put to sea in a vessel with his wife Scota and his children, sought a dwelling on chance which he might conquer, and arrived in Spain, where, on a high mountain on the coast of the Hibernian Sea, he built a strong castle and called it Brigans. He lived with his people on rapine upon the peasants of the country.

One day, his fishermen were driven by a deep tempest at sea; and, on their return, announced that they had seen, by the floating flowers, thistles, and other signs, that there was land near beyond the sea. Gaidel with his sons (who had the surname Scoti, from their mother) put to sea in 3 vessels,

Fordun

Exploration of
Ireland

At length, against a northerly wind, they came in a body to the island and, rowing round it to reconnoitre, attacked the inhabitants they found and slew them. Having explored the land and admired its goodliness, they returned to Brigancia. But Gaythelos, overtaken by sudden death, exhorted his sons to do their best to get possession of the island, charging them with cowardice if they gave up so noble a kingdom which they could invade without war or danger. [G's speech continues on these lines, apparently conflated with the Éber recension: see below, p.50, n.29].

Conquest of
Ireland

(XVII) One of the sons of Gaythelos, Yber by name, a young man, but valiant, incited by his spirit took up arms and, preparing a fleet, went to the island, he seized; and they slew, or

Scalacronica

sailed over the sea, found a large isle, landed, found it grassy and pleasant, with woods and rivers, but not well peopled. Gaidel returned to Brigans, proposing to go back to the discovered island; but he was attacked by a mortal sickness. He desired his sons to go the the isle and to inhabit it, for as a country without defence it was easy to conquer.

Fordun

and slew part of the few inhabitants that he found, and part he subdued. He thus took the whole land as a possession for himself and his brethren, called it Scotia from his mother's name. But afterwards, from the same king Hyber, or rather from the Hyberian Sea, they called it Hibernia.

Scalacronica

subjected to their obedience those whom they found there, and called the isle Hibernia from the eldest brother, Eberus, or from the sea Eberiaco thus named by the Spaniards; but the surname Scoti remained with the other brothers, and their issue, a long time in that isle (which among us is called Irrelande).

APPENDIX II

Comparison of Fordun's extracts from a 'legend/historia of Saint Congal' with the extract from a 'Life of Saint Brandán' in the Scalacronica (continued from Appendix I) (Each is slightly abbreviated)

KEY: As Appendix I

Stages in
the tale

Símon comes to
Ireland with the
royal stone

Fordun

(XXVII) There was a certain king (of the Scots) of Spain who had several sons; one, called Smonbrec, although not the eldest, nor the heir, he loved above the rest. So his father sent him with an army to Ireland, and gave him a marble chair, sculptured in antique workmanship, on which sat the Scottish kings of Spain; thus it was diligently preserved in their territory, as the anchor of the national existence.

Símon takes
Ireland and sets
the stone in
Tara

Accordingly this Smonbrec, accompanied by a great crowd of men, went over to the island and, having subdued it, reigned there many years. But that

Scalacronica

[continued directly from Appendix I] In which isle afterwards arrived Symound Bret, the youngest son of the king of Spain who brought with him a stone, on which the kings of Spain used to be crowned, which his father gave him as a token that he was made king of it, as the one whom he most loved of his children.

This Symound became king of the country of Ireland by a daughter, descended of the Scoti, who placed the foresaid stone in the most sovereign beautiful

Fordun

stone or chair [he] placed on the highest spot in the kingdom, which was called Themor; and it was from then on said to be the seat of royalty and the most honoured spot in the kingdom; and the succeeding kings of his line were, for many ages, wont to sit there when invested with the insignia of royalty. [Continues with two alternative origins for the stone].

Fergus comes to Scotland with the stone

(Bk. II, XII) There came from Ireland a certain king, Fergus by name, the son of (Ferchad), bringing with him into Scotia the regal chair carved from marble; and in it he was there crowned their first king of Scots. All subsequent kings who succeeded to the throne followed his example, and duly assumed the Crown in that same chair (which Smonbrec first brought to Ireland, as already stated)

Scalacronica

place in the country, called to this day the royal place.

After which came one of the sons of the kings of Ireland, descended from Scota, who was called Fergus son of Ferthairy, to the most remote country beyond Britain, towards the north, and beside the Britons, and occupied the land towards Cateneys, beyond the heath Porry, and dwelt there; and he was entirely of the nation of Ireland, and his followers all again had themselves called

Scoti, and the country Scotia, from
Scota dau. Pharaoh, k. of Egypt,
whence the Scots came (but their
proper country is Ireland, their
customs and languages according,
who afterwards were mixed with the
Picts, as shall afterwards be
related). This Fergus brought
out of Ireland the royal stone
before named, and placed it where
the Abbey of Scone now is, upon
which were made, seated, and
established the kings of Scotland
all since that day in order, (until
Edward the First of England after
the Conquest had caused it to be
brought from hence to London, to
Westminster, where now is the seat
of the priest of the high altar).

APPENDIX III

The first account of the Scottish Origin-legend in Wyntoun's Original Chronicle (Text from the Cottonian MS. ed. Amours) showing areas of similarity with the account in the Scalacronica and Fordun's St. Brandán account

Bk. 2 Ch. VIII þis chapter sal tel hayl
Of þe Scottis originale

- 631 Out off Sithi in þat qwhile
In til Grece come Sir Newil, Cf. Fn (St.B); Cf. Scal.
That was of ded a worthi man,
And in to Grece, gret worschep wan.
He was nere into xx. gre
Be lyne discendande fra Noye,
Off his zongest son, but let,
þat to nayme was callit Iaphet.
Off Sem his broþir coyme presthade,
640 And of Iaphet coyme knychnade.
þis Newel was fra þis Noye,
As I said are, þe twenty degre,
And had a son callit Gedil-Glayis, Fn (St.B); Scal.
And, as þe story of hym sayis,
To wif weddit Scota zynge, Fn (St.B); Scal.
Pharois douchtir of Egipte kynge. " " ; "
þis Gedilglayis was of gret pithe, " " ; "
And warnyst weil of wit þar withe;
He gat on Scota barnys fayr Scal.
650 And ane of þa suld half beyn ayre
Til Pharo þat drownyt was
In to þe Rede Se at þat chas
þat þe Egiptis made sa fel
Apon þe folk of Israel,
Qwhar al þat folk our past dry,
þe Egiptis drownyt hallely.

- his Gedilglayis qwhen he saw
 þe lande of Egipte hie and law,
 That in al thyngge was profetabil,
 660 And to his liffyngge delitabile,
 His dwellyngge þar he thought to ma,
 And his awantagis of it ta,
 Syn his barnnys apperit to be
 Lordis of al þat ryalte.
 Bot þe barnage of þe lande
 þat ramaynyt þan liffande
 Thought þai war agrewit sare
 Throw þe wrakis þai tholit are
 Be þe exempil of consaile
 670 Al þe alyenys thai banyst haille.
Qwharfor þis ilk Gedilglayis Fn (St. B)
His waye out of þat lande he tais, "
And throw þe Mere Medytterrayne " ; Scal.
He passit qwhil he coyme in Spayne " ; "
And on þe wattyr of Hibery "
He biggit þe toure of Brigancy " ; Scal.
 þar now is þe towne of Galis,
 Qwhar þat þar sancte Iames lyis,
And þai þat duelt þan in þat lande Fn (St.B) ; Scal.
 680 He gert be til hym obeyssande. " ; Scal.
 Syne as he passit apon a day
 Throw þat lande in til his play
Our fra hym be zonde þe se Fn (St.B)
He kende lyande a gret cuntre. "
 þan sperit he thraly of þat lande
 Qwha sulde be in it than duellande;
 Bot ansswer þarof gat he nane,
 Na nakyn knowlage in certane.
In hy þan gert he schippis thre Fn (St.B) ; Scal.
 690 Withe armyt men son stuffit be, "
And gert þaim passe be se þar way "

- To se þat lande how þat it lay, Fn (St.B)
 And gif þat it was ethe to wyn,
 And qwha was duellande it wip in.
 Wipe wynde at wil þai folk þan past,
 And in þe lande coyme at þe last,
 þat ane ile was in þe se
 Off gret space and of qwantite;
 Bot þai þat duelt in to þat ile
 700 Wnhonest was and wnwtyle;
 þarfor thai at coyme to spy
 þat lande, þai dressit wnmodyrly;
 For sum of þaim þai slew richt þar, Fn (St.B)
 With aris, sum thai dange richt sare; "
 Syne al þe ile þai past about, "
 And saw þai mycht but dreid or dout
 Wyn it hallely to þar wil,
 Swa þat þai wertu had þar til.
 þai tuk wp sayl and past in hy
 710 Withe wynde at wil to Brigancy, Fn (St.B); Scal.
Qwhar Gedilglayis was ourtane " ; Scal.
Off casse, than ded richt subitane; " ; Scal.
 Bot his body wipe honoure
 Was put in honest sepulture
 Wip swyvk oysse and solempnyte
 As þat tyme was in þat cuntre.
 þir spyis taulde his barnys sone
 In to þat ile as ai had done
 And said at it was ethe to wyne Fn (St.B); Scal.
 720 For þai þat duelt that ile wip in
 War sottis sylde of na walew
 Na gouernyt þaim be na wertu;
 And at þat lande was profitabil,
 And til his liffyngel delitabil.
 þarfor þai said it was his wil,
 A ful consail þai gaf þar til,

- For to passe þat ile wipin, Fn (St.B); Scal.
 And it be conquest to thaim wyn " ; Scal.
 And wip þar stuff it occupy
 730 For thaim and þaris heretabilly,
 Repruffand thaim as sottis wilk; Fn (St.B)
Syn þai mycht doutles but perille " ; Scal.
 Til thaim and thar lynnage
 þat lordschipe wyn in heritage,
 For to lieff it fayntly,
 And leif lownderaris caytefly.
A son of Gedil-Glayis þan, Fn (St.B); Scal.
Hiber, þat was a douchty man, " "
 Thought at it was liffyngge fayr, Cf. Fn (St.B)
 740 Syn he was nocht his fadyr ayr; "
 He son inclynyt to thar consail, "
 And chesit hym men and gat wittaile "
 And laid his schippis to þe se, "
 And enteryt in withe his menzhe, "
 And tuk up sayl and furthe he past "
 And in þe ile coyme at þe last. "
Al þe men thar he slew doune Fn (St.B); Scal.
þat was nocht til his biddyngge bowne; " ; "
Off al þe laif he tuk homage. " ; "
 750 Thus al þe lande in heritage "
He wan al hail and maid it fre "
Til hym and his posteryte. "
 Swa occupyit he furthe þat lande
 Wipe al þat euir þar in he fande,
 And Scotlande gert call þat ile Fn (St.B)
 For honoure of his modyr qwhile, "
That Scota was wipe al men calde, Fn (St.B); Scal.
 As zhe haf herde befor betaulde.
Hybernya þai call it syne Fn (St.B); Scal.
 760 Off þis Hiberius in Latyne, " ; Scal.

þat Irlande we oysse to call
Now in til our langagis all.
Off Hiber þai coyme hallely
þat we oysse to call Inschery;
And þis lady callit Scota
Al þir Scottis ar cummyn fra,
As 3he may in þis process here
Qwhen we are cummyn to þat mater.

The account of the Símon Breac-Fergus mac Ferchair legend in Andrew of Wyntoun's Original Chronicle (Text of Wyntoun from the Cottonian MS. ed. Amours) showing areas of similarity with the account in the Scalacronica and Fordun's St. Congal account

Bk. 3 Ch. IX

How þe kyngis stane of Spanzþe
Fyrst coym in Irlande & Brettane

- In þe meyne tyme þat þis fel
1040 As zhe haf herd of þir brethir tel
þar was regnande a mychty kygne Fn (St.C); Scal.
þat had al Spanzþe at gouernynge. " ; "
þis kynges mony synnys hade, " ; "
Off ane of þa zhit mast he made, " ; "
þat Symon Brek was callit be nayme, " ; "
Ane honest man and of gude faym.
A gret stane þe kynges þan hade, Fn (St.C); Scal.
þat for þe kyngis set was made, " ; "
And haldyn was a gret iowalle Cf. Fn (St.C)
1050 Wipe in þe kynrik of Spanzþe hail. "
þis kynges bad þis Symon ta Fn (St.C); Scal.
þat stane and in til Irlande ga, " ; "
And wyn þat lande and occupy,
And halde þat stane perpetually, Cf. Fn (St.C)
And mak it his seigis þar, "
As þai of Spanzþe did of it are. "
þis Symon did þan as þe kynges
Fullely gaf hym in biddynges,
And wan Irlande and chesit þat plasse Fn (St.C); Cf. Scal.
1060 Qwhar honest and mast likly was, Cf. Fn (St.C); "
þar he made a grete cite,
And in it syne þat stane gert he Cf. Fn (St.C)
Be haldyn and set for iowalle "
And chartyr of þat kynrik haile. "

- Fergus Erchson fra hym syne Fn (St.C); Scal.
 Down descendande ewyn be lyne
 In to þe v. and fifty gre,
 As ewyn reknande men may se,
Broucht þis stane wiþin Scotlande, Fn (St.C); Scal.
 1070 First quhen he come and wan þe lande;
 And it fyrst in Icolmkyll,
And Scone þar eftyr it was broucht til; Fn (St.C); Scal.
 þar it was richt mony a day, Cf. Fn (St.C);
 Cf. Scal.
Qwhil Edward gert haff it away Scal.
Kyng of Inglande, and syne he "
Gert it set in Lyndyn be, "
 Eftyr þat Ihesu Criste was born
 To sauff our lywis þat was forlorn
 A thousande and thre hundyr 3her
 1080 And ten thar til or þar by nere.
 Now I wil þe worde rahers
 As I fand of þat stane in wersse:
Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.
 "Bot gif þat werdis fail3eande be,
 Qwhar euir þat stane 3e segit se,
 þar sal þe Scottis be regnande,
 And lordis hail our all þat lande".

CHAPTER FOUR
 THE CHRONICON RHYTHMICUM

The Chronicon Rhythmicum is the name given to a historical poem written in Latin, apparently in hexameters, appended to Walter Bower's Scotichronicon.¹ As a piece of literature it may be frequently repetitive and bland, and occasionally convoluted and obscure. However, it is, as I hope to show during this chapter, an important witness for an origin-legend recension that I have already discussed, as well as providing evidence for less learned origin-legend material. I hope to show, furthermore, that it is based on texts with accounts of the legend which have hitherto not been discussed. It is, also, an important witness for genealogical and king-list texts. The Chronicon Rhythmicum, therefore, has an obvious bearing on the currency of the Scottish origin-legend, providing more evidence with which to attempt to elucidate what was believed in Scotland, at what time, where and by whom, concerning the origins of the Scots.

As one would expect, the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account of Scottish origins is to be found near the beginning of the poem. Translated, and abbreviated, it runs thus:

1. The most modern edition is by W.F. Skene in Chron. Picts-Scots, 332-40; its longest version is edited complete by Walter Goodall in Chron. Bower ii, 522-33.

Chap. I

1561 B.C. Pharaoh drowned in the Red Sea.

Chap. II

After Pharaoh died, a noble Scythian exile goes from Egypt, taking with him the stone of Pharaoh. He was called "Gaizilglas", and was 22 in descent from Japhet. Having suffered many dangers he was ship-wrecked, and, weary, he finally came by horse to a land where he erected the stone. This stone is called the anchor of life. Seeking a safe place to inhabit, he obtained a livelihood in Spain for many years: his progeny increased too much.

Chap. III

1002 years after the death of Pharaoh there was a certain "Milo", king of the Spanish, who had many children. He had consideration for one of them, namely "Symon Brek", more than for the others. To him the father gave a special gift, namely the stone which "Gaizilglas" had brought with him when he left Egypt. "Milo" prophesied to his child that his (Símón's) seed would rule wherever it was located. And so it came about: Ireland received to itself Símón, thus increasing the possessions of the dynasty, where they lived many years; and whom brave "Lori" by name was the first to lead to Argyll: they that were led were afterwards called "Scoti" from "Scocia" (which it is said was originally "Albania").

Chap. IV

(Material on the Picts)

Chap. V

The Scots lived for a long while under the law of nature, without a king, until bold Fergus brought the stone to Argyll. Because he brought the stone he first ruled the Scots.

As Scone testifies, from then on it was located (there).

The poem continues with a metrical king-list (which implies that Fergus the first king of Scots is understood to be Fergus Mór mac Eirc). From Máel Coluim mac Donnchada the list is frequently expanded, and ends in 1447/8, at which date it was no doubt written down in its final form.

It is evident that this account of the Scottish origin-legend is independent of the Fordun/Bower material on Scottish origins. It contradicts Fordun (and Bower) by making Gáedel a Scythian, rather than a Greek; by making Símon Breac a son of Mil Espáine; by making "Lori" the first to lead the Scots to Argyll; and by making Fergus mac Eirc, rather than Fergus mac Ferchair, bring the Stone from Ireland to Scotland, and thus become the 'first King of Scots'. Furthermore, its spelling of Gáedel Glas and Mil are quite different from, and more Gaelic than, Fordun's "Gaythelos" and "Micelius". There are many details, apart from the association of the Stone with Gáedel and Mil, which are absent from the Fordun/Bower account - for instance,

Gáedel being twenty-second in descent from Japhet; his ship-wreck and journey by horse; the 1002 years from the death of Pharaoh to Mil. There are, of course, many features of the Fordun/Bower account which are absent; most obviously, there is no mention of Scota. There is good reason to suppose, therefore, that those details which are common to the Chronicon Rhythmicum and Fordun/Bower have not merely been copied from the Scotichronicon into the poem. Thus, in Appendices I and II I show that most of the king-list material in the poem is independent of Fordun/Bower. It appears, therefore, that the Chronicon Rhythmicum contains a considerable amount of material which was written earlier than Bower.

The only source that is readily identifiable behind the Chronicon Rhythmicum's statement of the origin-legend is the account in Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum, attributed to 'learned Gaels'. This was evidently not used by Fordun (or Bower). The association of the figure of '1002 years after Pharaoh's death' with the settlement of Ireland from Spain is characteristic of this Historia Brittonum account, as is the description of the (first) leading character as a noble Scythian exile. The detail that the Scoti multiplied greatly in Spain could also have been derived from this source. There is, however, no sign in the Chronicon Rhythmicum of any details from the Historia Brittonum after the description of the Scoti reaching Ireland. Another characteristic

feature of this account in the Historia Brittonum is that it commences with the noble Scythian already in Egypt. This is true also of the Chronicon Rhythmicum's recension, suggesting that it used Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum as the basis for its telling of the legend as far as the Scoti reaching Ireland on to which it has added, as it were, the other details in its account. On the face of it, it appears that what one could call a 'basic' recension of the Historia Brittonum was used. The lack of a reference to Scota militates against the use of the "Nennian" recension of the Historia Brittonum,² which should also debar the use of the Lebor Bretnach.³ The only detail that could suggest the Lebor Bretnach is the naming of Mil, but on its own this is hardly convincing, and could easily have been supplied by anyone au fait with Gaelic historiography. Moreover, the absence of any feature peculiar to Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum, such as the identification of the Scoti with the Basques,⁴

2. On the "Nennian" (or "Cantabrian") recension see D.N. Dumville, 'The Corpus Christi "Nennius"', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, xxv (1972-4), 369-80: the mention of Scota is characteristic of it; see Lebor Bretnach, ed. A.G. van Hamel (1932), 25.

3. The Lebor Bretnach is a translation (and revision) of a text of the "Nennian" recension; see D.N. Dumville, 'The Textual History of "Lebor Bretnach": A Preliminary Study', Eigse, xvi (1975-6), 255-73. It describes Pharaoh as the 'father-in-law' (cliainain) of the Scythian: Lebor Bretnach, ed. A.G. van Hamel (1932), 25.

4. Discussed above, p.82f.

makes it impossible to argue positively that the Chronicon Rhythmicum's Historia Brittonum material has been derived from the Historia Anglorum (which, at Chapter XI, copies the Historia Brittonum Chapter XV account). Such a suggestion, however, has to remain a formal possibility.

In order to elucidate more about the other sources behind the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account, and to attempt to establish when it was written, where, and by whom, it is necessary to discuss the poem's text-history. Unfortunately there is no modern edition or analysis of the poem to which one can turn. Such discussion as there has been to date on the poem's text-history has tended to focus on the fact that it survives in two recensions. These can be termed simply the longer and shorter versions, insofar as the principal difference between them is that one is far bulkier than the other; for instance, it includes chapters on events between the death of Alexander III and Robert I's inauguration, and on the descent of the kings of England. When Skene edited the Chronicon Rhythmicum in his Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots (1867),⁵ he took his representative of the longer version from Edinburgh University MS 186, which is an unabridged manuscript of the Scotichronicon

5. Chron. Picts-Scots, 332-40.

dated to 1510⁶ and took his representative of the shorter version of the poem from the Scottish Catholic Archives MS MM.2.1, written about 1509, which is a manuscript of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum which, however, has taken its text of the 'Gesta Annalia' section from the Book of Coupar abridgement of Bower's Scotichronicon.⁷ The final section in both versions consists of a king-list ending with James II, who it says is seventeen years old, and describes as 'the king to-day at the time of writing'. James was born in October, 1430. Both extant versions of the Chronicon Rhythmicum, therefore, can be dated to 1447/8. Skene considered the shorter version of the Chronicon Rhythmicum to be the earlier recension;⁸ and certainly one cannot object to his view that much of the additional material in the longer recension has "obviously" or "manifestly" been interpolated.⁹ The situation, however, is more complicated. Not only is the longer version consistently found with manuscripts of the full text of Bower's Scotichronicon,¹⁰ but it appears prefacing the Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS. 171 (folios 3v-6r) which Donald Watt has identified

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6. Chron. Fordun i, xv and xvii (Edin. Univ. Libr., MS 186, fo. 333v-336r). For the dating, see Marjorie Drexler, 'The Extant Abridgements of Walter Bower's Scotichronicon', SHR, lxi (1982), 62-7, at 63 n.6.
 7. Chron. Fordun i, xxviii (Scottish Catholic Archives, MS MM.2.1). Marjorie Drexler, op.cit., describes it as an abridgement of the Book of Coupar abridgement.
 8. Chron. Picts-Scots, lxx; his edition treats the Scottish Catholic Archives MS as the superior text.
 9. Ibid., 335 n.3, 340 n.1.
 10. BL Royal MS. 13e.10, fo. 21r, ff. (The Black Book of Paisley); Donibristle MS, fo. 421va 26-424rb43; SRO, GD. 45/26/48, fo. 409-13v (Brechin Castle MS); BL Harl. 712, fo. 1v-3v.

as a working-copy of the full Scotichronicon used by Bower himself.¹¹ It is evident, therefore, that the longer recension of the Chronicon Rhythmicum pre-dates the shorter recension (at least in its extant form); and that it was Walter Bower who attached the longer version of the Chronicon to his original text of the Scotichronicon, no doubt bringing it up to date to his own time of writing, i.e. 1447/8.¹²

The shorter version of the Chronicon Rhythmicum does not appear associated with any manuscript of Bower's full text; nor, indeed, does it appear associated with the Pluscarden abridgement or the Perth Carthusian abridgement:¹³ it is, however, found at the end of the Book of Coupar,¹⁴ but unfortunately the final folios are missing, so that it breaks off during the king-list after Aed Find.¹⁵ I have already noted that the Scottish Catholic Archives manuscript is a text of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum which has been continued with material from the Book of Coupar

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11. D.E.R. Watt, 'Editing Walter Bower's Scotichronicon', Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, edd. R.J. Lyall and F. Riddy (1981), 161-76, at 165, 169-70.
 12. Bower wrote his Scotichronicon between c.1441 and 1447 (Chron. Fordun i, xiv).
 13. The best manuscripts of which are NLS, MS. 35.5.2 and Glasgow Univ. MS f.6.14; and NLS, MS.35.6.7 (the Perth Carthusian MS itself): see Chron. Fordun i, xvii-xxiv, and Marjorie Drexler, op.cit.
 14. NLS, MS. 35.1.7, page 450.
 15. It is clear from the fact that it shares most of the distinctive readings of the Edinburgh Catholic Archives MS that it is a text of the shorter version. An obvious example is its addition of two lines from Fordun at the end of Chapter Three (in Skene's edition), which are found also in the Edin. Cath. Arch. MS., but in none of the MSS of the longer version.

abridgement. This suggests that the extant text of the shorter recension of the Chronicon was originally written as an addition to the Book of Coupar abridgement. The Book of Coupar abridgement was composed by Walter Bower.¹⁶ It would appear, therefore, that the shorter version of the Chronicon Rhythmicum represents Bower's own abbreviated version of the longer Chronicon Rhythmicum. While it has to be admitted, thus, that a discussion of the material in the Chronicon should concern itself only with the textually anterior 'longer recension', it is tempting to wonder if Bower (who presumably would still have had access to his source-text of the Chronicon) produced his 'abbreviated version' of the poem principally by keeping to his original source-text and dispensing with the lengthy manifestly interpolated passages which he himself no doubt had added in order to create the 'longer version' in the first place. (But he would not, of course, have shed his up-dated final section). Perhaps, therefore, Skene was not too far wrong in identifying the earlier text.

We might suspect that the Chronicon Rhythmicum source-text which Bower expanded was already a poem. Evidence for this can be found in a few manuscripts of Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum in which a passage of verse in Book I, Chapter X, has apparently been quoted incompletely from the Chronicon Rhythmicum. The Chronicon's passage runs as follows, with the brackets denoting those lines which do not appear in

16. Chron. Fordun i, xix; Marjorie Drexler, op.cit., 63.

the relevant manuscripts of Fordun:

Quingentis mille cum sexaginta monosque
 Annis ut reperi, precessit tempora Christi;
 (Agnus sub lege primus mactatus in ede).
 (Biblia testatur quod tunc revocare paratur)
 Rex Pharao populum, fugientem per mare rubrum;
 Cuius rex Pharo mergitur in medio.

Line 5 makes little sense without line 4, suggesting that this verse passage has been quoted from the Chronicon Rhythmicum into the manuscripts of Fordun, rather than vice-versa.

The only manuscripts of Fordun in which I can trace this verse passage are the Wolfenbüttel MS and British Library, Additional MS 37223. It does not appear in Bower. According to the information I have kindly received from Professor Donald Watt on the stemma of Fordun's manuscripts, the British Library Additional manuscript is derived from the Wolfenbüttel which, in turn, shares an immediate common manuscript with Bower. Both the Wolfenbüttel MS and Walter Bower himself were closely connected with the Priory of St. Andrews.¹⁷ It seems fair to assume, therefore, that the material which both Bower and the scribe of the Wolfenbüttel text used - i.e. not only their shared manuscript of Fordun but also the 'pre-Bower' Chronicon Rhythmicum - were located at St. Andrews.

Previous discussion of the Chronicon Rhythmicum's text-history¹⁸ has also focused on two passages within

17. Chron. Fordun i, xxvi; D.E.R. Watt, op.cit., 164.

18. Chron. Picts-Scots, lxx-lxxi; Innes, Essay, 331.

the text which suggest explicitly that the poem is an extended version of an earlier work. The prose prologue¹⁹ alludes to this earlier text, describing the poem as "partem ex metris veteribus et partim ex recentibus", while the poem itself, before mentioning the reign of Alexander II in its catalogue of Scottish kings, states that

Hactenus hec dicta scivi per cronica scripta,
A modo que novi scriptis describere vovi.

It might seem natural to conclude, therefore, that the earlier poem (which would appear to have given William, correctly, a reign of forty-nine years) was written during the reign of Alexander II: if this, then, was the poem which Bower continued, then one could argue that the Chronicon Rhythmicum's origin-legend account can be dated to the composition of this original poem.

Unfortunately, such a straightforward argument cannot be admitted. It is evident that the poem was written in more than two stages. Up until its account of Robert's inauguration the poem proceeds smoothly from the past ever nearer to the present. After Robert I's inauguration, however, it leaps back in time to the problems concerning the succession of Alexander III, before returning, by way of chapters on incidents during the war with Edward I of England and on the descent of the kings of England, to Robert I, ending on a fairly unelaborate list of kings and their reign

19. Edited by W.F. Skene, Chron. Picts-Scots, lxx-lxxi.

lengths to 1447/8. Such an awkward break, after Robert I's inauguration, is more easily explained if we suppose that it was at this point that the poem which Bower extended originally ended, rather than by supposing that it was written in this way by Bower himself. Furthermore, the poem (before the chronological break) gives a date accurate to the exact day only for the death of Alexander III, the inauguration of John Balliol, and the inauguration of Robert I, suggesting that there is here a layer of contemporary material.²⁰ Of these three exact dates, only Robert's inauguration is given without a year date (see Appendix III). When this is taken with the fact that Robert's inauguration - uniquely in the poem (before 1447) - is described in the present tense, the weight of evidence points irresistibly to the conclusion that the Chronicon Rhythmicum as it stands, contains within it an older poem written in 1306. This 'old poem' would, therefore, have finished at the break in the chronological progression, suggesting that Bower added the rest in 1447/8. This makes it finish with an appropriate climax to the account of the origin-legend and the catalogue of Kings of Scots: 'Robert, "regum de stirpe repertus", receives the diadem of the Kings of Scotland at Scone (these things were done on the 27th. of March) and old men foresee that he will be a warlike

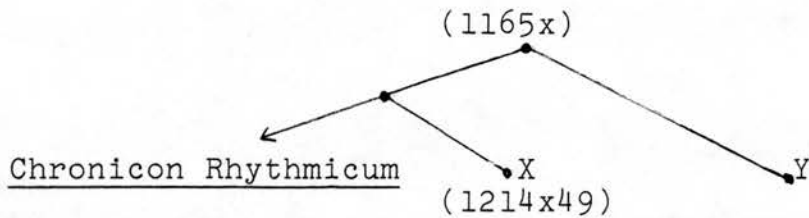
20. Alexander III and John Balliol are the only kings to be described as the 'th' king in the line of succession: in both cases, the number given tallies with the Chronicon's king-list. Interestingly, John is not given a reign-length: the end of his reign is merely described as 'then he became remote from the whole' (ex toto).

inspired by Robert I's inauguration, therefore, which is meant by the 'old poem' referred to in the prose prologue, rather than the work which was evidently written during the reign of Alexander II. It can, therefore, join the list of accounts of the origin-legend from the period of the Wars of Independence.

It appears that this 1306 poem in turn used an older work of 1214x49, described in the poem simply as "cronica scripta". On the face of it, this need not mean that it was a poem, or, indeed, that it was a single work. It seems that it must, at least, have included the king-list material which immediately precedes the reference to it. This matches the conclusion which is reached by an analysis of the poem's king-list from Fergus mac Eirc to William I (see Appendix I): it appears that this king-list shares a source with the original of the X group of lists (which Marjorie Anderson has shown²² was written between 1214 and 1249), which, however, is not the same as the source-text common to the X and Y groups (which Marjorie Anderson has dated²³ to after 1165). Its position in the text-history of the king-lists can be represented diagrammatically:

22. Anderson, KKES, 52, 61.

23. Ibid., 52, 68-9.



The original of the X group of lists gives William a reign of fifty years;²⁴ but our poem's king-list gives him, correctly, a reign of forty-nine years. Such a discrepancy is unlikely to arise textually. One can conclude, therefore, that the immediate source of the list in the Chronicon Rhythmicum was written during William's reign; and that William's reign-length has been supplied by the work written between 1214 and 1249 referred to as 'cronica scripta' that has been subsumed into the poem inspired by Robert I's inauguration, and has thus ultimately become part of the Chronicon Rhythmicum of 1447/8.

There is internal evidence to suggest that this initial work of 1214x49 was not a bare king-list, but included much, if not all, of the incidental details that have been added to the king-list material from Máel Coluim mac Donnchada: only for William's generation of the royal dynasty does it detail who all the brothers and sisters were. It does not do the same for Alexander II's generation, suggesting that the 1214x49 work was principally interested in William I, whose reign-length is its most up-to-date feature. It seems fair, though not maybe wholly safe, to conclude that this early work was motivated by the death of

24. Ibid., 52.

William I, finishing with the account of his sisters; and that, therefore, it was composed in, or soon after, 1214.²⁵ For the sake of brevity I will refer to it hereafter as the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum', or simply the 1214 work.

The Chronicon Rhythmicum, therefore, is a composite work consisting of three stages of development. The first is a work possibly written in 1214 and consisting of at least a king-list from Fergus to William, with some additional detail from Máel Coluim mac Donnchada. The second is a poem inspired by Robert I's inauguration, apparently written in 1306, which was based on the 1214 work. The third is Walter Bower's continuation (and expansion) of this 1306 poem in 1447/8. I have already demonstrated that its account of the Scottish origin-legend is independent of the Scotichronicon, and cannot, therefore, reasonably be attributed to Bower. The problem, therefore, is whether its origin-legend material belongs to the 1214 work or the 1306 poem.

The answer rests in how one understands the provenance of Chapter IV of the poem. It describes how the Scots arrived at Argyll in 443 B.C., settling 265 years and 3 months before the Picts. The Picts settled 'this side of Drumalban, but not beyond' and ruled for 1,224

25. The erroneous statement that Henry, William's father, died at the Battle of the Standard ("Cothon") could be a later interpolation: the metre here is unusually uncomfortable.

years and 9 months. Cináed mac Alpin began to reign trans Drumalban in 844 A.D.; after he had reigned for 7 years he attacked the Picts in revenge for the death of his father - who, after defeating the Picts, had been treacherously killed by them; he overthrew the Picts so that he ruled the kingdom of Alba. Chapter IV lies uneasily between the description of "Lori" first leading the Scots to Argyll and the account of Fergus bringing the stone to Scotland and becoming the first King of Scots; it at least looks, therefore, like an interpolation.

The year-totals for the Scots before the Picts and the Pictish kingship, and the date of the settlement of the Scots in Argyll, are evidently derived (at least ultimately) from a king-list. From an analysis of summae annorum (see Appendix II), it is clear that the king-list source behind Chapter IV of the Chronicon Rhythmicum cannot be the same as the king-list used by the 1214 work: it seems, rather, that it is a list of the X group which was derived from what I have described as the 'Z²' text, and from which what I have described as the 'W' text must have been derived. Because it was between the 'Z²' and 'W' texts, this king-list source can be dated to any time between the mid thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth century. It appears, therefore, that at least this chronological part of Chapter IV represents an interpolation either into the original 1214 work by the author

of the 1306 poem, or into the 1306 poem, by Walter Bower in 1447/8.

The passage describing Cináed mac Alpin's conquest of the Picts appears to be an abbreviated version of the story told in the Huntingdon Chronicle,²⁶ which (in outline) tells how, in 834 A.D., Alpin, having defeated the Picts, was bound²⁷ and killed by them; and how, in the seventh year of his reign, Cináed overcame the Picts and became king of all Alba. Fordun (and thereby Bower) use this same Huntingdon Chronicle material,²⁸ raising the possibility that this, and maybe the rest of Chapter IV as well, was only written into the Chronicon Rhythmicum by Walter Bower. Such a possibility must be rejected, however: Fordun (and Bower) say that it was in Cináed's sixth year that he invaded the Picts (in this they could reflect the source in Huntingdon used by the Huntingdon Chronicle,²⁹ which was hurriedly compiled for Edward I

26. Palgrave, Docs. Hist. Scot., 98-9; Chron. Picts-Scots, 209.

27. See M.O. Anderson, 'Dalriada and the creation of the kingdom of the Scots', in Ireland in Medieval Europe edd. D. Whitelock et al. (1982), 106-32, at 113.

28. Book IV, Chapters II and III.

29. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 13ff., proposes that the Huntingdon Chronicle used a copy of the Scottish Chronicle cognate to the copy in the Poppleton MS. The Poppleton text of the Scottish Chronicle says that Cináed ruled for two years in Dál Riada before he advanced on the Picts and became king (of Alba) (Anderson, KKES, 249-50). Possibly, therefore, Fordun saw this Huntingdon source, or a text derived from it, so that the notion that Cináed invaded the Picts in 839 (having become 'king of the Scots' in 834), i.e. in his sixth year as king, could be the result of a misreading of ii for u, either by Fordun himself, or a text derived from the supposed Huntingdon copy of the Scottish Chronicle.

in 1291, no doubt from material in the library of the canons, and is notoriously inaccurate with its figures).³⁰ The correspondence of the Chronicon Rhythmicum's description of Cináed invading the Picts after ruling for seven years with the Huntingdon Chronicle's statement that the invasion was in Cináed's seventh year makes it likely that the source for this passage in Chapter IV is the Huntingdon Chronicle itself, or a text derived from it. This suggests that this passage was interpolated into the original 1214 work by the author of the 1306 poem.

Walter Bower has also to be rejected as the person who interpolated the year-totals, and the date of the Scots arriving in Argyll, from a king-list between Z² and W. In Book I, Chapter XXXI, of the Scotichronicon he adds year-totals to Fordun's text, no doubt from a king-list he came across himself: the figures are 249 years 3 months for the Scots before the Picts; 1,061 years for the Pictish kingdom; and 1,543 B.C. for the arrival of the Scots in Scotland. The last figure is a mystery; but the others appear to have been derived from a king-list that has, in turn, been derived from the W text.³¹ In terms of text-history, therefore, it is at least a couple of "generations" removed from the material in Chapter IV of the Chronicon Rhythmicum. As an

30. E.g., see Anderson, KKES, 217.

31. See Appendix II.

alternative, Bower also quotes the Chronicon Rhythmicum in its original verse for the duration of the Pictish kingdom; and, though now in prose, he is no doubt quoting the Chronicon Rhythmicum again when he states in Book I, Chapter XXXVI, that the Scots ruled for 265 years and 3 months before the Picts. There is no reason to believe, therefore, that he had to hand the list - or merely the figures on their own - from which the Chronicon Rhythmicum's year-totals, and date of the Scots' arrival, was taken. Indeed, he had another list, whose figures he gives first, and which was written later than the source of the figures in Chapter IV of the poem. If Walter Bower had interpolated such figures into the Chronicon Rhythmicum one would expect him to have used this later list which he clearly had in his possession. Also, if he interpolated the Chronicon Rhythmicum's figures into the poem, then it is difficult to see why he refers to them by quoting the poem, and only secondarily to the figures he found in the list which we know for sure was in his possession. The most likely conclusion is that Walter Bower found these figures already in his text of the Chronicon Rhythmicum. It appears, therefore, that the whole of Chapter IV of the poem was written in 1306 from material derived from the Huntingdon Chronicle and from a king-list which was (ultimately) taken from the Z² text and from which (ultimately) the W text was derived.

It is the use of this king-list material, derived from Z^2 and the parent of W, that is the key to being able to attempt to distinguish between what originally belonged to the 1214 work, and what was added to it by the author of the 1306 poem. In the previous chapter,³² I argued that the text ' Z^1 ' consisted of a king-list of the X group prefaced by an account of the origin-legend conflated from a text of a Life of St. Brandán and a text of a Life of St. Congal. This 'origin-legend plus king-list' text can be seen in the Scalacronica, Fordun's Chronica Gentis Scottorum, and Wyntoun's Original Chronicle. In my discussion of the history of this 'origin-legend plus king-list' text it is plain that Z^2 and W were copies or recensions of this text. The source of the king-list material in Chapter IV of the Chronicon Rhythmicum (i.e. the summae annorum, etc.) was, therefore, a manuscript of this 'origin-legend plus king-list' text, derived from Z^2 and the parent of W. If, then, the author of the 1306 poem took this material from such a manuscript of this text (and did not merely take it from a source which had extracted the summae annorum from such a manuscript) it follows that he must have at least seen its account of the origin-legend. Comparing the origin-legend material in the Chronicon Rhythmicum with the origin-legend in texts derived ultimately from ' Z^1 ' (see the Appendices at the end of Chapter Three), their most evident similarity

32. Above, pp. 153ff.

is that both give an account of the Símón Breac/Fergus legend, which features the Stone of Scone. Both describe Símón as the most favoured son of a king of Spain, who is given the Stone by his father; and the Stone is associated with rulership. Símón goes to Ireland, from where his descendant Fergus takes the Stone to Scotland, and becomes the first King of Scots in Scotland. One can point to the occasional verbal similarity: thus, compare Fordun's description of how the 'Scottish nation' in Spain, referring to the stone, "diligenter ... quasi pro anchora tuebatur", with the Chronicon Rhythmicum's description of the stone as "anchora vite vocatur". There is the odd slight difference; and the versions in the Scalacronica, Fordun and Wyntoun are much more detailed. On the face of it, therefore, it appears that the Chronicon Rhythmicum's is a shorter version of the 'Z¹' account. The impression, therefore, is that the 1306 poem obtained its telling of the Símón Breac/Fergus legend from its 'origin-legend plus king-list' text derived from Z² (and ultimately Z¹).

This impression is reinforced by two other details in the Chronicon Rhythmicum's origin-legend material which appears to be derived from this 'origin-legend plus king-list' text. Wyntoun prefaces his account of the 'Z¹' origin-legend recension, which he derived from the W text, with the statement that Nél is twenty degrees removed from Noah. This corresponds to what

he would have found in his rather corrupt text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots.³³ In the Chronicon Rhythmicum Gáedel Glas is introduced as being twenty-two generations removed from Iafeth, son of Noah. These calculations do not tally with each other, reinforcing the impression that they were made independently. Both, however, have evidently had access to genealogical material. The Chronicon Rhythmicum's figure tallies exactly with what I call the 'D' recension of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, which is best preserved in Ralph de Diceto's Ymagines Historiarum.³⁴ This coincidence is significant because the D recension of the Genealogy omits (perhaps surprisingly) Baath son of Rifath Scot: it is otherwise fastidious in recording the generations between Gáedel and Iafeth. In my discussion of these texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots I argue³⁵ that the D recension is derived from the recension which, ultimately, appears in Wyntoun's Original Chronicle. The Wyntoun text of the Genealogy, and also its cognate text prefacing king-list D,³⁶ also omit Baath son of Rifath Scot. It is possible, therefore, to argue that this error was committed not by the scribe of the D recension, but by the scribe of its source which it shares with Wyntoun. Because this is the only omission

33. Wyntoun's text of the Genealogy is divided up through his Chronicle: Bk. I, ch. xiv/xv, Bk. II, ch. x, and Bk. III, ch. x.

34. See Chapter V, Appendix I.

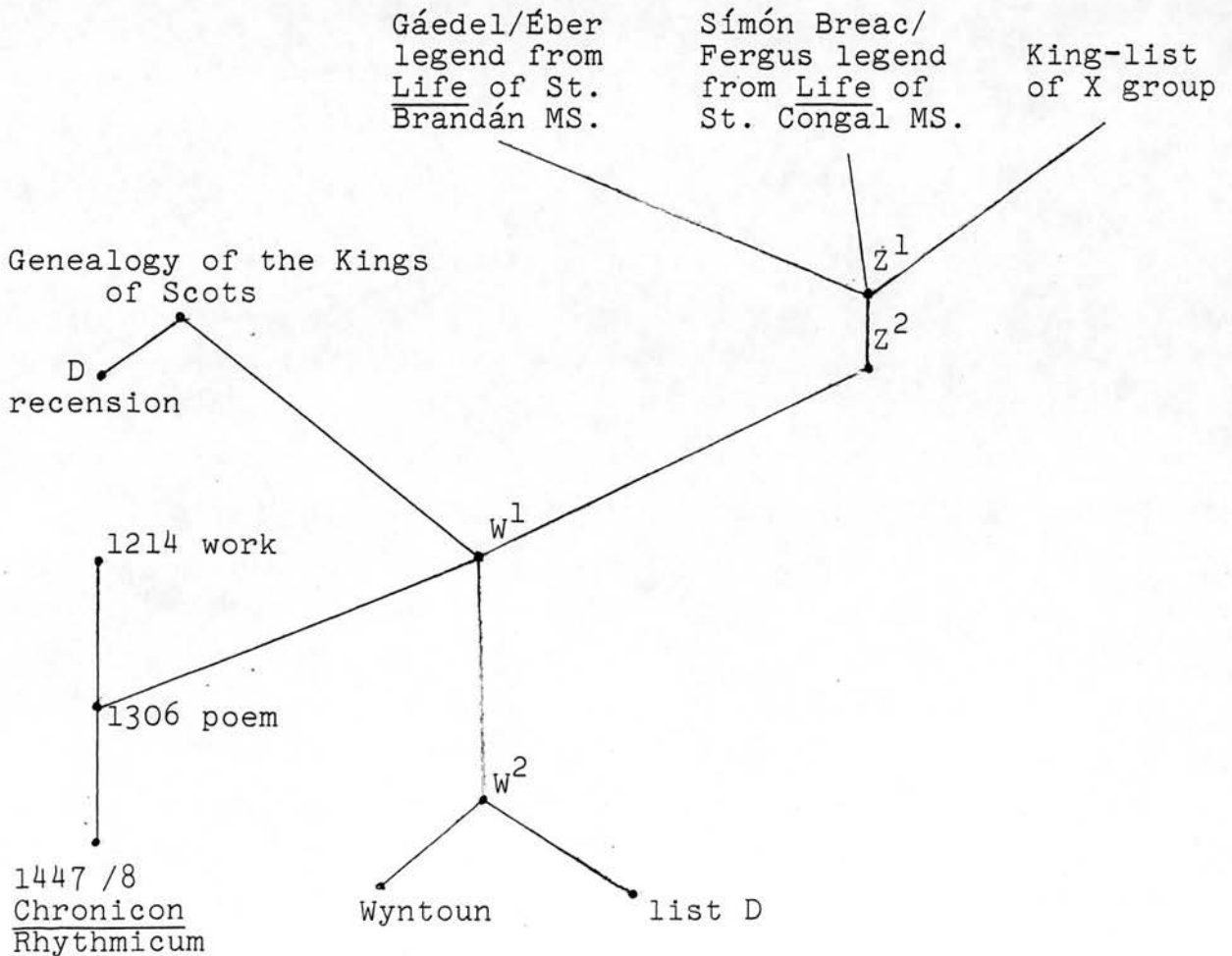
35. Chap. V, esp. p.311.

36. See Chap. V, pp. 311-2

in the D recension of this section of the Genealogy, so too this would have been the only omission in this section of the source-text of the Genealogy which it shares (ultimately) with Wyntoun. In my discussion of these texts of the Genealogy I also argue³⁷ that the W 'origin-legend plus king-list' text, whose material Wyntoun used, also contained Wyntoun's source-text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. It already appears that the Chronicon Rhythmicum's 1306 poem used a parent-text of this W text, used by Wyntoun. The fact, therefore, that the Chronicon Rhythmicum gives a figure for the generations between Gáedel and Iafeth which appears to have tallied with the original source of the W text's copy of the Genealogy suggests that the parent text of W, used by the 1306 poem, consisted not only of 'origin-legend plus king-list' but also the Genealogy as well. Indeed, because there is nothing to suggest that Z² included the Genealogy, the 1306 poem can claim to contain the earliest trace of this recension of the origin-legend plus king-list text that also had, additionally, the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. Furthermore, because the original text of this recension appears to have had the same number of generations between Gáedel and Iafeth as is noticed in the Chronicon Rhythmicum (and therefore more generations than Wyntoun's source), it seems likely that the 1306

37. See Chapter V, p. 312.

poem was using the original text of this recension. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should call the W text 'W²', and call its parent-text, which was used by the author of the 1306 poem, 'W¹', in recognition of the fact that 'W²' is probably not much more than a copy of 'W¹', and that 'W¹' is not a mere copy of 'Z²', but represents the original text of a new recension - at least insofar as it introduced the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots into the 'origin-legend plus king-list' text.³⁸ This can be summed up diagrammatically:



38. See also Appendix II, where the summae annorum provide further evidence for the '1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum' being derived from a text intermediate between Z² and the parent of list D and Wyntoun (W²).

It is notable that the '1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum' seems to have known nothing of Fergus mac Ferchair. He does, in fact, appear in Bower's text of the poem, but only in an obviously interpolated section, between the reigns of Cináed mac Alpin before and after he expelled the Picts, consisting of verse-material which Bower has evidently derived largely from his text of Fordun.³⁹ The reading of the pre-Bower Chronicon Rhythmicum, thus, seems to portray Fergus mac Eirc as the 'first king of Scots' who brought the Stone of Scone to Scotland, rather than Fergus mac Ferchair. In this it agrees uniquely with Wyntoun, who is the other witness of the W recension of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend. The obvious implication, therefore, is that this identification of Fergus mac Eirc with the rôle of Fergus mac Ferchair was an innovation of their immediate common source, W¹.

Not only does the Chronicon Rhythmicum share the Símon Breac/Fergus legend with the 'origin-legend plus king-list' text, therefore, but there are specific genealogical and origin-legend details which suggest that it was, indeed, a text of the W recension that it used - probably the 'original' text, 'W¹'. This accords exactly with the evidence of the summae annorum in Chapter IV.⁴⁰ We can, therefore, dismiss the possibility that the 1306 poem saw only extracts from W¹: the traces in the Chronicon Rhythmicum from

39. The first part comes from Fordun, Book II, Chap. XXXV: the last part comes from Book II, Chap. XII.

40. See Appendix II.

the origin-legend, king-list, and genealogical components of the W^1 text show that the author of the 1306 poem must surely have had to hand the entire text.

This conclusion holds important implications with regard to the nature and contents of the 1214 work. If the author of the 1306 poem had to hand the king-list material of the W^1 text, which would have been more up-to-date than the king-list of the 1214 work,⁴¹ then it is remarkable that he has opted to use the 1214 material. If he was attracted by the additional details from Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (which, I argued,⁴² were probably mostly, if not entirely, present in the 1214 work) then it is remarkable that he has ignored the notes on (at least) the death and burial of each king from Cináed mac Alpin which must have been in W^1 's king-list.⁴³ In short, if the author of the 1306 poem

41. The Chronicon Rhythmicum gives Alexander II and Alexander III reigns of 35 and 37 years respectively. Of the lists in the X group, only list N reads likewise (Anderson, KKES, 291): list K (the Scalachronica) is close with 37 years each (Ibid., 289), while list D stops at Lulach mac Gille Comgain. M.O. Anderson (KKES, 64) shows that list N is closer to D than to K: it could well be derived from W^1 , therefore. It finishes with Robert I's inauguration and John Comyn's murder: Marjorie Anderson has suggested (KKES, 67) that it is a piece of English anti-Scottish propaganda written 1306x. It is likely, therefore, that W^1 , and maybe even Z^2 (shared by W^1 and list K) had been brought up to date as far as the death of Alexander III. Alexander II reigned for 34 years and 7 months, and Alexander III reigned for 36 years and 8 months (Dunbar, Scot. Kings, 91 and 99).

42. Above, p. 198.

43. As in all the X group lists (including D and K: Anderson, KKES, 266-8, 288-9).

was the first person to render the Chronicon Rhythmicum's material into metre, it is rather difficult to see why he selected the 1214 list, rather than the more up-to-date W¹ text's list. One has to conclude that the 1214 list was special in some way. An obvious explanation could be that it had already been cast into a poem: the 1306 poet would therefore have preferred it simply to save himself from unnecessary effort. (Unfortunately, though, I can not demonstrate this by identifying different styles in the metre, though maybe a specialist in this field could).

It can, however, be shown that the author of the 1306 poem has taken trouble to blend into the 1214 work the material which he has introduced. For instance, the list of kings of Dál Riata finishes with Cináed mac Alpin who is given a reign of seven years. This list of kings of Dál Riata is derived from the source-list of both the X and the Y groups, which Marjorie Anderson has dated⁴⁴ to in or after 1165. In my discussion of the development of the king-lists⁴⁵ I argue that the 1165x source appears to have had to hand a list extending only as far as Fergus mac Echdach (ob.781), and has continued it by transposing the names from Selbach (c.701-23) to Alpin (?733-6) so that they follow Fergus, thus making the list run on to an Alpin who would be taken to be Cináed's father. I argue that this was done by the author of the 1165x list in order to link his Dál Riata

44. Anderson, KKES, 52.

45. Chap. VII, p. 419 and n.100.

list-source on to the well established king-list from Cináed onwards, so that it became one continuous list of kings from Fergus Mór mac Eirc to his present day. There was no need, therefore, to give Cináed two reign-lengths, as king of Dál Riata and as king of Alba; and only Cináed's reign as king of Alba is ever noticed in all the lists, apart from the Chronicon Rhythmicum, which are derived from this 1165x list. The author of the 1306 poem, however, had some cause to provide Cináed with a separate reckoning as king of Dál Riata. I have already argued⁴⁶ that it was the author of the 1306 poem who introduced the Chronicle of Huntingdon material in Chapter IV, describing how Cináed invaded the Picts after he had ruled in Dál Riata for seven years. This clearly tallies with Cináed's seven year reign in the Dál Riata section of the list in the Chronicon Rhythmicum. The irresistible conclusion, therefore, is that the author of the 1306 poem has scrupulously added Cináed's reign to the 1214 work's Dál Riata king-list in order to make it consistent with what is not much more than an incidental detail in his account, later on, of Cináed's conquest of the Picts.

If the 1214 work was, in fact, a poem, then this has to improve the chances of it being more than a versified king-list. I have already argued⁴⁷ that at least some, if not all, the additional details from Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (to 1214) should be attributed to the 1214

46. Above, p p. 201-2.

47. Above, p. 198.

work. We might expect, therefore, that it included some origin-legend material. Indeed, if the 1214 work consisted of no origin-legend material, so that the account of Scottish origins in the Chronicon Rhythmicum is attributed to the author of the 1306 poem, then it is difficult to see why he has not at least based it on the account of the origin-legend that he must have found in the W¹ text. In fact, he has taken only the Símon Breac/Fergus legend from W¹'s origin-legend material. If we take away the Símon Breac/Fergus story from the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account of Scottish origins we are left with an almost complete account of the Scottish origin-legend, based on Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum.⁴⁸ In outline, it describes how a Scythian exile called Gáedel Glas left Egypt after the drowning of Pharaoh and settled in Spain (apparently), and was (ultimately) succeeded 1,002 years after the death of Pharaoh by Mil; later, the Scots were led to Argyll by "Lori". In the Historia Brittonum the 1,002 years date refers to the Scoti migrating from Spain to Ireland, so that we can assume that this account included the Spain-to-Ireland stage of the legend. The simplest explanation of why the author of the 1306 poem preferred this apparently complete account instead of his W¹ text's origin-legend material has to be that most, if not all, the origin-legend material in the

48. Above, pp. 187-8.

Chronicon Rhythmicum apart from the Símón Breac/Fergus legend belonged already to the 1214 work. This matches the fact that he preferred the 1214 king-list to W¹'s. On balance, therefore, it seems that the author of the 1306 poem based his work on a poem written in or after 1214 which consisted of a complete account of Scottish origins followed by a list of Scottish kings from Fergus Mór mac Eirc to William the Lion.

If we admit that the 1214 work included an account of the origin-legend, then by a process of elimination it must at least have consisted of the Historia Brittonum material. Fortunately it is possible to attribute some of the other details in the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account with more certainty to the 1214 stage. Thus, it is difficult to believe that the author of the 1306 poem, when adding the Símón Breac/Fergus legend, invented the unorthodox detail that the king of Spain in the legend (Símón's father) was called Mil. Mil is a major figure in the Gaelic pseudo-historical system, representing the ancestor of (almost) all the Gáedil,⁴⁹ and appears in many versions of the Gaelic origin-legend, his earliest rôle being the father of the leaders of the Scoti from Spain to Ireland.⁵⁰ His name, Mil Espáine, means simply 'Soldier of Spain': he is plainly an invention of Gaelic christian

49. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 195f., 266.

50. As in, e.g., the Historia Brittonum, Chap. XIII.

learning, as is so much else of the Gaelic origin-legend.⁵¹ Nowhere else, however, is he described as Símon Breac's father. Neither is there any evidence to suggest that the source for the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend (W¹) or any other account of the legend (that was not influenced by the Chronicon Rhythmicum)⁵² described Mil as Símon's father. Indeed, significantly, none of the texts cognate with W¹ give a name to Símon's father (describing him merely as a king of Spain).⁵³ The Chronicon Rhythmicum's unprecedented description of Mil and Símon as father and son, therefore, can best be explained as a conflation of W¹'s account of Símon as a son of a king of Spain with a previous account's description of Mil of Spain as the father of those who led the Scoti to Ireland. The resulting relationship between Mil and Símon can be seen, then, as another example of skilful blending by the author of the 1306 poem. The inevitable conclusion is that the 1214 work at least mentioned Mil Espáine, and probably described him as the father of the conquerors of Ireland.

This suggests that the author of the original 1214 work was disposed to add names to the account of Scottish origins which he drew from Chapter XV of the Historia Brittonum. It is unlikely, therefore, that he would have satisfied himself with the Historia Brittonum's

51. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 195.

52. As in Book I, Chapter XXVIII of some manuscripts of the Scotichronicon which have the Chronicon Rhythmicum.

53. See Chapter III, Appendices II and III.

description of an anonymous noble Scythian exile, and is, thus, no doubt responsible for naming him "Gai γ ilglas". (There is a formal possibility, however, that he found "Milo" and "Gai γ ilglas" as glosses in his text of the Historia Brittonum). If we accept the likelihood that it was the author of the 1214 work that introduced these names into the account, then they give tantalising hints as to his identity. The fact that he knew of Gáedel Glas and Mil Espáine suggests that he was familiar with the Gaelic origin-legend. Although Mil always plays a central rôle in Irish versions of the legend, there are few references to him in Scottish accounts: Scottish recensions usually portray Éber, son of Gáedel Glas, as leading the Scoti from Spain to Ireland.⁵⁴ This suggests that the 1214 author was more than averagely informed about Gaelic historiography. Neither of the names, however, appear in the Chronicon Rhythmicum in an orthodox Gaelic form. Perhaps "Milo" is an attempted Latinisation: more interesting is "Gai γ ilglas" which, while being a fair representation of actual Gaelic pronunciation, employs the letter yogh which is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The suggestion, therefore, is that the author of the 1214 work was "bi-cultural", living in a mixed Gaelic and Anglo-Norman context.⁵⁵ Such would

54. At least Z¹ and its descendants.

55. There is a formal possibility, however, that the yogh is by a later recensionist (e.g. the 1306 poet).

be typical of a member of the learned orders living east of a line from the Lennox to Atholl during this period.

Perhaps the strongest indication, however, that the 1214 poet belonged to a Gaelic professional kindred is the (likely) fact that it was he who originally wrote the Chronicon Rhythmicum's metrical king-list. A bare catalogue of kings with their reign-lengths may seem quite unsuitable material for poetry within an Anglo-Norman context, but it is not surprising within a Gaelic context, where the ollamh is both poet and historiographer. Thus, the poem usually referred to as the Duan Albanach,⁵⁶ a Gaelic composition written during the reign of Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (1058-93), is simply a catalogue of Scottish kings with their reign-lengths, preceded by origin-legend material of which some has (ultimately) been derived from the Historia Brittonum.⁵⁷ If my argument is accepted that the 1214 work was a poem consisting of a Scottish king-list preceded by some origin-legend material based on the Historia Brittonum, then it is striking how closely in conception it bears comparison with the Duan Albanach. (There is, by the way, nothing to suggest that the Duan is a source of the 1214 poem). The only principal difference between them as examples of the same genre is that the 1214 poem is in Latin, rather than Gaelic. This can no doubt be understood as a result of the

56. K.H. Jackson, 'The Poem A eolcha Alban uile', Celtica, iii (1955), 149-67 (a critical edition); and K.H. Jackson, 'The Duan Albanach', SHR xxxvi (1957), 125-37 (edition, with translation and notes).

57. Ibid., 134.

"bi-cultural" context within which the author of the 1214 poem was working: Latin would be the language most readily understood by the reasonably educated Gael and Scoto-Norman alike. It would be useful for someone suitably qualified to look for Gaelic metrical styles in the work. If one had to pin down the author more precisely, then the most likely member of a Gaelic professional order who would have had the cause and authority to compose such a work, I would suggest, is the ollamh ríghhe, the 'King's Poet', who John Bannerman has convincingly demonstrated⁵⁸ survived as an institution at least until the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249.

There are two features of the Chronicon Rhythmicum's account of Scottish origins which appeared in the 1306 poem which are difficult to attribute to either the 1214 or the 1306 stages. The first is the passage describing the first settlement of the Scots in Argyll, led by "Lori".⁵⁹ This fits well with Chapter IV of the poem, which makes the Scots arrive in Scotland before the Picts and thereby considerably earlier than Fergus 'the first king of Scots in Scotland'. I have argued⁶⁰ that Chapter IV was written by the author of the 1306 poem: the 1214 work, therefore, could simply have described Fergus as the founder of the first Scottish settlement in Scotland. It has no obvious need to mention an earlier settlement: it appears to have ignored

58. John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

59. All manuscripts read "Lorimonie", which BL Royal e.10 (fo.21,vall) has amended to "Lori nomine" (which I think makes better sense). "Lorimonie" is certainly garbled.

60. Above, pp. 199ff.

the Picts (and there is no trace of the settlement of Dál Riata described in the Historia Brittonum under a different leadership to Fergus). Insofar as he introduced Chapter IV of the poem, with its statement that the Scots settled in Scotland long before Fergus 'the first king', the 1306 poet did have a need for an account of a settlement earlier than Fergus. It seems, therefore, that the passage describing the initial settlement led by "Lori" should be attributed to the 1306 stage.

The source of this unparalleled notion of a first colonisation led by "Lori", however, is a puzzle. If "Lori" is not a meaningless or hopelessly garbled name then it can perhaps be amended to 'Lorn', i.e. Loarn. Could this be the trace of a tradition that the Cenél Loairn settled in Argyll before the kingship of the Dál Riata was established in Scotland by Fergus Mór? This would tie in tantalisingly with the likely fact that at least the Cenél Loairn and Cenél nÓengusa of the Dál Riata had migrated to Argyll before Fergus Mór moved the centre of the kingship across the Irish Channel around 500:⁶¹ it is Fergus, not Loarn, who is portrayed as the 'first king' (i.e. the first over-king of the Dál Riata to be based in Scotland). However, the Duan Albanach, which uniquely makes Loarn the first king of Alba, followed by Fergus,⁶² is the only

61. See Bannerman, Dalriada, 122-4.

62. K.H. Jackson, op.cit., 130; see Bannerman, Dalriada, 125-7.

possible, and admittedly faint, corroboration for the existence of the view that Fergus was the king of a people that had already settled Argyll under Loarn. If the Chronicon Rhythmicum's reference to "Lori" is, indeed, a record of this view, then there would be no difficulty in supposing that it was written by the author of the 1214 poem. If, however, the reference to "Lori" bears no relation to any supposed tradition that the Cenél Loairn settled in Argyll before Fergus made it the centre of the kingship of the Dál Riata, and instead it is explained in terms of the 1306 poet's desire to blend his account with the summae annorum material in Chapter IV which he introduced, which brings the Scots to Scotland long before Fergus, then it is necessary to suggest where he took "Lori" from. His king-list material in the W^1 text does mention Loarn, describing him as buried on Iona with his brothers Fergus and Óengus. It could be suggested, therefore, that he picked out Loarn's name and pressed it into service as the name of the 'brave' leader of the first Scots to settle in Argyll. The difficulty with this suggestion, however, is that king-list D, derived ultimately from W^1 , reads "Loaran";⁶³ while king-list K, derived ultimately from W^1 's source, Z^2 , reads "Loern":⁶⁴ W^1 , therefore, probably read 'Loarn', correctly. At the end of the day the problem of the provenance of the "Lori" passage in the Chronicon Rhythmicum, and therefore whether it

63. Anderson, KKES, 267.

64. Ibid., 288.

was written in 1214 or 1306, appears to be intractable. Personally, though, I feel quite partial to the suggestion that it is indeed a record of a view that the Cenél Loairn were the first to settle in Argyll. Such a hunch is based partly on the possibility that it was the ollamh ríge who wrote the 1214 poem, for he is the most likely to have known of such a view. It is also partly based on the possibility that, if Mac Beathad mac Findlaig was of the Cenél Loairn,⁶⁵ then his reign can be seen as providing a context for this Loarn legend being boosted or, indeed, created.

The other important feature which is characteristic of the 1306 poem's account of Scottish origins, early on, but which on the face of it is difficult to attribute with certainty to either the 1214 or 1306 stages, is the central rôle it assigns to the Stone of Scone, associating it closely with Gáedel Glas and describing it as the stone of Pharaoh. Almost all its details otherwise that concern the Stone of Scone appear to be derived from the W¹ text as parts of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend, and can therefore be with certainty attributed to the 1306 stage, - with the notable exception of Mil's

65. John Bannerman, 'The Scots of Dalriada', in Who Are the Scots?, ed. Gordon Menzies (BBC 1971), 66-79, at 77: see also David Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins: Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking', in The Middle Ages in the Highlands, ed. Loraine Maclean of Dochgarroch (Inverness 1981), 103-16, at 104: see also Chapter VI, below, pp. 348-52.

prophecy to Símon that his progeny would rule wherever the stone was located. A key consideration in assessing whether this 'extra' Stone of Scone legendary material belongs to the 1214 poem or was interpolated into it in 1306 is how to explain the fact that, from the origin-legend material in the W¹ text at his disposal, the 1306 poet has used only the Símon Breac/Fergus legend in his re-writing of the 1214 work. The principal feature of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend is the Stone of Scone. It is possible, therefore, to explain the 1306 poet's particular interest in this legend in terms of a desire to extend or improve Stone of Scone material that he found in the 1214 poem. Looking at the Símon Breac/Fergus legend, this would seem to mean that the 'improvement' amounted to bringing the Stone to Scotland, suggesting that this line of argument would appear to require that the 1214 work failed to describe the Stone reaching Scotland. This is hardly convincing. It is better, therefore, to argue that the 1306 poet was particularly interested in the Stone of Scone, and that this interest not only attracted him to the Símon Breac/Fergus legend, but also to other legend(s) concerning the Stone which told, for instance, how Gáedel Glas brought the Stone from Egypt, and how wherever it was placed the Scottish kings would rule. He would appear, therefore, to have put together this material concerning the Stone and blended it into the account of Scottish origins which he found in the 1214 poem. There is, perhaps, some trace of this

process that can be detected in the metre of a couple of lines, which, as they stand, read:

Exul, qui lapidem Pharaonis detulit idem:
Ut liber fatur, Gaiŕilglas ille vocatur.

The second line is, oddly, a pentameter: if we remove the "qui lapidem ... idem" relative clause, which according to my argument would have been added in 1306, then we are left with

Exul, ut liber fatur, Gaiŕilglas ille vocatur.

which is a hexameter. On other occasions where the Stone of Scone material is mentioned it almost always consists of entire lines which could easily have been added to the 1214 poem.

It may seem odd for the author of a poem inspired by the inauguration of Robert I, which was the first to be performed without the Stone of Scone, to have been so interested in the Stone as to have interpolated all the Chronicon Rhythmicum's material on the Stone of Scone into the 1214 work. But his enthusiasm for the Stone can be explained in the light of the obvious implication inherent in the prophecy of Mil, that Símon Breac's progeny will rule wherever the Stone is located.

The 1306 poet clearly meant the optimistic import of this prophecy to be understood: not only does he also describe old men prophesying that Robert I will crush the English ruthlessly, but he also states that the heirs of St. Margaret are the heirs to the kingdom of

the English. This claim by inheritance from St. Margaret on behalf of Robert I for the English throne is not unknown in this period: it was mentioned during the negotiations between the Scots and the English at Bamburgh in March-April 1321.⁶⁶ The author of the 1306 poem, therefore, portrays Robert as not merely going to remove the English from Scotland, but as going to overpower them utterly, and presents this as an outcome legitimated by Robert's hereditary right and inevitably destined by fate. The Stone of Scone's absence in Westminster, therefore, though not directly stated in the poem, is nevertheless an important part of the poem's argument, and as such is dependent on being portrayed as a portent of Scottish sovereignty. It is little wonder, therefore, if the author of the 1306 poem was particularly attracted to legends which showed the Stone of Scone being with the Scots from the beginning throughout their migrations. Indeed, it may seem not impossible that the 1306 poet invented some of this material himself. The poem's excessive expectations are not without precedent. There is another Scottish political poem from this period, usually referred to as the Metrical Prophecy,⁶⁷ which foretells how the Scots and the Welsh are going to destroy the English and rule the whole of Britain.

66. P.A. Linehan, 'Anglo-Scottish relations in a Spanish Manuscript', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xlviii (1975), 106-22, at 116.

67. Chron. Picts-Scots, 117-8.

Marjorie Anderson has argued⁶⁸ convincingly that it was composed at, or not long before, Edward I's death (July 1307), and that it should be identified with the "Prophecy of Merlin", foretelling how on Edward's death the Scots and the Welsh would league together and possess 'the sovereign hand and their will', that was being touted by preachers before May 1307.⁶⁹ In the year following his inauguration, therefore, a high optimism that fate was spectacularly on their side is quite tangible among Robert I's supporters.

The 1306 poet's interest in the Stone of Scone as a feature of the origin-legend was not unique in this period. A political song in Anglo-French entitled La Piere D'Escoce, composed in or soon after 1307,⁷⁰ gives the following account of the legend (as translated by Dominica Legge):⁷¹

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68. M.O. Anderson, 'The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', SHR, xxviii (1949), 31-42, at 33-4.
69. Cal.Docs.Scot. ii, 513 (French text, 536-7). Barbour, (The Bruce, Bk. II, ll.86-90) makes Robert I the subject of a prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer, that he would become king of 'all the land', by which Britain is probably meant: Barbour's Bruce, edd. Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson, ii (1980), 28; also i (1985), 34-5, and 70: see also E.B. Lyle, 'Thomas of Erceldoune: the Prophet and the Prophetied', Folklore, lxxix (1968), 111-21, at 114.
70. M. Dominica Legge, 'La Piere D'Escoce', SHR, xxxviii (1959), 109-113, at 111: it is edited at 109-10.
71. Ibid., 110.

In Egypt Moses preached to the people. Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, listened well, for he said in spirit, 'Whoso will possess this stone, shall be the conqueror of a far-off land'.

"Gaidelons" and Scota brought this stone, when they passed from the land of Egypt to Scotland, not far from Scone, when they arrived. They named Scotland from Scota's name.

After Scota's death her husband took no other wife, but made his dwelling in the land of Galloway. From his own name he gave Galloway its name. Thus it appears that Scotland and Galloway are derived from their names.

A briefer and clearly related account of this legend appears in another English source, the Vita Edwardi Secundi,⁷² which tells how Scota daughter of Pharaoh took the Stone from Egypt to Scotland; how Moses prophesied that whoever took the Stone with them would subjugate ample lands to their dominion, and how Scotland is called after Scota. This legend, therefore, was known at least in England, and was current in a popular medium in or after 1307.

This legend is notably similar to those parts of the Chronicon Rhythmicum's Stone of Scone material that was not derived from the W¹ text's account of the Símon Breac/Fergus legend. Like the Chronicon Rhythmicum, it derives the Stone from Egypt and has it brought from Egypt by Gáedel (and/or his wife), and makes the Stone the object of a prophecy foretelling conquests for its owner. It appears, therefore, that the Chronicon Rhythmicum contains material derived from

72. Vita Edwardi Secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young (1957), 132.

some form of this legend. This Stone of Scone legend (which I will refer to as the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend) is known to have been current around 1307: its manifestation in the Chronicon Rhythmicum, therefore, lends further support to the suggestion that the Stone of Scone material in the Chronicon belongs to the 1306 stage in the poem's composition.

The author of the 1306 poem, therefore, appears to have taken some form of this 'Piere D'Escoce' legend and, together with the Símon Breac/Fergus legend, blended it into the 1214 work's account of Scottish origins. No doubt this process can explain some of the differences between the English version of the legend and its manifestations in the Chronicon Rhythmicum. Thus, I have argued⁷³ that the 1214 work already referred to Gáedel Glas emigrating from Egypt to Spain: the 1306 poet, therefore, only had to add that he took the Stone with him, and thus probably felt that there was no need to bother mentioning Scota. Another difference is that the English version is rather vague about the function of the Stone in Egypt: the Chronicon Rhythmicum's description of the Stone as belonging to Pharaoh could be an original feature, therefore, or it could have been supplied by the 1306 poet. Similarly, if the English version's lack of detail about the Stone's exodus represents the original

73. Above, pp. 215-6.

content of the legend, then it is not surprising that the 1306 poet turned to the Símón Breac/Fergus legend to fill in the vacuum: the migrations of the Scots would already have appeared in some detail in the 1214 work. Finally, it is strange that the 1306 poet did not attribute the prophecy to Moses, as in the English version, but chose Mil instead. Perhaps Moses was an English addition, comparable in its reference to an Old Testament figure to the apparently English notion that the Stone was Jacob's pillow.⁷⁴ If this is the case, then the original 'Piere D'Escoce' legend would appear to have described the prophecy without attributing it to anyone in particular: it would follow, then, that the 1306 poet could have attributed the prophecy to Mil because, in the absence of any specification on this point in his source, he deemed it to be appropriate to the moment in the Símón Breac legend, when Mil gives the Stone to Símón as his favourite son. The suggestion that the prophecy originally was credited to no-one in particular is supported by its appearance in Fordun (Book I, Chapter XXVII) and Wyntoun⁷⁵ without being attributed to anyone:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum
Inveniant lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

It is likely on the face of it that this couplet derives

74. William Rishanger, *Chronica et Annales*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (1865), 1-232, at 135.

75. ~~Discussed in~~ Chap. III, Appendix III.

from the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend or, perhaps, was incorporated into the legend. Because the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend identifies the Stone so closely with Gáedel and/or his wife Scota, it seems likely that the prophecy was originally akin to Fordun's couplet (and Mil's prophecy in the 1306 poem) in specifying the descendants of Gáedel/Scota as the beneficiaries of the Stone's promise of rulership: the vagueness of the English accounts on this point would be understandable.

I think, therefore, that one is justified in talking of a 'Piere D'Escoce' legend which was certainly current by 1306/7, and which apparently told (at least) how Gáedel and Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, brought the Stone from Egypt; how it was prophesied that their progeny would rule wherever it was located: and that Scotland is named after Scota. The 1306 poem did not include the last statement because it probably already had, in the 1214 work, the explanation that Scotland's name derives from the 'Scots' led from Ireland by "Lori". I hesitate to suggest that the song La Piere D'Escoce's derivation of Galloway from Gáedel, and its explanation of how this came about, was original to the legend.⁷⁶ While the account in the Vita Edwardi Secundi seems to be derived from the same version of the legend as appears in the song La Piere D'Escoce, there is nothing to suggest that this

76. M. Dominica Legge, op.cit., 110, 111.

'English recension' as it were is merely a modified version of material in the 1306 poem.

There is a brief account of Scottish origins in a Scottish source which is similar to this 'Piere D'Escoce' legend. It appears in the Processus, chiefly by Baldred Bisset, presented at the papal curia in 1301, which represents the final draft of the Scottish case against Edward I's response to Pope Boniface VIII's bull Scimus fili.⁷⁷ Interestingly, the Scottish origin-legend as described in the Processus is quite different from the account of Scottish origins in the Instructiones, which presumably represents the initial presentation of the Scottish case: (it is the version in the Instructiones which is detailed by one of the English officials at the curia in a report to Edward I of the Scottish case).⁷⁸ It is desirable, therefore, to establish in what way the Processus has been altered from the account in the Instructiones, and

77. Scimus fili, edited and translated in Stones, Documents, 81-7; Edward I's reply edited and translated, ibid., 96-109 (for legendary material, which was added as an afterthought, see ibid., 97 and n.1); the Processus is edited in Chron. Picts-Scots 271-84 (the origin-legend account is at 280). The use of legendary pseudo-history in the case is described in E.L.G. Stones and Grant G. Simpson, Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296 (1978), i, 155-7.

78. The Instructiones are edited in Chron. Picts-Scots, 232-71 (the account of Scottish origins is at 242). The report on the case to Edward I is edited and translated in Stones, Documents, 110-7 (see esp. 113 for the origin-legend arguments of the Scottish case).

to assess what bearing this may have on the material shared with the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend. In translation (and abbreviated slightly), the accounts are as follows:

Instructiones⁷⁹

The Scottish people, so called from a certain Scota daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt, came from Egypt, and first occupied an island, called Ireland from the River Hiberus in Spain, after they had expelled the giants; it is called by Isidore the island of the Scots. And, following Bede, they secondly occupied Argyll, an adjacent part of Albania; Argyll is called after "Erk" son of Scota and "Gael" Scota's husband, by putting their names together. And, thirdly, throwing the Britons out of Albania, they occupied Albania, which is the third part of the

Processus

A daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, with a large fleet, goes to Ireland. Afterwards, having taken on board certain of the Irish, she sails to Scotland, bringing with her the royal seat (which the king of England has taken with other royal insignia by force to England). She overthrew the Picts, and possessed the kingship itself (regnum ipsum). From Scota the Scots and Scotland are named, as in the line, From the woman Scota is called Scotland as a whole (Scocia tota).

79. My translation is taken from Skene's edition of the Edinburgh MS of the Scotichronicon. As Skene explains, (Chron. Picts-Scots, lxiii-lxv), his text, taken from the Edinburgh University MS (collated with the Donibristle MS) of the Scotichronicon, represents the version uncontaminated by the Scotichronicon itself (unlike the text in the Trinity College, Cambridge MS of the Scotichronicon).

InstructionesProcessus

island of Britain; thus occupied by the Scots, it was named anew Scotland from that Scota, Lady (Domina) of the Scots, as in the line From the woman Scota is called Scotland as a whole (tota).

The Instructiones are the raw material of the Processus, so that it is no surprise that the Instructiones account of Scottish origins is rather convoluted, and that the Processus account should read more smoothly and clearly: it, after all, represents the actual pleading of the Scottish proctors at the curia. This, no doubt, accounts for the Processus account retaining from the Instructiones only the itinerary of the Scots from Egypt via Ireland, and the naming of Scotland and the Scots from Scota, 'daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt': only the poetic line at the end has actually been retained word for word. The idea of Scotland being named after Scota is the only feature shared by the Instructiones and the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend: on the face of it, it can hardly be taken as a significant coincidence.

The Processus account has also changed and added to the material in the Instructiones. Thus, Scotland is conquered by the Scots from the Picts, rather than from the Britons: the Processus earlier explains that

the Picts previously conquered Scotland from the Britons. The Scottish case presented at the curia maintained that English claims based on Brutus and his sons were quite irrelevant: there could be no meaningful connection between the Britons and the Scots, or the English for that matter, because each are a separate and distinct people. The Processus, therefore, by adding the Picts to the succession of conquests of Scotland, managed to put more distance between the Britons and the Scots: at the same time, it achieved a concise and comfortable place for the Picts within the argument, who, in the Instructiones, pop up, unexplained, as the allies of the Scots against the Britons. Other features of the Processus account which are not found in the Instructiones are the description of Scota herself journeying all the way from Egypt to Scotland, and of her taking the Stone of Scone with her. These features are found elsewhere only in what I have called the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend: clearly, therefore, the Processus, but not the Instructiones, is closely related to the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend.

W.F. Skene, in his discussion of origin-legends concerning the Stone of Scone,⁸⁰ concluded that we owe them "entirely to the patriotic ingenuity of Baldred Bisset", the principal author of the Processus. We may not owe the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend to Baldred Bisset, but it is likely that most of what

80. W.F. Skene, 'The Coronation Stone', PSAS, viii (1868-9), 66-99, at 82.

I have referred to as the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, as it appears in the Chronicon Rhythmicum, the song La Piere D'Escoce, and the Vita Edwardi Secundi, was indeed first formulated in the Processus, by way of making the material in the Instructiones more readable, and forcible (as Skene suggested). Thus, in mentioning Edward I's removal of the Stone, the Instructiones⁸¹ call it a 'most ancient royal seat of the said kingdom' of Scotland, but do not associate it with Scota: the innovation of the Processus, however, associating the Stone - an obvious symbol of the Scots' status as a regnum - with the eponym of Scotland and the Scots, is clearly a smoother and more effective way of implying that from the beginning the Scots have been a "free people", now wrongly subjected by Edward's aggression, symbolised by his forceful removal of the Stone. It is possible, also, that the Processus made Scota the subject of the journey to Ireland and then Scotland, rather than the Scots, as in the Instructiones, in order to tighten up the account, making it seem more natural that Scotland should be called after the daughter of a king of Egypt. It would appear, then, that certainly the idea of associating the Stone with Scota, and possibly the description of Scota herself journeying from Egypt to Scotland, originated in the Processus. It would not be a surprise if this account of Scottish origins,

81. Chron. Picts-Scots, 266.

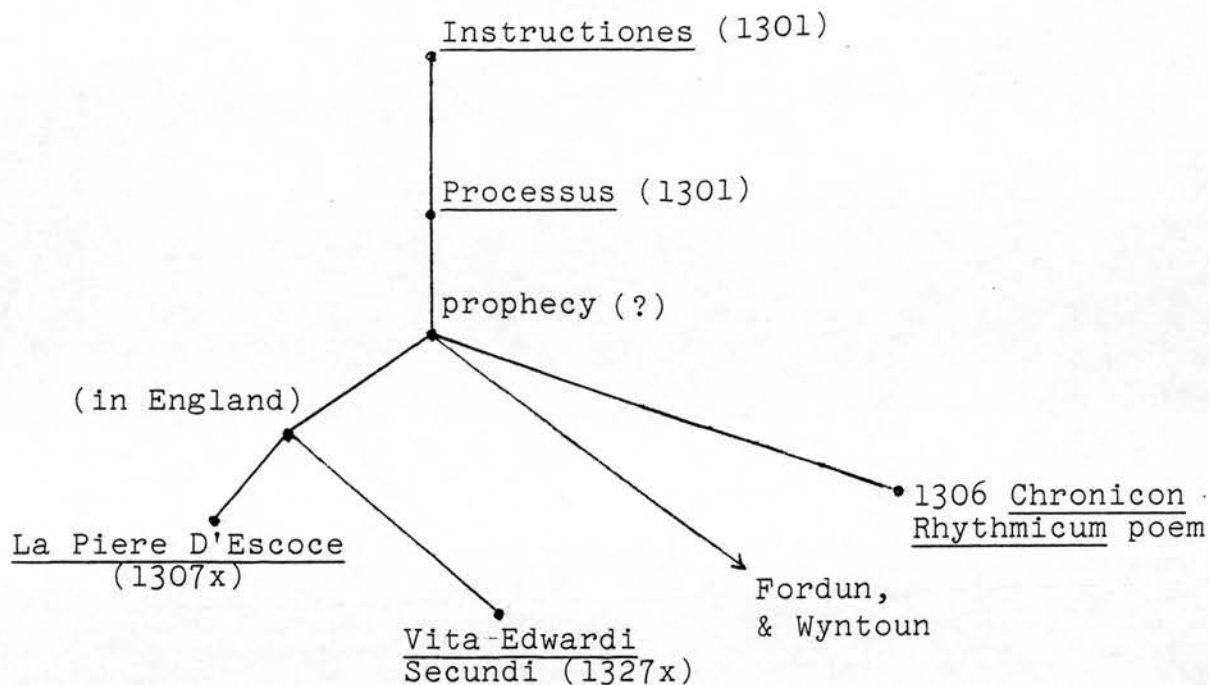
having been so publicly and officially espoused, was soon disseminated in Scotland, where Baldred Bisset's performance at the curia seems to have caught the public imagination.⁸²

It is possible that in introducing the Stone of Scone into the account of Scottish origins the Processus was influenced by the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend. This might explain the wording in the Processus which, read strictly, seems to say that the Stone was brought not from Egypt, but from Ireland: the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend likewise does not bring the Stone from Egypt, but makes it originate in Spain, reaching Scotland via Ireland. Perhaps it was decided to keep faith with the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend (which, as educated men, you might reasonably expect the proctors to have known of), but without adding a stop-over in Spain. The later accounts of the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend would, then, have developed the association of the Stone with Scota, quite naturally, back to her origins in Egypt.

Therefore, the only significant part of what I have described as the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend that is not a feature of the account of Scottish origins in the Processus is the prophecy. It is possible that it was first formulated in response to Edward's purloining of the Stone, and soon became attached to the Processus version of the legend in Scotland. It is also possible,

82. Barrow, Bruce, 118.

however, that it not only had Edward's removal of the stone in mind, but was inspired by the idea, certainly stated in the fully developed 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, that the Stone had been with the Scots from their beginning, throughout their stravaiging: it could, therefore, be an embellishment that probably developed after 1301 when the Processus version of Scottish origins caught on in Scotland. This must have happened soon: as the song La Piere D'Escoce shows, it had reached England before 1307. (There is also the possibility that the prophecy is (at least in essence) much older than 1296 or 1301). Another embellishment of the Processus account is the mentioning of Scota's husband Gáedel. He only appears in La Piere D'Escoce, and, whereas he could have been in the version of the legend known to the author of the 1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum poem, it is only La Piere D'Escoce, insofar as it, uniquely, derives 'Galloway' from 'Gáedel', that would appear to have had any cause to introduce Gáedel into the account: significantly, he does not appear in the other English account of the legend, in the Vita Edwardi Secundi, which is closely related to La Piere D'Escoce. In any event, it is not too difficult to imagine that Gáedel was well enough known as the husband of Scota to have been added to the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend at least as it appears in La Piere D'Escoce. The probable development of the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, therefore, can be summarised diagrammatically:



It remains to discuss the sources of some of the material in the Instructiones account. Its most strikingly original feature appears in its statement that Argyll is named after "Erk" and "Gael", respectively son and husband of Scota. "Erk" is probably meant to be Erc, father of Fergus Mór. This notion of the Scottish royal dynasty being so closely related to the eponyms Scota and Gáedel implicitly cutting away vast amounts of the royal genealogy is, indeed, radical - so radical as to make one wonder if it could, realistically, have been concocted by anyone learned in Gaelic genealogy. It would appear, however, that it was not invented by the authors of the Instructiones themselves: they state that "Erk-Gael" is the etymology of "Ergadia" (the Latin form of Argyll), which simply does not fit. "Erk-Gael" does not comfortably explain the Gaelic form,

Airer Gáidel,⁸³ either: it does, however, come very close to the Scots "Argile"/"Ergyle", etc.⁸⁴ It seems probable, therefore, that the authors of the Instructiones took this etymology from a source that was written by someone familiar with Scots; and that the 'Argyll' of this source has been replaced by its Latin form "Ergadia" by the authors of the Instructiones (who were, after all, composing material for the very Latinate context of the papal curia). It seems likely that the source for the "Erk-Gael" etymology of Argyll was the same source from which the Instructiones derived the idea that Erc was the son of Gáedel and Scota. It would be no surprise if this source's Scots-speaking author was not au fait with Gaelic historiography: he could well have been a Scoto-Norman churchman. It is quite possible, however, that his idea that Erc was the son of Scota and Gáedel was not a bold invention, but rather was (for him) a reasonable surmise: if he knew that the Scots derived from Gáedel and Scota, and saw from a king-list that the first King of Scots was Fergus son of Erc, then it seems plausible that he put these bits of information together to conclude, quite naturally, that Erc could well have been the son of the eponymous Gáedel and Scota.

83. Later, Oirer Ghaidhead: W.J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland (1926), 120.

84. See, e.g., Chron. Wyntoun iv, 175; v, 85; vi, 41.

Another probable source of some of the origin-legend material in the Instructiones is the Topographia Hiberniae of Giraldus Cambrensis (Distinctio III, Chapter VII).⁸⁵ Thus, the naming of Ireland from the river "Hiberus" in Spain is a notable detail found in Distinctio III, Chapter VII, of the Topographia that appears in the Instructiones account of Scottish origins. Furthermore, it is quite possible that the itinerary of the Scots' exodus from Egypt - going direct to Ireland, thus strangely omitting Spain, and then, of course, on to Scotland - that appears in the Instructiones account could have come from reading Distinctio III, Chapter VII, of the Topographia, which mentions the Scots deriving from Gáedel and Scota daughter of Pharaoh; their settlement in Ireland; and their subsequent colonisation of Scotland. On the face of it it might seem possible that this material from the Topographia has been taken by the authors of the Instructiones from their "Erk-Gael" source-text. If this were so, however, then it is difficult to explain the spelling of Gáedel as "Gael", as opposed to the Topographia's "Gaidelus". The likely explanation, therefore, is that the "Erk-Gael" source text was independent of the Topographia, so that the Instructiones probably derived its Topographia material directly from a text of the Topographia Hiberniae itself.

85. Chron. Picts-Scots, 146.

Finally, the fact that the Instructiones account's notion that Scotland (and the Scots)⁸⁶ were derived from Scota appears as a ditty, "a muliere Scota vocitatur Scocia tota", suggests that it was taken from "common know^{le}dge", as it were (at least among the politically conscious). Thus, for instance, the same idea appears in the "Metrical Prophecy" that was apparently being touted around by Scottish preachers in 1307:⁸⁷

A Scota, nata Pharaonis regis Egypti,
Ut veteres tradunt, Scotia nomen habet.

A final account to consider is that attributed by Fordun to 'Grosseteste',⁸⁸ perhaps Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, which I argued⁸⁹ was added (probably as a gloss) to Fordun's origin-legend synthesis source-text. It is very brief, and, as quoted by Fordun, says little more than that Scota daughter of Pharaoh with her husband "Gayel"/"Gael" fled the plagues threatened on Egypt and landed first in Ulster, which they called "Scotia" after Scota; and that 'the Scots have always had, nearly from their beginning, a distinct kingdom and a king of their own'. It was this last sentence which could have attracted Scottish eyes to this account, and caused it to be added to the origin-legend synthesis source-text. This final sentence also suggests that 'the

86. I take Scocia tota to imply Scotland as a community, as well as a territory.

87. M.O. Anderson, op.cit., 34.

88. See Chap. II, Appendix II.

89. See Chap. II, above, 60-1 (and 70).

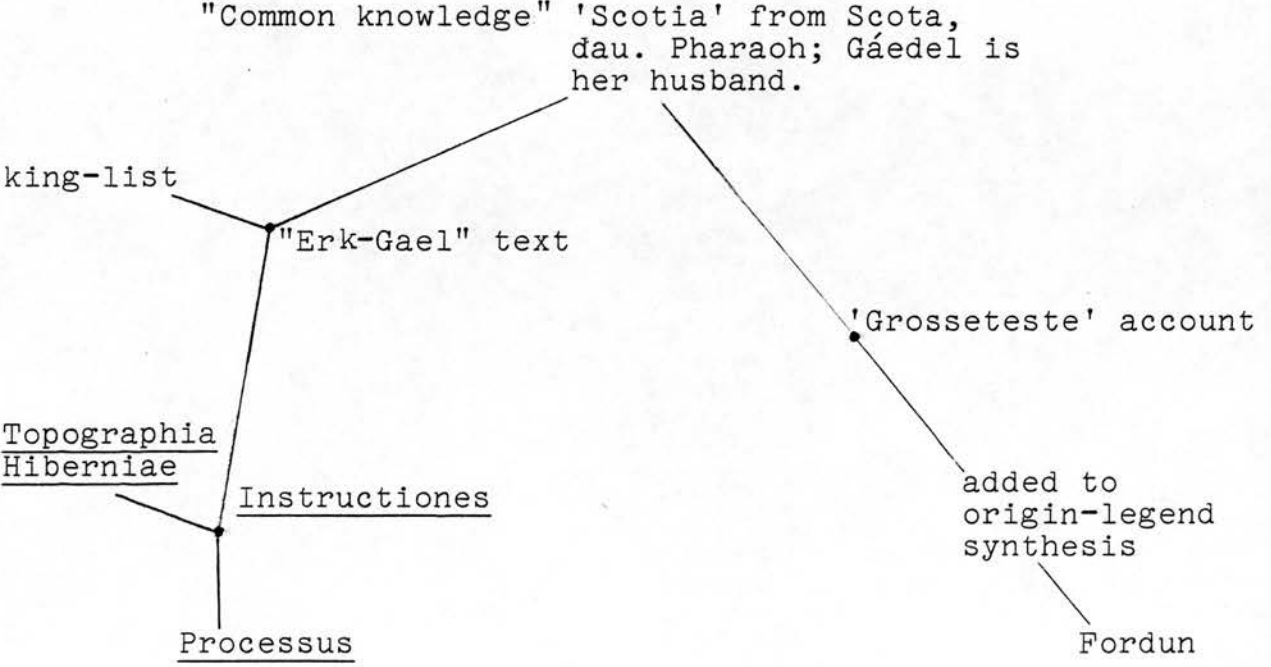
Scots' are not thought of as merely the inhabitants of Ulster in this account, which would, in any event, be a most unorthodox proposition.⁹⁰ It is probable, therefore, that it originally mentioned the Scots settling in Scotland, the most obvious 'distinct kingdom of Scots'. Indeed that a settlement in Scotland was in the original 'Grosseteste' account is possibly implied from its statement that Scota landed 'first' in Ulster, perhaps suggesting a second landing.

The 'Grosseteste' account agrees with the Processus account insofar as it brings Scota direct to Ireland (at least); and, like at least the song La Piere D'Escoce, it mentions Scota's husband Gáedel. On their own, these agreements are not too compelling: making Scota come to Ireland directly from Egypt could simply have been inspired independently by the fact that "Scotia" (understood as Ireland, and Scotland; or, simply, as 'Gaeldom') is named after Scota 'daughter of Pharaoh' (who would, no doubt, have been taken to be the biblical Pharaoh of Moses' time). Gáedel could have been commonly enough known as the husband of Scota: the 'Grosseteste' account's "Gayel"/"Gael" does not appear to be related to La Piere D'Escoce's "Gaidelons". It is, perhaps, fruitless to talk about the 'Grosseteste' account having any identifiable

90. For a possible parallel, see J. Carney, Studies in Irish Literature and History (1955), 402-7, where he suggests that St. Patrick used Scoti to denote "the portion of Irish people whose chief city was Emain Macha (i.e. the Ulaid).

sources. It has very little of the detail found in other origin-legend accounts, and what information it does have could easily have been surmised from knowing that Scotia derives from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, and had Gáedel as her husband. This could all, plausibly, have been "common knowledge", as it were, at least among the reasonably educated. The idea of Ulster being 'Scotia' perhaps indicates that this account was the product of a not particularly "learned" milieu.

The 'Grosseteste' account and the sources of the Instructiones account can be summarised diagrammatically:



In both the 'Grosseteste' and the Instructiones accounts Scota is represented as the leader of the Scots: in the former she is their ducissa and is described as 'the most noble of them all', while in the latter she is called Domina Scottorum. Perhaps, therefore, we can add this feature to the "common knowledge" idea of Scotia being derived from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. It seems to be a peculiarly Scottish feature that Scota should be explicitly described in such terms: the only other (independent) example is the description of the Scots deriving from Scota daughter of Pharaoh, 'Queen of Scotland, or of the Scots',⁹¹ which appears in the tract De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum in the Poppleton compilation, and was probably written by the compiler himself.⁹² It would have been written, therefore, probably between 1165 and 1184 at the Augustinian Abbey of Scone,⁹³ and therefore no doubt by a Scoto-Norman. The inspiration for this need be no more than that it was felt to be only natural, if not indeed necessary, for the woman after whom Scotland and the Scots were named to be their ruler. As a further, and perhaps characteristic, piece of Scoto-Norman "common knowledge", in some sense, it can be taken to suggest at least a basic grasp of the origin-legend, and a sympathy towards it, that should surely not be surprising.

91. Anderson, KKES, 243.

92. Ibid.; the item of the compilation in which this appears is discussed, above, Chap. I, pp. 9ff.

93. See above, 15, 284ff.

The independent spelling of Gáedel as "Gael" in the "Erk-Gael" text and the 'Grosseteste' account⁹⁴ provides some more evidence concerning the Scoto-Norman reception of the Scottish (and therein the Gaelic) origin-legend. I have suggested that both accounts, written it would seem by Scoto-Normans, appear to have derived "Gael", husband of Scota, from "common knowledge", as it were: there is a formal possibility that they took this from a written source, but, implausibly, this would seem to entail that this single piece of information was all that they derived from it.⁹⁵ The spelling "Gael" for Gáed(h)el fairly accurately represents Gaelic pronunciation after the vocalisation of intervocalic dh. This phonological change, I suggest, can be dated with reference to the development of dh to gh, usually ascribed to the twelfth century. In the next chapter, I will suggest⁹⁶ that texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots provide evidence which points to the development of dh to gh, occurring in Eastern Scotland after c.1150; and that they also provide evidence for the vocalisation of intervocalic gh in some, but not all instances, around 1150. There are no examples at this date for the vocalisation of intervocalic dh. I would suggest, therefore, that the vocalisation of intervocalic dh occurred as a consequence of dh becoming gh, through the

94. It could instead have read "Gayel", which is not significantly different.

95. It can be noted that the author of De Situ Albanie (probably the compiler of the Poppleton text) knew the significance of Gáedel, saying that 'all the Irish and Scots generally are called "Gattheli", from a certain early leader (primevo duce) of theirs called "Gaithelglas".'

96. Chap. V, below, pp. 283f, 297f.

change of dh to gh occurring while the vocalisation of intervocalic gh was still an active development (or maybe soon afterwards). I would suggest, therefore, that "Gael" for Gáedel can be dated, at the earliest, to the third quarter of the twelfth century. If "Gael" husband of Scota was well known among reasonably educated Scoto-Normans, therefore, then this would show that the Scoto-Normans were sufficiently in touch with Gaelic culture in the late twelfth century as to follow Gaelic pronunciation changes, at least to some degree.

This "Gael" form is notably different, therefore, from the spellings of Gáedel that appear in the more detailed and learned texts of the origin-legend that I have discussed in previous chapters, such as "Gaythelos" and "Gaidel", which all retain the ^{original} intervocalic dh. This reinforces the suggestion that the "Gael" spelling in Scoto-Norman texts represents a less learned and more colloquial form of the name, reflecting up-to-date pronunciation. If a spelling retaining the intervocalic dh could have been shown to have become common in a not particularly learned Scoto-Norman context, then it could have been taken as evidence that a Scoto-Norman knowledge of Gáedel as husband of Scota (and thereby at least the gist of the origin-legend) was 'rediscovered' in the heat of the War of Independence, implying that it had previously failed to be taken up by the incomers and their descendants from David I's time onwards. However,

because all the evidence available (such as it is) points to "Gael" as the less-learned colloquial Scoto-Norman form of Gáedel's name, it follows that the (at least) rudimentary knowledge of the origin-legend was not learnt anew from learned texts, and that the origin-legend had not survived only among the erudite few in Scoto-Norman society, but that there was, plausibly, a familiarity with at least the outline of the origin-legend among the politically and culturally conscious in Scotland continuously from the eleventh century (and before), whether they were Gaelic or Scoto-Norman. It is, after all, only common sense to suppose that, as the incomers who settled in Scotland became identified as Scots, so they would show some interest in, and pick up some knowledge of, the legend which explained who the Scots were in terms in which they could only have felt pride.

The Chronicon Rhythmicum, therefore, provides the only evidence for identifying more origin-legend texts such as 'W¹', the 1306 poem and its 1214 progenitor. In turn, this provides more evidence for a continuous learned interest in Scottish origins throughout the thirteenth century, and thereby more material with which to discuss this continuous interest itself. Furthermore, the Chronicon Rhythmicum provides the best evidence for a Scottish recension of the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, which otherwise can be found only in English texts. This

gives more credibility to the proposition that the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend originated in Scotland, allowing the Processus to be identified with more confidence as its source. The transmission of this information concerning Scottish origins thus passes back from the Processus through the Instructiones to the only significant body of material which brings us as far from the views and statements of the well-educated as we can ever hope to get, and towards the generally shared beliefs concerning Scottish origins among the politically and culturally conscious. At its least this appears to have amounted to a belief that the Scots and 'Scotland' are derived from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh 'king of Egypt', who was (apparently) their first ruler; and who, with her husband "Gael", brought the Scots from Egypt to Ireland, from where they settled in Scotland. At its least, this appears to provide evidence which points to a continuous awareness of the gist of the Scottish origin-legend among the politically and culturally conscious in Scotland extending, no doubt, back for many centuries before the War of Independence, matching the continuous interest among the well educated that can be seen by the many origin-legend texts and recensions that can be identified.

APPENDIX I: THE KING-LIST IN THE CHRONICON RHYTHMICUM

The king-list in the Chronicon Rhythmicum has not relayed all the information from its source: thus, none of the patronymics are given (save for Domnall mac Alpín).

It is not, however, so sparse as to make it difficult to analyse its position in the text-history of the king-lists (as established by Marjorie Anderson). The king-list in the Chronicon Rhythmicum has some features which are errors characteristic of the X group of lists. Thus, it has dropped an 'x' from the reign-length of Comgall mac Domongairt (see Anderson, KKES, 137, n.82), giving him 24 years similarly with lists of the X group, while the Y group appears to have given perhaps the original 32 years (or 33, as in list E) (see the editions of the lists in Anderson, KKES, 253-4, 264-91): likewise, it replaces Cináed mac Duib with his supposed son, as do the X group (Anderson, KKES, 52). However, occasionally it disagrees with readings in the X group, agreeing instead with the Y group: thus 'Eogan mac Ferchair Fota' is given 13 years, as in list E (sole witness of this king in surviving MSS of the Y group), but 16 years in the X group. Where (rarely) the Chronicon Rhythmicum agrees with the Y group against the X group, the X reading appears to be later: thus, William is, correctly, given 49 years, not the 50 years in the X group. All in all, therefore, this suggests that the king-list in the Chronicon

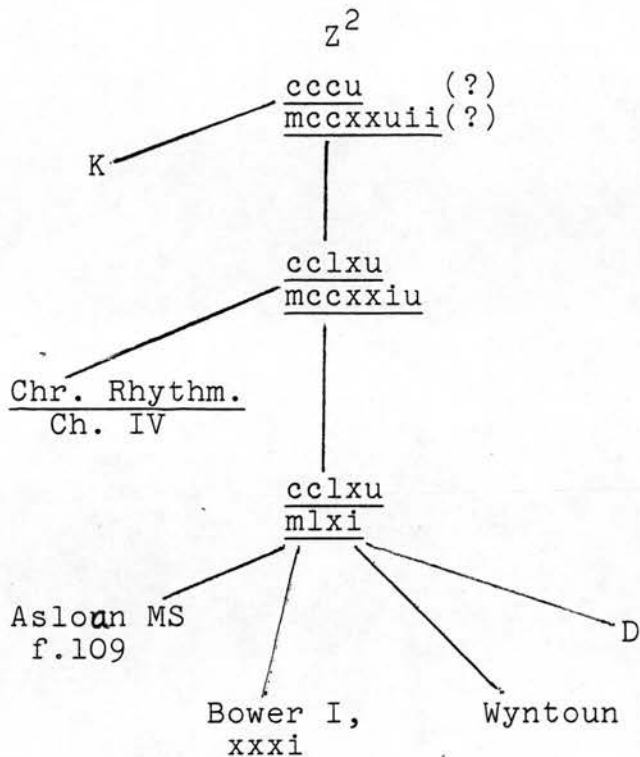
Rhythmicum shares a common source with the lists of the X group which, however, is older than the text which all the X group have in common: it is best described, therefore, as being derived from a stage in the text-history intermediate between the common source of both the X and Y groups of lists, and the source-text of the X group itself. Thus, its summa annorum for the kings of Dál Riata of 312 years 3 months is very close to Marjorie Anderson's suggested 313 years 3 months of the common source of both X and Y groups, while the source of the X group seems to have read 307 years 3 months (Anderson, KKES, 216).

APPENDIX II: SUMMAE ANNORUM OF LISTS DERIVED FROM Z^2

Marjorie Anderson, in her discussion of the summae annorum in the king-lists (Anderson, KKES, 216), shows that the common source of the X group probably gave 307 years to the kings of Dál Riata (numbers of months are not significant). Lists derived from Z^2 have taken this figure to represent the 'rule of the Scots before the Picts'. She also shows (Anderson, KKES, 220) that a figure between 1,227 and 1,232 years was the original figure in the X group assigned to the rule of the Picts. The following pairs of summae annorum appear to derive from Z^2 , which was evidently the first list-text to state that the Dál Riata summa referred to the rule of the Scots before the Picts. All these texts (save Bower) give a date of around 443 B.C. for the beginning of the Scottish kingdom.

	<u>'Rule of Scots before Picts'</u>	<u>'Rule of Picts'</u>
list K .	305	1,237
list D	260	1,061
Wyntoun	245	1,061
<u>Chr. Rhyth.</u> Ch. IV	265	1,224
Bower, I, xxxi	249	1,061
Asloun MS, f.109	265	1,061

This suggests the following text-history:



Clearly, the immediate parent-text of the king-list in the Chronicon Rhythmicum, which is derived from a source of the common source of the X group (see Appendix I), cannot have contained the summae annorum which appears in Chapter IV.

A few figures of other summae are not accounted for in the suggested stemma (above). The corresponding figures in folio 20 of the Black Book of Paisley are 249 and 1,224. This folio, however, consists of a hotchpotch of material derived from the Scotichronicon, which it precedes: its figures, therefore, are probably not a genuine 'pair' which it has extracted from a lost list. In Bk. I, Chap. XXXVII, of the Scotichronicon, Bower gives 265 years for the rule of

the Scots before the Picts, and in the Book of Coupar abridgement adds an alternative figure of 317 years: the former he probably derived from the Chronicon Rhymicum (Chap. IV), while the latter appears to be related to the 327 years assigned to the Dál Riata period in list F which is derived from the lost Register of St. Andrews.

APPENDIX III: THE DATE OF ROBERT I's INAUGURATION

The date of Robert I's inauguration is given simply in the line hec in Aprilinas sexto sunt facta Kalendas ('these things were done on 27th March'). This laconic line looks rather clumsy in the context of the passage in which it appears (see p. 195): indeed, it looks rather like an interpolation. If Bower himself added it, however, then why did he not give the year? It is more likely, I feel, that a copyist (not necessarily Bower) has inserted this line because he found "6. Kal. Apr." (or suchlike) glossed on to the text. This was the date when the bishop of St. Andrews celebrated high mass for the new king (Stones, Documents, No. 35). In Guisborough's account of King John's inauguration (The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. H. Rothwell (1957), 239) this forms part of the royal inauguration-ritual: thus, he described King John, newly placed on the Stone of Scone, as sitting enthroned throughout the celebration of the mass (even during the elevation of the host). This suggests that Robert I was formally 'crowned' (see Barrow, Bruce, 152) on the same occasion as mass was celebrated for him: certainly, he appears to have been inaugurated in Scone Abbey itself (Barrow, Bruce, 151), as was King John. However, it is clear from English chroniclers of the time (Barrow, Bruce, 152 and 356, n.34), and from Lamberton's confession to the English in August 1306 (Stones, Documents, 138),

that Robert I had undergone some process of coronation three days beforehand. G.W.S. Barrow (Bruce, 150-1) has suggested that "a group of people influential in Scotland in 1305-06 made public their approval of Bruce's bid for the throne and thus in effect 'elected' him king". Certainly, as Norman Reid has pointed out (Thesis, 468-9), the evidence of the dating of royal acta shows that from Alexander III (at least) kings were reckoned to become king before the royal inauguration-ritual was performed. The inauguration rite, thus, would have been regarded as a ratification of kingly status rather than a king-creating occasion itself. It would probably have been felt, therefore, that Robert should already be deemed a king before the celebration of the royal inauguration-ritual, and that the occasion for making him king and the formal inauguration should be kept distinct. It seems likely, therefore, that Robert was 'made king' on 25th March, and formally inaugurated on 27th March. The 'coronation' on March 25th would not have been a conventional occasion: conceivably, therefore, Isabel of Fife placed a coronet on Robert's head on this as well as (presumably) at the formal inauguration, and there could easily have been some kind of ceremonial election. Certainly, the idea of Robert becoming king by election would be in keeping with the idea of the king-creating potential of the 'community of the realm' (as most thoroughly expounded in Norman Reid's thesis, esp. 256-81).

That Bishop Lamberton celebrated mass for Robert on the 27th as part of the formal ceremony of inauguration could, thus, be suggested by the reference in Lamberton's confession to the English to his ratification of Robert's royal status. It could also be suggested by the important rôle for the Bishop of St. Andrews in the inauguration-ceremony referred to in the bull of 1329 granting coronation and anointment to the kings of Scots, in which the pope says that he was informed by Robert I's petition that Robert (and his predecessors) were accustomed 'to receive the insignia of the royal dignity' from the bishop of St. Andrews of the day (Robertson, Concilia, xlvii n.2): this at least implies that Lamberton played a key part in Robert I's formal inauguration.

In conclusion, it seems that the date given for Robert's inauguration in the Chronicon Rhythmicum is accurate, so that we can argue, from its lack of a year-date that it was written (probably as a gloss) in 1306 - which, of course, is agreeable to the proposal that the Chronicon Rhythmicum contains a poem inspired by Robert's inauguration. I suppose that the gloss itself (if such it was originally) need be no more than a diaristic doodle. I will suggest that the poem could have been written for the inauguration itself: the 'date-gloss', thus, could even be (originally) a 'marker' by the poet noting in advance the date set for the recitation of the poem.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LATIN TEXTS OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SCOTS

Texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots are obvious bearers of origin-legend material. The royal ancestors that they enumerate are bound to include the important figures in the legends of the origins of the kingship, and thereby of the gens who make up the kingdom, the regnum Scottorum. A genealogy, however, is only a list of names, and does not (usually) single out those ancestors who were believed to have played a crucial part in the origins of the gens and its regnum. Having looked at the Scottish origin-legend, we are at least in a position to recognise characters from the legend. However, because these texts are only lists of names, it could be objected that the mere mention of characters in the origin-legend in texts of the Genealogy does not of itself prove that the authors of these texts were aware of the origin-legend. In my discussion of the Scottish origin-legend, however, I have argued that the legend has an unbroken history throughout the Middle Ages, and would appear to have been well enough known certainly among the educated, and probably more generally. It would be unduly pessimistic, therefore, to imagine that those who took the trouble, and had the skill, to copy out the Genealogy were ignorant of the key figures in the origin-legend. Studying the text-history of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots should provide information on the history of the origin-legend

material which it contains.

A number of texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots survive from the Middle Ages. Those before Fordun are found in English and Irish manuscripts. Among the earliest, and the longest, are two texts of the Genealogy of William I. One appears in a compilation of Scottish historical material in the Poppleton MS. Although this manuscript dates from the fourteenth century,¹ the compilation of Scottish material was composed during William's reign: Marjorie Anderson has suggested² a probable date between 1165 and 1184.³ The other is found in Ralph of Diceto's Ymagines Historiarum.⁴ His original and best copy, which he kept in his possession, survives as Lambeth Palace MS. 8.⁵ He says that he began it in 1188.⁶ There can be little doubt that both texts are derived from Scottish sources.⁷ I

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1. See E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 3-4; and M.O. Anderson, 'The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', SHR, xxviii (1949), 31-42, at 31-3.
 2. M.O. Anderson, op.cit., 34; and KKES, 236.
 3. Molly Miller, 'Matriliney by Treaty: the Pictish Foundation-legend', in Ireland in Early Medieval Europe, edd. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (1982), 133-64, at 138-9, suggests a date between 1202 and 1214. This is discussed above, p. 15.
 4. Ralph de Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. William Stubbs, ii (RS No. 68, 1876).
 5. The manuscripts are surveyed in Ralph de Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. William Stubbs, i (1876), lxxxviii-xcvi.
 6. Ibid., xciv, & 18. It appears to have been completed by 1190.
 7. See below, esp. pp. 261ff.

have given both in Appendix I. It is these texts and their derivatives that I will discuss in this chapter: I refer to them as 'Latin texts' only because, as they survive, they prefer to use filius rather than mac. I will leave till later a discussion of the medieval Irish texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots simply because, on the face of it, some uncertainty must exist as to how far they represent strictly Scottish rather than Irish pseudo-historical views. This uncertainty will be easier to approach after the indubitably Scottish original(s) of the 'Latin' texts have been established and discussed.

Looking at Appendix I, it is clear that both texts trace the same descent for the Kings of Scots. This descent conforms to the usual Gaelic genealogical conventions found in medieval Irish pseudo-historical texts. The descent is traced through the 'founding figures' of the Dál Riata,⁸ Fergus Mór and Eochaid (or Cairpre) Riata (or Rigfota), to join with other members of the Síl Chonaire at Conaire mac Moga Láma (line 38)/ Conaire Már mac Eterscéuil (44), such as the Múscraige and the Corco Baiscinn who are often made to descend from brothers of Eochaid/Cairpre Riata/Rigfota.⁹ The Síl Chonaire then joins up

8. Bannerman, Dalriada, 118-32, esp. 122-7.

9. E.g. in the anecdote De Maccaib Conaire, in The Book of Leinster, v (1967), edd. R.I. Best and M.A. O'Brien, 292a35-293a35.

with the Dál Fiatach at Sen mac Rosin (50),¹⁰ and, passing through Ailill Érainn (59), eponym of the Érainn,¹¹ joins up with the Uí Néill at Óengus Turbech Temrach (62).¹² Passing through Úgaine Már (73), where they are joined by the Lagin,¹³ the descent reaches Éremón (97), from whom derive the people of the Leth Cuinn, typified as the northern half of Ireland.¹⁴ Éremón's father Mil Espáine is the pseudo-historical ancestor of (almost) all the Gáedil,¹⁵ and with him we are into the territory of the Gaelic origin-legend. Among his ancestors, duly appear Gáedel Glas, Néil, Fóenius Farsaid (110-2) and Rifath Scot (131).¹⁶ With Noah (134) we are firmly in the realm of the Bible, and are thus in orthodox fashion taken back to Adam and, finally, the 'living God'.

From Conaire mac Moga Láma, therefore, our two texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots share genealogical material that can be found in medieval Irish texts that do not directly concern themselves with the Kings of Scots. In comparing our texts with this Irish material, it is apparent that our

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10. E.g. CGH, 188 (R502.147ab30); CGH, 322 (LL335h37).
 11. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 51, 53: cf. CGH, 376 (LL324d61).
 12. E.g. CGH, 159 (R502.144a26-9).
 13. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 101-2: cf. CGH, 16 (R502.117g3-5), and CGH, 137 (R502.140a56).
 14. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 191: cf. CGH, 123 (R502.149b2-5); and 372 (LL324a53-5).
 15. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 15.
 16. Their rôle in the origin-legend is discussed below, p.266 n.39,

texts share some unusual features in important places. Thus, it is rare to find Etarscéil (45) described as "mac Éogain". Excluding Irish texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, I can find only one example, and that is only in the Book of Leinster's copy of an early text of the Lagen, where "mac Eogain" appears originally to have read "mac hui Iair".¹⁷ An Etarscéil mac Éogain - with a radically different ancestry - appears in the Genealogy of the Érainn.¹⁸ Éogan mac Iair meic Dedaid was a legendary Érainn king of Munster.¹⁹ For Thomas O'Rahilly,²⁰ "Éogan was one of the names of the ancestor deity among the Érainn": certainly he shows²¹ that the name appears to play a significant part in the Érainn genealogies.

The genealogy of Etarscéil - the father of Conaire Mór (who is the central figure in the saga Togail Bruidne Da Derga)²² - admits many variations. He is usually described in early sources as "moccu Iair".²³ Our texts share with Irish texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots the peculiarity of interposing Ailill (Ailill Án in one text)²⁴ between Éogan and Iar. Thomas O'Rahilly sees Áine as the name of a pre-Christian deity.²⁵ Possibly more

17. CGH, 21 (LL311c2).

18. CGH, 376 (LL324d50; e31).

19. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 190n.2: cf. CGH, 189 (R502.147ab56).

20. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 190.

21. Ibid., 190 n.2.

22. Ibid., 177ff; R. Thurneysen, Die irische Helden- und Königsage (Halle, 1921), 621-52.

23. E.g. CGH, 1 (R502.115a21); 120 (R502.136a23); or mac uí, as in the Coir Anmann, ed. W. Stokes, 312 (no. 55).

24. CGH, 329 (R502.162d30).

25. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 288-90. Ailill Áine is an important figure in the genealogy of the Lagen, being the father of an origin-legend character.

significant is O'Rahilly's evidence for Áine as a figure in Éoganacht genealogies:²⁶ Ailill Olom, father of the eponymous Éogan, has Áine for a wife. O'Rahilly suggests²⁷ that this is taken over from the traditions of the Érainn, so that our Éogan mac Ailella (Áine) (46-7) is evidence of that Érainn tradition. It would appear, therefore, that the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots is very conservative - certainly in describing Éogan as Etarscél's father, and perhaps also in describing Ailill Án as Etarscél's grandfather. Both appear to have originated in the context of a pseudo-historical system that pre-dates the christian 'Milesian' construct, and which can only be dimly ascertained from surviving material.

With Símon Breac (78) we enter the area of greatest interest with regard to the Scottish origin-legend, and we soon come across an unusual feature which is shared by our texts. At line 79, our texts give Símon Breac's father as "Eun Dinb", "Eon Duf" (i.e. Éoin Duib) : Éoin (or Én) Dub, however, is unattested in this position in Irish texts. In the main medieval Irish manuscripts I can find only one reference to this Éoin Dub. He appears as the uncle

26. Ibid., 289.

27. Ibid.

of Símon Breac in a text found in Laud 610 and Rawl. B. 502.²⁸ However, this text states that there is no progeny descended from Éoin Dub. Taken on its own, this makes it difficult to see why it bothered to mention Éoin Dub at all. It is possible that the appearance of Éoin Dub in our texts of the Genealogy represents a distinct point of view, perhaps peculiarly Scottish. The author (presumably Irish) of the text in Laud 610 and Rawl. B. 502. probably came across this tradition but was reluctant to disturb the more 'familiar view' concerning Símon Breac's parentage, and so accounted for Éoin Dub by placing him as a rather purposeless collateral of the main line of descent. This reluctance to intrude Éoin Dub between Símon Breac and Áedán Glas, who is the person orthodoxly described as Símon's father, would no doubt have been motivated by a desire not to disturb the established teaching²⁹ concerning the succession to the early 'kingship of Ireland', which was represented as, at first, alternating between the lines of Éremón and Éber, sons of Mil. It is tempting to link the fact that Símon Breac's important origin-legend rôle appears only in Scottish material with the fact that our Scottish genealogical texts have a unique view as to the identity of his

28. CGH, 129 (R502.137b25, 28), La.291.

29. The Reim Riograide, 'Roll of Kings'; LG, v (1956), 152ff.

father. However, I cannot explain why Éoin Dub should be of any importance of himself. Our texts' description of Símon's descent, as far as Mil, is otherwise orthodox: there is no sign of any of the radically different versions of Conaire Mór's ancestry that survives in a few of the other Síl Chonaire genealogies.³⁰

From Mil Espáine our texts give a different version from the most common view, which can be found in the first (and third) redactions of the Lebor Gabála.³¹ The principal differences concern the placing of the sequences "Glunfind m. Lamfind m. Agnomain" and "Sru m. Esru". In the first and third redactions of the Lebor Gabála these appear among the descendants of Gáedel Glas mac Níuil meic Fóeniusa Farsaid. In our texts, however, they appear as his ancestors, at lines 114-7 (with 'Etheor' between Lámfind and Agnoman), and lines 128-9. In this respect, however, our texts agree with the earliest surviving texts of the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil', namely two accentual poems of the Legin (which I will refer to by their first

30. E.g. CGH, 372 (LL324a42ff).

31. LG, ii (1939), 8ff, 44ff. The most recent discussion of the text-history of the Lebor Gabála is R. Mark Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part I: the Growth of the Text', Ériu, xxxviii (1987), 81-142.

words as "Nuadu Necht..." and "Énna, Labraid...").³²

The 'Genealogy of the Gáedil' parts of these genealogical poems have been dated most recently to the latter half of the seventh century.³³ It is evident from these

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32. CGH, 1-4 (R502.115a20-c46); CGH, 4-7 (R502.116a1-b53). These poems are discussed and edited in James Carney, 'Three Old Irish Accentual Poems', Ériu, xxii (1971), 23-80. There is another poem, "Cú-cen-máthair", which goes back into the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil' (beyond Mil and Néil etc.), which Carney (at 67) considers to be a late imitation on linguistic grounds (and attributes it to Cormac mac Cuilennán). Myles Dillon, 'A Poem on the Kings of the Éoganachta', Celtica, x (1973), 9-14, however, accepts it into the canon of early Old Irish poetry, apparently on the grounds that it is headed by seventh-century kings of the Éoganachta. He does not, however, answer James Carney's linguistic evidence for a later date. A possible solution to this dilemma is to suppose that the first part of the poems, dealing with the Éoganacht ancestry alone, was indeed composed in the seventh century, but that the later part of the poem, tracing the descent through Mil, Néil and Noah, was added later, perhaps c.900 as James Carney seems to suggest. This accords with the Leinster genealogical poems which James Carney shows to have been similarly composed in two stages, at first simply a genealogy of the Lagen which was later extended back through Mil etc. to Adam. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin-legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiologies', in History and Heroic Tale: a symposium, edd. Tore Nyberg et al. (Odense, 1985), 51-96, at 58-60, has successfully revised James Carney's dating of the first stage to the early decades of the seventh century, and has demonstrated (at 63-4) that the second stage cannot be the work of one man, as Carney supposed, and must be later than Carney's suggested date of c.630.
33. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, op.cit., 65-7. His dating depends on when Isidore of Seville's work became known in Ireland. The latest work on this issue is Marina Smyth, 'Isidore of Seville and Early Irish Cosmography', in Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, xiv (Winter 1987), 69-102, where she concludes "that Isidore was not influential in Irish scholarly circles until the end of the seventh century". As she points out, this opens the door again to the possibility that Isidore's work reached Ireland through Anglo-Saxon England. The obvious route for such a transmission would be via Iona. This raises the likelihood that the contents of the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil' section of these poems, with their evident Isidorian influence (Donnchadh Ó Corráin, op.cit., 65-6), owe their origins to Iona. For other evidence for Iona playing a part in the construction of the christian Gaelic pseudo-historical framework see below, p. 269.

poems, however, that by this date there was no longer one view on the Genealogy of the Gáedil; they differ even on such important points as whether to include Gáedel Glas, Nél and Fóenius Farsaid, and on the name of the son of Gomer, son of Iaféth, from which to trace the Gáedil. There are, indeed, a number of key differences that persisted in texts of the Genealogy of the Gáedil throughout the Middle Ages.³⁴ While not conforming to what eventually became the most common version, our texts do belong to the same tradition as "Énna, Labraid...", with which it is very similar indeed. Other texts of this "Énna, Labraid..." type are a Genealogy of the Osraige found in Rawl. B.502, the Book of Leinster, and the Great Book of Lecan,³⁵ as well as in the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála.³⁶ Our texts share with the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála the otherwise unprecedented feature of describing Fóenius Farsaid as son of Éogan, son of Glúnfínd, rather than just son of Glúnfínd,³⁷ suggesting a close relationship between our texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots and the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála.³⁸ If so, however, it is our texts which are earlier. Our texts give the genealogy from Mil to Gáedel as it is found in "Énna, Labraid...", but the second

34. For an unusual descent for Fóenius in a much later text, see R. Black, 'A Manuscript of Cathal Mac Mhuireadhaigh', Celtica, x (1973), 193-209, at 200-1.

35. CGH, 15-7 (R.502.117e39ff.; LL337hlff.; LL339a14ff.; Lec.98rd36ff).

36. LG, i (1938), § 16.

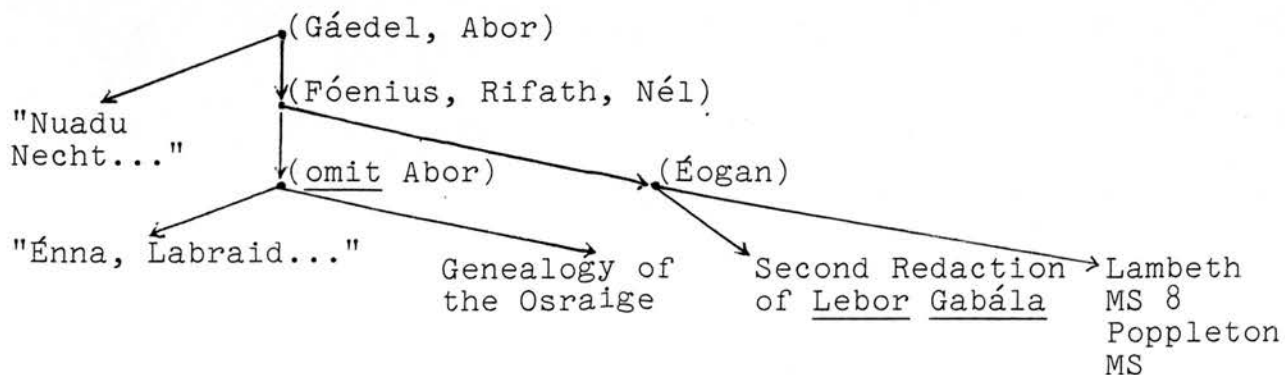
37. See Appendix I.

38. Éogain does not appear in all the MSS of the Second Redaction. Notice that our texts' spelling of Éogain shares with the Second Redaction of the Lebor Gabála an 'e' after the 'g' instead of the usual 'a'.

redaction of the Lebor Gabála fails to give it step-by-step (no doubt as a solution to difficulties created by its desire to replace the genealogical view represented by the first redaction with that represented by "Énna, Labraid..." and our texts).³⁹ Also, our texts, like

39. R. Mark Scowcroft, op.cit., has shown anew how the second redaction (his Recension b) was composed with the knowledge of, and as a riposte to, the view of the first redaction (his Recension a). Its main concern appears to have been to claim Rifath Scot as the founder of the Gaelic language, rather than the first redaction's Fóenius Farsaid. In the genealogical system of the first redaction, Rifath Scot appears nowhere, with Fóenius Farsaid appearing as the son of Baath grandson of Gomer. In wishing to reinstate Rifath Scot, therefore, the second redaction turned to another genealogical system, namely that found in our texts, where Rifath Scot appears as a son of Gomer, and a grandson of Iafeth. In this version of the Genealogy, Fóenius Farsaid is removed to at least seventeen generations from Iafeth, and it is on the grounds of this chronological position that the second redaction rejects Fóenius Farsaid as the originator of the Gaelic language. This is rather unfair, of course, because the first redaction has Fóenius Farsaid as Gomer's grandson: such "unfairness" serves to emphasise how keen the second redaction was to replace Fóenius Farsaid with Rifath. Having adopted the genealogical system shared also by our texts, the second redaction would have had to make a choice. Either it re-cast the rôles attributed to Srú, Agnoman and Lámfind in the first redaction, where they play important parts in the narrative: Srú and his son Éber Scot lead the Gáedil out of Egypt back to Scythia, while Agnoman and his son Lámfind lead the Gáedil from Scythia towards Spain. Or it told only the outline of the story of the exile from Egypt, sojourn in Scythia, and journey to Spain without naming the characters involved. The second redaction actually rewrites the stage from Scythia to Spain so as to allow Mil to go to Egypt and marry a second Scota, but otherwise chose the easy option, giving only an outline of the story without specifying characters. This would seem to be the explanation for why the second redaction had not bothered to give a step-by-step account of Mil's genealogy as far as Gáedel Glas.

"Énna, Labraid..." and the Genealogy of the Osraige, give Agnoman as father of Ethéor and grandfather of Lámfind, and Ethecht (line 122) as father of Már, as opposed to the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála which omits them both. Finally, within the tradition of the "Énna, Labraid..." version of the Genealogy of the Gáedil, our texts share a peculiar feature, placing Abor (123) between 'Ethecht' and 'Aurthacht'. "Énna, Labraid..." and the Genealogy of the Osraige both omit him, but he does appear, though as the grandfather of 'Aurthacht', in "Nuadu Necht...". Although Abor does not appear in the Genealogy of the Gáedil in the second redaction of the Lebor Gabála it is possible that he was omitted along with 'Ethecht': a scribe's eye could have jumped from 'Ethecht' to 'Aurthacht' by mistaking the latter for the former in a supposed source-text. Gáedel Glas is omitted by "Énna, Labraid..." (surviving only as "Glas"), but appears in all the other texts of this group which I have noticed, as well as in "Nuadu Necht...", so that the probable relationship between these texts can be represented simply:



Except for the addition of Éogan as father of Fóenius Farsaid, therefore, it appears that the version of the Genealogy of the Gáedil in our texts was already in existence before "Énna, Labraid..", i.e. by the late seventh-century at the latest. This matches the suggestion that the Genealogy of the Síl Chonaire part of our texts is conservative. Further evidence of the antiquity of our texts' version of the Genealogy of the Gáedil is suggested by the fact that some of the forms of the names in our texts can only be paralleled by forms found in "Nuadu Necht...". Thus the genitive "Sinergnaid", "Smirnai" (line 90) of our texts correspond with the nominative "Smirgnath" in "Nuadu Necht..."; likewise genitive "Etheoir", "Etheor" (95) corresponds with nominative "Ether" in "Nuadu Necht..."; "Nema", "Neande" (100) corresponds with "Nema"; and probably ultimately "Noda", "Node" (107) with "Nu(a)du".⁴⁰ In these examples, "Énna, Labraid..." tends to match the spelling found in other (later) texts, most decisively with "Smirguill" instead of "Smirgnath", and "Ethrel" instead of "Ether". This supports the suggestion that, while our texts share a source very akin to "Énna, Labraid...", they preserve a stage in the development which is closer to the link with "Nuadu Necht...", and, therefore, at least as old as the late seventh century. With the probable (though

40. The "(a)" is editorial in CGH, 4.

not, in fact, strictly necessary) exclusion of Éogan, father of Fóenius Farsaid, therefore, it can be said that our texts have preserved, step-by-step, the content of the earliest traceable text of the recension of the Genealogy of the Gáedil which includes Néil, Fóenius Farsaid, and Rifath Scot in the genealogical construct. Perhaps this earliest traceable text was, indeed, the first to establish Néil, Fóenius Farsaid, and Rifath Scot in the genealogical canon. And if this is so, it is tempting, considering that this pioneering text has been most closely preserved by Scottish texts, to suggest tentatively that this innovative text was composed at Iona: given that Iona provided the earliest kernel of the Irish Annals,⁴¹ it is at least not improbable that it played a key rôle in providing some of the leading features in the Genealogy of the Gáedil as it became established in the early christian period. There was an early relationship between Iona and the Leinster monastery of Tech-Munnu⁴² which could explain how this version came to appear in early Leinster genealogical poems.

There is nothing to prevent the appearance of Éogan, father of Fóenius Farsaid, being an early feature. It is tempting to suggest that the inclusion of Éogan as the father of the eponym of the Féni was motivated by a desire to give an important place to

41. Bannerman, Dalriada, 9-26.

42. Ibid., 90: supported by A.P. Smyth, 'The Earliest Irish Annals: their first Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 72 (1972), 1-48.

a name which was, at least, meaningful to the Érainn (if not, indeed, representing an actual figure (or deity, according to O'Rahilly)⁴³ of importance to them). If this is the explanation, then Éogan is more likely to have been concocted early on by a member of the Érainn (of which, of course, the Dál Riata were a part) collating their genealogical system with the new christian Gaelic pseudo-historical construct: Éogan could, therefore, be an innovation of an early christian historian at Iona.

Be that as it may, the evident antiquity of our texts' version of the Genealogy of the Gáedil bolsters the likelihood that their version of the Genealogy of the Síl Chonaire is at least equally old. Furthermore, whether our texts derive from a pioneering Iona text or not, their peculiarities which are evidently very old suggest that our texts belong to a line of transmission that has been independent of those represented by texts surviving in Ireland since at least the latter half of the seventh century. It is hard not to see our texts as being at the end of a Scottish line of transmission at least five centuries old. However, the only peculiarity that has a distinctly Scottish look about it which our texts share, and which is unattested in any other medieval Gaelic manuscripts, appears much higher up in the Genealogy. At line 30, where all other texts

43. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 190.

read 'Feideilmid', our texts add an epithet, reading "Fedilinter Uamnaich" and "Fethelmeth Romaich". The source of the Poppleton MS no doubt read 'Fedilmthe Ruamnaich': because (as I will show)⁴⁴ the Poppleton MS is a superior text to the Lambeth MS, "ruamnaich" is probably nearer to the Gaelic word which was originally meant. It appears, then, that this word is the same as "ruaimneach", which occurs in the Harlaw Brosnachadh.⁴⁵ In his discussion of the poem, Derick Thomson observes⁴⁶ that ruaimneach does not seem to be attested in Irish Gaelic, and may be regarded as a Scotticism. He says that it may be connected with ruam 'fame, glory (?)', and translates it as 'active':⁴⁷ it seems especially suitable for a royal ancestor.

Both our texts, therefore, belong to the same Scottish "school". Other readings which our texts have in common but which are not shared by other medieval Gaelic genealogical texts, furthermore, have at least a suspicion that they have a 'textual' origin, suggesting that our texts are derived from a common source: this common source, of course, need not be older than the twelfth century. Thus, where other texts always give the r after the th in 'Thrir' and

44. See above, pp. 288-9, 292f.

45. D.S. Thomson, 'The Harlaw Brosnachadh: an Early Fifteenth-Century Literary Curio', in Celtic Studies, edd. J. Carney and D. Greene (1968), 147-69, gives a modern edition at 151-2 (with ruaimneach at line 31).

46. Ibid., 162.

47. Ibid., 161.

'Rothrir',⁴⁸ our texts omit it ("Their", "Ther"; "Rothir", "Rether") (lines 52-3). Again, while the Gaelic texts always make the division between name and epithet between the l and f in 'hIreoil Fatha', our texts seem to have made it between the r and o ("Iair", "Iair Olfatha") (96), thus apparently transforming the 'Ir-' of the very uncommon 'Ireoil' into the slightly more common 'Iair'.⁴⁹ The most impressive of these readings which are peculiar to our texts vis-a-vis other texts and which appear to be the result of 'textual' "accident" are at lines 80 and 82. At line 80 our texts, uniquely, have apparently transformed the epithet in 'Aedain Glais' into his father ("Edom f. Glais", "Etheon f. Glachs"), while at line 82 our texts seem to have done the opposite, as it were, and conflated 'Giallachada m. Ailella Olchain' into one person; "Elchada Olchaim", "Elchatha Olchaim". The dropping of the g of 'Giallachada' also looks like a 'textual' accident.⁵⁰ One can add, also, that at line 81 our texts give "Nuadat Fail", "Noethath Fail", instead of 'Nuadat Find Fail', which is found almost without exception elsewhere. It is interesting to note that a version of the Genealogy of the Éoganacht Caisil in the Book of Leinster reads⁵¹ "Glaiss m. Nuadat Fail m. Ailcheda m. Conmail m. Ebir" presumably instead of "Glais m. Nuadat Declaim m.

48. For all this see Appendix I.

49. Perhaps "Iair" is the original reading. Iar was a name of significance to the Síl Chonaire: see O'Rahilly, EIHM, 88n.3: cf. CGH, 378 (LL324f15) 'Iar mac Dedad, from whom the Síl Chonaire comes'.

50. The initial g seems to have become absorbed by the c of meic.

51. CGH, 363 (LL320c38-42).

Echdach Faebuir m. Conmael m. Ebir" in the Senchas Ébir:⁵² the resemblance to lines 80-2 of our texts is striking. Because the passage "Glais ... Ailcheda" can be easily explained as the result of a scribal "error" on the part of the sources of our texts on the one hand, and cannot be explained as a straight-forward scribal "development" in the Genealogy of the Éoganacht Caisil on the other hand - 'Ailcheda m. Conmail' is unique to the Book of Leinster's text - it appears that this particular text of the Genealogy of the Éoganacht Caisil has been influenced by a common source of our texts: 'Giallchada' son of Nuadat Find Fail cannot be found as 'Ailchada' anywhere else except in our texts.

The Genealogy of the Kings of Scots in the Poppleton MS and in Lambeth MS 8 are not only products of the same, Scottish, "school", therefore, but appear to derive from a common source-text. Before discussing the source-text it is necessary to discuss each of our texts in their own right.

Looking at Appendix I, it is clear that the original source of the Poppleton MS's text of the Genealogy was written in a Gaelic orthography. Many of the names correspond to the Middle Gaelic 'norm'. Middle Gaelic genitive endings are noticeable, e.g. "Cinada", "Domnaill", "Maelcolaim", "Donnchada". Middle Gaelic spelling conventions are observed; thus /v/ for

52. CGH, 362 (LL320c38-42).

lenited b is almost always spelt 'b', and for lenited m is sometimes spelt 'm'; /ð/ is almost always spelt 'd'; lenited f is sometimes spelt 'f', e.g. "Find Fece" (33); and lenited g is spelt 'g'. As one would expect, there are scribal errors which can be easily unscrambled to produce a regular Middle Gaelic reading. Thus, confusion has occurred in the reading of minims, so that for instance "Siu" (50) must originally have read 'Sin', "Dem" (84) must have originally read 'Dein', "Eogami" (46) no doubt read 'Eogain', and "Fedilinte" (28, 30) no doubt read 'Fedilmthe'.⁵³ It is interesting to note that the common confusion between 'c' and 't' in Lowland Scottish script is quite rare, and is only much in evidence towards the end of the Genealogy, but that 'c' is sometimes misread as 'e', thus "-brie" (19) for 'bric', "Ernacha" (12) for 'Cinatha', "Eire (25) for 'Eirc', and "Eorbre" (42) for 'Corbre'. There are, of course, some instances of errors which can be attributed to a scribe who did not properly understand the text, perhaps Robert of Poppleton himself, - most obviously in conflating a person's name with his epithet, or in misreading an epithet as the name of the person's father.

Taking all these scribal accidents into account, however, does not restore the spelling in the text of the Genealogy in the Poppleton MS to what one would normally expect to find in a Middle Gaelic manuscript.

53. Cf. "Fedelmtheo" in W. Stokes and J. Strachan, Thesaurus Paleohibernicus, ii, 270.

The most comparable Middle Gaelic text for the Poppleton text of the Genealogy in terms of place and date is the notitiae in the Book of Deer, written in North-East Scotland in the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁴ Kenneth Jackson, in his edition and exhaustive discussion of the notitiae, has analysed their orthography,⁵⁵ which, he points out,⁵⁶ is inconsistent and unorthodox to the point of becoming grammatically confusing. Many of these odd orthographical features can be found in the Poppleton text of the Genealogy. The occasional loss of 'i' in a palatalised genitive in the notitiae⁵⁷ can be found occasionally in the Poppleton text, e.g. "Gabran" (22) and "Domongrat" (18). Kenneth Jackson describes⁵⁸ how the monophthong which had been created in the Middle Gaelic period by the falling together of the two monophthongs which had developed from the Old Gaelic diphthongs written 'ai' or 'ae', and 'oi' or 'oe', caused "considerable embarrassment" to the scribes of the notitiae who struggled with a variety of spellings, viz. 'ae', 'e', 'æ', 'a' (probably for more usual 'ai') and 'oe', 'æ' and 'o' (probably for more usual 'oi') (though these two groups are not mutually exclusive). This is no doubt how to explain "Cinada" (8) for Cináeda, "Eda" (15) and "Edan" (21) for Áeda and Áedáin, "Elela" (47, 59) for Ailella, and "Eun"

54. Jackson, Deer Notes, 96, concludes that they were written "between the late 1130s and about 1150".

55. Ibid., 125-52.

56. Ibid., 125.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., 133-4.

(79) for Éoin, among others. There are also less significant orthographical oddities; for instance, both the notitiae and the Poppleton text sometimes fail to distinguish between ll and l⁵⁹ - indeed, more so in the Poppleton text, where there is "Tollgreich" (76) and "Bollgreich" (77) for 'Tolgraich' and 'Bolgraich' as well as "Elela" consistently for Ailella.

Kenneth Jackson explains⁶⁰ the irregular orthography in the notitiae of the Book of Deer as due to the scribes at Deer being "imperfectly trained", so that while the Irish scribes spelt in a "more traditional manner", those at Deer spelt "more 'by ear'." Kenneth Jackson suggests that this irregularity of spelling was because Deer was "on the remotest edge of the Common Gaelic civilisation area; its writing-masters must have been out of touch and poorly qualified", and corroborates this assessment of the cultural standing of Deer by referring to the "extraordinary corruption and provincialism" of the illuminations of the Gospels in the Book of Deer and the "exceedingly corrupt" original text of the Gospel produced at Deer some centuries earlier. This assessment has been supported by Kathleen Hughes in her discussion of the Book of Deer Gospels.⁶¹ It is interesting to note, therefore, that in some respects at least, the

59. Ibid., 140.

60. Ibid., 126-7.

61. Kathleen Hughes, Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: studies in Scottish and Welsh sources, ed. David Dumville (1980), 22-37.

orthography of the Poppleton text is less irregular than that of the notitiae in the Book of Deer. There are no instances of weird spellings on a par with the notitiae's double 'g' in "Ggille-Brite"⁶² or double 'b' for /v/ in "Dubbacin".⁶³ There are fewer examples of the 'i' in a palatalised genitive being lost, and, it would seem, fewer examples of confusion when confronted with the ai/ae, oi/oe monophthong - hence "Mael-" in two out of three occasions where the notitiae have "Mal-" in all but one,⁶⁴ and always "Oengus" as opposed to the notitiae's "Engus".⁶⁵ Where the notitiae render internal or final /b, d, g/, usually written 'p', 't', 'c', with 'b', 'd', 'g', more often than is usual,⁶⁶ there is only one example in the Poppleton text, - "Eorbre" (42) for Corpre. Again, while the notitiae usually render lenited c with 'c', and always lenited f with nil,⁶⁷ the Poppleton text usually renders the former 'ch' and sometimes the latter with 'f'.⁶⁸ A proper study of the orthography of the Poppleton text by a Gaelic linguist, such as I am not competent to attempt, would appear to promise some interesting results. It appears, from my own limited survey, that the Poppleton text, while not an example of orthodox Middle Gaelic spelling - sharing as it does some of the oddities of the Deer notitiae - is not, however, as irregular as the Deer notitiae.

62. Jackson, Deer Notes, 137.

63. Ibid., 139.

64. Ibid., 161-2. Also, "Male" appears in one instance.

65. Ibid., 135.

66. Ibid., 136-7.

67. Ibid., 138.

68. F.g. "Find Fece" (33).

This points, tentatively, to the suggestion that the exemplar of the Poppleton text was originally written down by a member of a learned order who probably worked in a part of Scotland nearer to Ireland than Deer, and thereby closer to the mainstream of Gaelic literate activity, but at the same time not immediately accessible to Ireland. Such an area would be East of a line from the Lennox to Atholl.

A phonological analysis of the Poppleton text would also promise much, I feel, providing some evidence for the date as well as the milieu of the writing-down of its exemplar. Again, in the absence of an expert's study, I can only touch on the indications that such an analysis might come up with. As a general point, however, it should be mentioned that any discussion based upon phonological changes seems to be bedevilled by the high degree of conservatism in the literate language of the Gaelic learned orders. The tendency for the Deer notitiae to show some spellings 'by ear', however, appears to make them more phonologically responsive than

one might usually expect.⁶⁹ There is the odd possible indicator that the Poppleton text is less responsive than the Deer notitiae to developments in spoken Gaelic. Thus, the Deer notitiae show some possible signs of the epenthetic vowel, while there are no examples in the Poppleton text.⁷⁰ Kenneth Jackson argues⁷¹ that "it seems not improbable" that the epenthetic vowel arose at the end of the Middle Gaelic period, and suggests the thirteenth century.⁷² He admits, however, that it is difficult to date because it has never been admitted in literary spelling. However, it has for a long time been

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69. Donald Macaulay's review of Jackson, Deer Notes, in SHR, liv (1975), 84-7, esp. 86-7, emphasises that the notitiae should not be taken to represent even the aristocratic Gaelic of mid twelfth-century Buchan. As far as the Poppleton text is concerned, it should be pointed out that a Genealogy is a conservative form.
70. "Arandil", "Arindil" (55), for A(i)rndil, is peculiar to our texts. On the face of it the distinctive extra vowel looks as if it could be epenthetic. Although the epenthetic vowel within the consonant pair rn is common in Scots, I know of no evidence for ĩ in Gaelic. If there is a linguistic, rather than simply a textual, explanation for this spelling then one might suggest that it could be a survival of a pre-secondary syncope spelling, which would have to make it seventh-century at the latest: on this subject see James Carney, 'Aspects of Archaic Irish', Éigse, xvii (1977-9), 417-35.
71. Jackson, Common Gaelic, 84.
72. Jackson, Deer Notes, 135 notices some "difficult instances" that "might just possibly be traces of its faint beginnings in Deer".

argued⁷³ that the epenthetic vowel is a much earlier development, and this is the conclusion of the most recent discussion of the phenomenon,⁷⁴ which describes it as an inherent tendency in the language. As far as Scotland is concerned you need look no further than the surviving charter of Donnchad mac Máel Coluim, where Donnchad appears (twice) as "Dunecani".⁷⁵ His son often appears as "Willelmus filius Dunecani"⁷⁶ and "Dunecanus" is the usual spelling for Earl Duncan I of Fife.⁷⁷ Both appear as charter witnesses early in David I's reign. You do not have to look far to find other early charters with other names which show the epenthetic vowel. In a charter of c.1128⁷⁸ Earl Ruaidrí of Mar is rendered "Rotheri", while in charters of the 1130s⁷⁹ Radulf son of "Dunegal" (i.e. Dúngal) and his brother "Duunenald" (i.e. Domnall) appear. A "Dunegal" of Nithsdale (probably their father) appears in the charter granting Annandale to Robert de Brus.⁸⁰ At least some of these examples must surely exhibit the epenthetic vowel. As soon as we have a body of documents, therefore, we find evidence for the epenthetic vowel: no doubt the clerks who wrote these charters were

73. E.g. Kuno Meyer, Zur keltischen Worthunde (1914), 636, and David Greene, 'Middle Quantity in Irish', Ériu, xvi (1952), 212-8.

74. Sean de Burca, 'Epenthesis', Éigse, xviii (1980-1), 263-76: at 274 he describes epenthesis as "the natural result of an inherent tendency" in Gaelic.

75. Lawrie, Charters, 10.

76. E.g. ibid., 69, 80, 85 and 93.

77. E.g. ibid., 74, 80, 85 and 93.

78. David I's confirmation to the monastery of Dunfermline, ibid., 63.

79. E.g. ibid., 86 and 96.

80. Ibid., 49.

unfamiliar with Middle Gaelic spelling conventions. The fact, then, that it can be found in the Deer notitiae but not in the Poppleton text of the Genealogy cannot be taken to suggest that the Poppleton text is older: rather, it can be best accounted for by the supposition that the Poppleton text was originally written down by someone better trained in Gaelic orthography than the scribes of the Deer notitiae.

In discussing phonological changes, therefore, I will confine myself to a few which, as far as the considerable body of Irish medieval manuscripts go, do seem to have influenced regular Gaelic orthography.

An obvious development, which Kenneth Jackson dates between the early twelfth- and thirteenth centuries,⁸¹ is the change of palatalised dh to gh. The Poppleton text of the Genealogy always distinguishes between palatalised dh and gh,⁸² suggesting that this development had yet to take root in Scotland by the time it was written down. Kenneth Jackson, however, also notices that there is no trace of this development in the Deer notitiae, and suggests that this development may have started later in Scotland.⁸³ Another obvious

81. Jackson, Common Gaelic, 83.

82. "Duachlograich" (75) for Duach Ladcrai is surely not an example of 'g' for dh. The Lambeth MS plainly maintains -dhc- ("Lotherais" was no doubt 'Lothcrai' in its source-text). This must go against any possibility that the 'd' could have dropped out because the dh has become vocalised. The Poppleton MS's loss of the 'd' in Ladcrai, therefore, is probably nothing else but a scribal error.

83. Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic, 83n.

phonological development is the change of palatalised gh to ch in unstressed syllables, which Kenneth Jackson suggests as one of the earliest evident distinctive features of Scottish Gaelic: it does appear in Ireland, but does not seem to have caught on.⁸⁴ Because this development is confined to original palatalised gh (being absent from gh developed from dh), he suggests that it began in the eleventh century - or, at any rate, before palatalised dh fell with gh - and was "pushed to completion" by the twelfth century.⁸⁵ As far as the evidence of the Deer notitiae go, however, he notes that this development is absent, apart from one dubious exception.⁸⁶ This is precisely the situation in the Poppleton text: the only examples of ch for gh appear in lines 75 to 77, which are in the most scribally confused section of the text. These are possible, but by no means safe, examples, therefore. One development which does appear to have occurred by the time of the original of the Poppleton text, and which can also be found in the Deer notitiae, is the falling together of the monophthongs that had developed from ae/ai and oe/oi, which Kenneth Jackson dates to the tenth century.⁸⁷ Thus, in line 102 we find "Bregoinde" for 'Bregainde', and in line 110 "Goildil"

84. Ibid., 86.

85. Ibid., 87.

86. Kenneth Jackson, Deer Notes, 139.

87. Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic, 82.

(i.e. 'Goidil') for Gáedil : oe seems quite stable, however.

Like the Deer notitiae, therefore, the exemplar of the Poppleton text of the Genealogy appears to have been written before palatalised dh developed into gh, and before (or perhaps at the very beginning) of the change of palatalised gh to ch; and after ae/ai and oe/oi fell together.

As far as the language of the names is concerned, all the evidence suggests that the text from which the copy of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots that appears in the Poppleton compilation was transcribed was originally headed by David I : "Willelmus rufus" and "Henrici" are Latin, but from "Dauid" onwards the language is Gaelic rather than Latin. "Dauid" is a not unusual Middle Gaelic spelling.⁸⁸ From my tentative sketch of the phonological evidence in the Poppleton text it appears that it could be contemporaneous with the Deer notitiae, and therefore need not be dated before David's reign. Indeed, it is tempting to accept that the exemplar of the Poppleton text of the Genealogy does in fact originally date from David's reign, and thus shows the same probable signs as the Deer notitiae of a late development, compared with Ireland (if we accept Kenneth Jackson's dating) of palatalised gh to ch, and thereby of a similarly

88. E.g. in the Deer notitiae (III 5): Kenneth Jackson, Deer Notes, 31; and in the Gaelic texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots (e.g. LL336a37).

later development of palatalised dh to gh. This would be in line with the familiar pattern of innovations originating in Ireland and spreading to the peripheries of the Common Gaelic area: this would not conflict with the suggestion that the Poppleton text's exemplar was originally written down in the East of Scotland (probably East of a line from the Lennox to Atholl)..

Molly Miller, in the most recent discussion of the provenance of the Poppleton compilation,⁸⁹ argues persuasively that it was put together in the Abbey of Scone. Scone is described as the civitas regalis (probably 'royal monastery') in the tenth-century Scottish Chronicle,⁹⁰ and it was at Scone that Kings of Scots were inaugurated.⁹¹ The charter of Malcolm IV appointing an abbot to the Priory of Scone⁹² describes Scone as 'the principal seat of our kingdom'. One might expect, therefore, that the Priory/Abbey of Scone would have a particular interest in the regnum Scottorum, and would be in possession of a collection of material relating to the history of the kingdom, including a copy of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. It is possible that Scone functioned as a royal archive. Certainly,

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89. Molly Miller, 'Matriliney by Treaty: the Pictish Foundation-legend', in Ireland in Early Medieval Europe, edd. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (1982), 142.
90. Anderson, KKES, 251. The authenticity and background of the surviving text of the Scottish Chronicle is fully discussed in E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21.
91. The first King of Scots on record not to be inaugurated at Scone was James II, who was crowned at Holyrood (1437).
92. RRS, i, 263.

Scone would have been particularly well placed to receive a copy of the Genealogy. John Bannerman, in a forthcoming article,⁹³ has convincingly demonstrated that the well attested Gaelic institution of the ollamh ríge, the King's Poet, survived actively in Scotland until at least the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249. The ollamh ríge was the "official historian" (or Historiographer Royal, if you like) of the Kingdom; and one of his principal functions was to read out the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots as part of the ritual of the royal inauguration. His copy would, thus, have been the definitive text of the Genealogy: one might imagine that anyone interested in obtaining a copy of the Genealogy would have turned first to the ollamh ríge as the official custodian of this definitive text. As John Bannerman has suggested, it is likely that the ollamh ríge was based at or near Scone: it would have been easy, therefore, for the monastery of Scone to obtain the Genealogy from him. We need not doubt that clerics trained to read and write Gaelic (probably even a fer leighinn) could still be found at the Priory during David's reign: Scone had only recently become an Augustinian house in c.1120.⁹⁴

It is likely, then, that the exemplar of the Poppleton text was a copy of the ollamh ríge's text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots made by a scribe at

93. John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

94. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (1973), 171.

Scone; or perhaps by a member of the retinue of the ollamh ríge commissioned by the Priory of Scone. This would satisfy the evidence offered by the language and orthography of the text which suggested that the scribe worked in Scotland nearer to the 'hub' of Gaelic culture than Deer. At the same time, the fact that the spelling in the exemplar of the Poppleton text appears to be closer than the Deer notitiae to the Middle Gaelic norm is no more than what you would expect from a scribe in what was once no doubt a principal Scottish scriptorium, or from a member of the "school" of the ollamh ríge (and, thereby, an apprentice to no doubt one of the most accomplished learned men of his time in Scotland). Every indication gleaned from the probable location of the original Poppleton compilation and from the orthography, language, and also the philology of its text of the Genealogy points to Scone as the place where the exemplar of the Poppleton text was written, and the reign of David I as the date; and, a Scone origin immediately suggests the ollamh ríge as the scribe of the exemplar's source-text. The ollamh ríge had to read out the Genealogy as part of the royal inauguration-ritual:⁹⁵ the text he used for the occasion would thus be the 'official' text. It is likely, therefore, that it was this text of the Genealogy, read out by the ollamh ríge at the

95. John Bannerman, op. cit.; A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom (1975), 555n5; J.E. Caerwyn Williams, The Court Poet in Medieval Ireland (1972), 41f.

inauguration of David I in 1124, which was the source-text of the Poppleton exemplar.

Turning now to Diceto's text of the Genealogy (Lambeth MS 8; see Appendix I), it appears that, while it shares a source-text ultimately with the Poppleton text,⁹⁶ there must be some doubt as to whether it is ultimately derived from the Poppleton compilation itself. Some of its forms of the names are closer than the Poppleton text's to the Gaelic form. Thus, for instance, for 'Fir Almaig' (line 65) it reads "Firalmai" as opposed to the Poppleton text's "Firaibrig"; for 'Melge' (71) it reads "Melge" as opposed to the Poppleton text's "Moalgi"; for 'Bregain(d)' (102) it has "Bregain" as opposed to the Poppleton's "Brigoind"; and for 'Thoe' and 'Boidb' (118-9) it has "Thoe" and "Boib" as opposed to "Thri" and "Boi". More conclusively, it has preserved names and epithets which the Poppleton text seems to have lost from the common source-text. Thus, for instance, it gives Bethóc as Máel Coluim mac Cináeda's daughter, instead of jumping over her as the Poppleton text does by saying 'Donnchad grandson of Máel Coluim'; it reads "Fergus Mor" (24) for 'Fergus Moir' where the Poppleton text has only "Fergus"; it reads "Iair Olfatha" (96) for 'hIreoil Fatha' where the Poppleton text has only "Iair"; and it includes 'Ara ("Aora") (126) and 'Iara' (127) which

96. See above, p. 271ff.

the Poppleton text omits. Most of these deficiencies in the Poppleton text are not necessarily casualties resulting from the copying of the text into the Poppleton MS itself, which appears to have been executed quite fastidiously⁹⁷ - though there are some errors that can probably be attributed to that stage.⁹⁸ Rather, it is likely that some at least of these more serious discrepancies derive from the copy of the Genealogy that was made as part of the original compilation (1165x84). It appears to be safer, for the moment, to suggest that the common source for both the Poppleton text and Diceto's text of the Genealogy was the Gaelic exemplar headed by David I, which can be seen behind the Poppleton text, which is likely to be the Poppleton exemplar's source-text written down by the ollamh ríge in (no doubt) 1124. There is no need to read too much into the fact that both texts are headed by William I; it would be easy for William and Henry to have been added by Diceto and by the author of the Poppleton text independently.

As is clear from Appendix I, the readings of Diceto's text are generally less close than the Poppleton text to the common source-text, which must have been Gaelic. It is tempting, at first glance, to view the Diceto text as simply an 'Anglo-Norman' production. Certainly, a few of the names near the beginning of the Genealogy have been Latinised, thus

97. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21 at 4.

98. E.g., mistaking a person's epithet for his father, or failing to separate name from epithet.

"Malcolmi", "Dunecani", "Constantini", "Elpini": perhaps the scribe was unfamiliar with the Latin forms for the other names. Furthermore, there are examples of non-Gaelic orthography - most obviously with the use of 'k' in "Kinath", and in "Eders Keol" (for Eterscéoil) (line 45), and even apparently for lenited c in "Akirkirre" (for Achir Chir) (34) and "Firketharocht" (for Fir Cetharraid) (62); the use of 'f' for lenited b in "Eon Duf" (for Éoin Duib) (79); and 'w' for vocalised gh in "Rowein" (for Rogein) (54) and "Owan" (for Éogain) (113).

However, there is evidence to suggest that the Diceto text contains a layer of work later than the common source with the Poppleton text by a scribe familiar with Gaelic. No doubt this layer would be the original exemplar of Diceto's text copied from the Gaelic source-text shared by the Poppleton text. On almost every occasion in which - going by the Poppleton text and on orthodox Middle Gaelic orthography - the source-text would have represented /ð/ with 'd', the Diceto text reads 'th': thus, in the first sixteen lines, you find "Kinath" for Cináeda, "Ethafind" for Áeda Find, as well as perhaps "Ecchach" (i.e. 'Ec(h)thach') for Echdach. Another significant feature in the Diceto text is when it renders with 'u' where the source-text (by the same reckoning) appears to have read 'm' representing /v/: thus "Duenald" for Domnaill, and "Douengart" for Domongairt. Furthermore, the Diceto text has examples of giving 'ch' where the

source-text seems to have read 'g', suggesting that palatalised gh had developed into ch:⁹⁹ thus we find "Aslingich" (28) for (probable) 'Aslingig', "Etholach" (40) for (probable) Allathaig and "Feredach" (58) for Feradaig. Also, the Diceto text has nil for lenited f where the source-text appears to have read 'f', as in "Findachai" (for 'Find Fécci') (33). Another possible indication is that where the source-text seems to have represented a voiced consonant with its unvoiced equivalent (a common phenomenon in Middle Gaelic orthography) - e.g. /d/ with 't', and /b/ with 'p' - the Diceto text writes the voiced consonant: thus it reads "Andoth" for 'Antoit' (35), "Eders Keol" for 'Eterscéoil' (45), "Aldethan" for 'Altlethain' (67), and "Corbre" for 'Corpre' (41). These spellings in the Diceto text appear to have been written originally by someone, copying a Middle Gaelic text, who knew the sounds represented by Middle Gaelic orthography. It could, however, be suggested that the method of copying involved the scribe listening rather than seeing: it was common for texts to be copied by dictation.¹⁰⁰ If dictation was the method of copying, then one can at least say that the person reading out the source-text was familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography.

99. See Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic, 86-7.

100. See Nessa ní Shéaghdha, 'Notes on some Scribal Terms', in Celtic Studies, edd. J. Carney and D. Greene (1968), 88-91, who argues that a scribe may also have to some extent acted as an editor. It would not be odd, therefore, for him to have deliberately re-fashioned the orthography of a text of the Genealogy (see below, pp. 295-7).

However, if dictation was used, it is evident that the scribe himself of the exemplar of the Diceto text was also familiar with Middle Gaelic spelling conventions. There are instances where sounds have been represented in a distinctively Middle Gaelic manner. Thus, the Diceto text with one exception renders lenited b, (pronounced /v/) with 'b' as in "Bric" (19), "Buide" (20), "Cobram" (for Gabráin) (22) and "Cobthai Cailbrech" (for Cobthaig Cáel Breg) (72). Also, the Diceto text frequently writes 'g' for palatalised gh, which by his day appears, by his occasional rendering of it with 'ch', to have developed into ch:¹⁰¹ thus we find "Lugthag" (Poppleton has "Luigidig") for Lugdach (40), "Turbinig" for Turbig (61), and "Faleg" for Fallaig (94). There are also a few instances where /ð/ has not been rendered by his usual 'th' but by the more conventional 'd': thus "Echdach" (16), "Buide" (20), "Edaim" (for Áedáin) (21), and probably "Node" (107). If such spellings were written by a scribe listening to someone familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography reading out the Genealogy, then the scribe must also have been familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography. We have already established that, if the scribe of the Diceto text's exemplar was copying the text by sight, then it is evident that he was familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography. Whichever method of copying that we suppose was employed by the scribe of the text that

101. See p p. 289-90.

has been preserved by Ralph of Diceto, it is apparent that he was literate to some degree at least in Middle Gaelic. No doubt he was a member of a Gaelic learned order (either secular or ecclesiastical).

It is difficult at this stage to say more about the copyist who wrote down the exemplar of the Diceto text, or about the history of the text between the source it shares with the Poppleton text and its use by Ralph of Diceto in 1188. It is apparent from the discussion so far that the original Gaelic copyist who wrote down the exemplar of the Diceto text has spelt far more 'by ear' than the scribe of the exemplar of the Poppleton text. Another indication of this is that he appears occasionally to have allowed the epenthetic vowel to influence his spelling: thus we find Óengusa spelt "Enegussa" (29, 61), or "Enegus" (88), but only once without the epenthetic vowel, "Engusa" (27); and also we find Domnaill spelt "Duenald" (10, 19). All this could suggest is that the scribe was less well trained than the scribe of the Poppleton exemplar. I cannot confidently say whether the scribe could have been less well trained than those of the Deer notitiae: a Gaelic linguist could be more conclusive. At first sight the vowel sounds seem to have suffered a fair degree of idiosyncratic spellings.

It is possible to point to many instances where, as in the Deer notitiae, a genitive form has been allowed

to appear a nominative by the omission of a palatalising 'i', as in "Douengart" for Domongairt, "Erch" for Eirc, and "Sencormach" for Senchormaic. The Diceto text, additionally, transforms some genitives into nominatives by omitting the final 'a', as in "Kinath" for Cináeda and "Fergus" for Fergusa. There are examples of it preserving both sorts of genitives unmolested, for instance in "Ethafind" for Áeda Find, "Edaim" for Áedáin, and "Cobram" for Gabráin. There are also a few weird spellings, though most of these can probably be explained as errors perhaps by Diceto himself, or a non-Gaelic copyist before him. Thus "Ecdach" (37) was no doubt originally rendered 'Echdach' and "Lotherai" (for Ladcrai(ch)) (75) must have originally read 'Lothcrai'. The high incidence of final 'g' being dropped, as in "Firalmai" (for Firalmaig) (65), "Cassieclai" (for Casfiacclaig) (68), "Cobthai" (for Cobthaig) (72), and "Rothai" (for Buadaig) (74) should probably be taken with possible examples of the omission of final 'd' and final 'ch', as in "Smirnai" (probably for 'Smirgnaid') (90) and "Bolgai" (possibly for 'Bolgraich') (76-7), and be understood as resulting from a non-Gaelic scribe failing to notice or bother with the suprascript abbreviations for these final consonants. There are some examples of metathesis, as in "Etholach" (40) for Allathaig, and "Micel" (98), which no doubt came from 'Milet', for Miled. For some of the odd spellings, however, it is

difficult to find a convincing explanation, - for instance why does the text read "Firketharocht" and "Fir Rocht" for Fir Cetharraid and Fir Roid (62-3), and "Sinonbricht" for Símóin Bricc (78): could the "ch" be an attempt to render preaspiration? There are, indeed, notable examples of spelling 'by *ear'. A not uncommon one is "Duf" (for Duib) (79). Some, however, are quite surprising, such as "-fith" (for Fir) (27), which seems to have been influenced by the sound of palatalised r, and "Glachs" (for Glais) (80), where the "chs" is apparently an attempt to render /ʃ/. All these appear to be spellings 'by ear' of actual Gaelic pronunciation. There could, I hope, be something in the Diceto text to reward its study by a Gaelic philologist.

Among the most idiosyncratic spellings, in a Gaelic context, are those involving 'k' and 'w'. As far as the 'w' goes, if the scribe who first wrote them saw the original 'g' of the source-text, he must have been familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography; and if he copied the text by dictation, then as we have seen, both the dictator and the scribe must have been literate in Middle Gaelic. The 'k' is more difficult to account for: if it was meant to represent /k/, then inconsistent use perhaps suggests that it too should be seen as the work of the Gaelic scribe of the Diceto exemplar. The use of 'w', and

perhaps 'k', by the original Gaelic scribe suggests that, while he was familiar with, though on the face of it perhaps not very well trained in, Middle Gaelic spelling conventions, his cultural milieu was not exclusively Gaelic (or, rather, Gaelic/Latin). The larger number of distinctively Middle Gaelic spellings which he uses, compared with those which are distinctly non-Gaelic, suggests that his 'literacy-background' was Gaelic. He has apparently acquired at least some knowledge of the orthography of the Anglo-Norman/Continental immigrants who, during David I's reign, became increasingly evident within the royal administration and in the higher echelons of the Church, and whose orthography seems soon to have replaced the Middle Gaelic system as the tool of literacy in the East of Scotland.

This change that became established in the literate culture of the East of Scotland as a result of the new orientation that David gave to his kingdom is important to bear in mind when considering the identity of the scribe of the exemplar of the Diceto text. It is probably too simple to look at his spelling within only a Middle Gaelic context, and to surmise that its irregularities and idiosyncracies, in comparison with the norm, show that he was poorly trained and isolated from the mainstream. He clearly worked in a society that was no longer simply Gaelic. If his use of 'w', 'k' and 'f' (for lenited b) show that he

was influenced by an orthography that was different from Middle Gaelic, then it is probable that many of his other spellings which seem irregular as far as Middle Gaelic is concerned are also the result of the influence of alternative spelling conventions. Perhaps he was a churchman particularly affected by the new influences. It is possible, indeed, that the Gaelic scribe of the Diceto exemplar was, to some degree at least, deliberately attempting to use 'Anglo-Norman', rather than Middle Gaelic, spellings in order to make the Genealogy more comprehensible to those whose literacy belonged to the new cultural influences. He would no doubt not have enjoyed hearing these not unimportant names seriously mispronounced. That the Gaelic scribe was writing for an 'Anglo-Norman' audience is clear from the fact that it survives only about fifty years after it was written in the work of Ralph de Diceto, an Englishman who spent much of his life in London,¹⁰² and not in any Gaelic manuscripts. If the spellings seem to be based on pronunciation, and sometimes appear haphazard, then this no doubt only reflects the fact that the attempt to utilise a new orthography for the Genealogy was necessarily 'pioneering' and experimental. Because the Church was particularly open to the new influences, I would suggest that the Gaelic scribe was a churchman, probably in a centre prone to David's influence, hence the scribe's

102. For his career, see Ralph de Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. W. Stubbs, i (1876), xxviff.

adoption of 'new' orthographical practices as well as his interest in the royal Genealogy, and closeness to its 'official' text (which it shares with the Poppleton text).

There are a couple of philological indicators with regard to date that can be noticed. There are no examples of palatalised dh developing into gh, which Kenneth Jackson suggests¹⁰³ began early in the twelfth century, and was completed by the early thirteenth century. He notices¹⁰⁴ that this development is absent from the Deer notitiae, which belong to the last fifteen or so years of David I's reign. The absence of this development from the Diceto text could suggest that its exemplar, therefore, was written down in the mid-twelfth century at the latest. I have already remarked how there are some instances where palatalised gh in unstressed syllables has been rendered 'ch' in the Diceto text, suggesting that the development of gh in this position to ch was already happening; but that there are some instances where a 'g' spelling has been retained. Kenneth Jackson suggests¹⁰⁵ that this change was completed by the twelfth century, though his analysis of the Deer notitiae led him to qualify this as far as Scotland is concerned, and suggest¹⁰⁶ that

103. Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic, 83.

104. Ibid., and n.

105. Ibid., 87.

106. Ibid., n.

it spread from Ireland so as to reach North-East Scotland later. It cannot be seen easily in the Poppleton text of the Genealogy.¹⁰⁷ Its existence in the Diceto text might, of course, simply reflect its desire to spell more 'by ear'. However, taken with the absence of palatalised dh changing to gh, perhaps it suggests the second quarter of the twelfth century as the earliest possible date for the Diceto exemplar. According to Kenneth Jackson's chronology, the latest phonological development in evidence in the Diceto text should be the vocalisation of intervocalic (velarised) gh, as in "Rowein" for Rogain and "Owan" for Éogain: the gh in "Thiernai", for Tigernaig (93), though it does not seem to be velarised, also appears to have been vocalised. Kenneth Jackson¹⁰⁸ dates this development as becoming evident "before the end of the thirteenth century". In contrast with the situation where dh became gh, or gh became ch, the vocalisation of gh has rarely been permitted to influence spelling: like the epenthetic vowel, therefore, it could have existed without being noticeable in surviving Middle Gaelic texts. It seems that his dating might have been influenced by the fact that this development effected new gh from original dh, implying that the vocalisation of intervocalic gh was only subsequent to that change. The Diceto text, however, appears to provide strong

107. Above, p.282.

108. Kenneth Jackson, Common Gaelic, 83.

evidence for the vocalisation of intervocalic gh (in some positions) beginning before any dh developed into gh. No doubt, therefore, this vocalisation of intervocalic gh continued to be an active development throughout the period when palatalised dh became gh. The existence of some vocalisation of intervocalic gh in the Diceto text does not, therefore, compel us to suggest an earliest date nearer to 1188. Weighing up this philological evidence, therefore, the balance of probability favours a date during the reign of David I for the writing down of the exemplar of Diceto's text of the Genealogy.

The texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots used by Fordun provide some evidence for the text history of the Diceto text before its use by Diceto himself. Fordun quotes almost all of a Genealogy of David I in Book V, Chapter L, of the Chronica Gentis Scottorum which he says he obtained from Cardinal Walter of Wardlaw (and therefore between 1383 and 1387);¹⁰⁹ and he gives a fair proportion of the Genealogy during his description of Alexander III's inauguration in Chapter XLVIII of the Gesta Annalia. (I will refer to the former as the Wardlaw text and the latter as the Gesta Annalia text). Both appear only in the later edition of Fordun's work. Appendix II gives the names in the Gesta Annalia text and as they appear in the Wardlaw and Diceto texts.

109. Anderson, KKES, 214.

In Appendix II it will be apparent that there is a lacuna in the Wardlaw text. In Fordun's account of the Wardlaw text he skips over the section of the Genealogy between Cináed mac Alpin and Fergus Mór mac Eirc, saying that it is given in Book IV, Chapter VIII. This has been taken¹¹⁰ to mean that the genealogy of Cináed mac Alpin found in Book IV, Chapter VIII, has been taken from the Wardlaw text. On closer inspection, however, it appears that Fordun has simply constructed it from his account of the royal succession which he has drawn from his king-list source. This can be demonstrated by a table:

The names in the
genealogy at Book IV,
Chapter VIII.

Alpini
Achay
Ethfin
Eugenii
Findan
Eugenii
Dongardi
Donaldi Brek
Eugenii Buyd
Aidani
Gowrani
Dongardi
Fergusii

The names as they appear in the
account of the royal succession

Alpinus filius Achay (Bk. IV, Ch. ii)
Achaius f. Ethfyn (III xlvi)
Ethfyn f. Eugenii VI (III xlvi)
Eugenius VI f. Findan (III xlv)
... Findan f. Eugenii IV (III xlv)
Eugenius IV f.
Dongardi f. Donaldi Brek (III xliii)
Donenaldus Brek (bro. of Ferchardus
f. Eugenii) (III xxxiv)
Eugenius Buyd vel Eochodius (son
of Aydanus) (III xxxii)
Aydanus f. Gonrani (III xxvii)
Gonradus ... f. Dongardi (III xxi)
(Dongardus f. Fergusii) (III iv)
Fergusius f. Erth f. Echadii (III i)

110. Ibid, 214 n. 14.

Looking at Appendix II, it is apparent that these names take a rather different form compared to what is found in the Diceto and Gesta Annalia texts, and that this difference is greater than is usual between the Wardlaw text and the others. Some of the names are clearly derived from Fordun's king-list source: "Findan" and "Eugenius" (i.e. the 'Euin' in the king-lists, for Éogan) are peculiar to the king-lists of the X group.¹¹¹ It remains possible that where a spelling in Book IV, Chapter VIII, differs from the spelling in the account of the royal succession, it has been derived from the Wardlaw text. As it happens, however, it is only in the spellings of names during the account of the royal succession that any sign of the Wardlaw text can begin to be identified: thus "Eochodius", a Wardlaw type of Latinisation for Eochaid, appears as an alternative spelling of "Eugenius Buyd", and "Donenaldus" appears instead of "Donaldus" (see line 8 in Appendix II). Nowhere in the Wardlaw text does Echdach appear as "Eugenii", or, indeed, is "Eugenii" used conventionally as the Latin equivalent of Éogain. The genealogy described in Book IV, Chapter VIII, therefore, appears simply to have been collated by Fordun from his king-list source of the X group. It should be no surprise that Fordun has missed out a section of the Genealogy during his account of the Wardlaw text, and directed us instead to a genealogical passage that is not derived from the text.

111. Ibid., 52.

Later, in his account of the Wardlaw text, he directs the reader to Book I, Chapter XXVI to find the genealogy of Fergus mac Ferchair/(Feredaig) that he has omitted from the Wardlaw text: at Book I, Chapter XXVI, however, one finds instead a description of Símon Breac's genealogy which is itself clearly not from the Wardlaw text.

It is evident, from a glance at Appendix II, that Wardlaw, the Gesta Annalia, and Diceto texts are closely related, and must all derive from the ultimate exemplar of the Diceto text. This is conclusively demonstrated by the fact that some idiosyncratic spellings are common to all three texts. Thus, -"fith"/-"fich", line 23 in Appendix II, (for Fir), "Akirkirre" (30) (for Achir Chir), and "Rether" (49) (for Rothir). Also, it is evident that the Gesta Annalia text is more closely related than the Wardlaw text to the Diceto text. For seventeen names in the Genealogy, the Gesta Annalia text shares with Diceto a reading which is different from Wardlaw, such as "Fiachrach" (32) against Wardlaw's "Fechrach", "Ederskeol"/"Eders Keol" (41) against "Etherskeol", and the many instances where the Wardlaw text has dropped an epithet or Latinised a name. For almost all these readings it can safely be said that the Wardlaw text represents a later version. At the same time, there are only three occasions where the Wardlaw text shares with Diceto a reading that is different from the Gesta Annalia:

these are "Douenaldi" (8) versus "Donaldi" in the Gesta Annalia, "Ellela" (43) versus "Eliela", and "Ther" (48) versus "There". In each instance the Gesta Annalia readings appear to be later. They could simply be errors (or, in the case of "Donaldi", a deliberate change) by Fordun himself.

It has been suggested¹¹² that the source of Fordun's Gesta Annalia text of the Genealogy is Diceto's text itself. There are, indeed, few indications of the Gesta Annalia text sharing a source with the Wardlaw text independent of Diceto. The features that they share as against Diceto appear at

line 4	: Beatricis	against Bethoc in Diceto,
lines 6 & 10	: Kenath/Keneth; Kenethi	against Kinath,
line 20	: Fergusii	against Fergus,
line 28	: Crinchlinth; Crucluith	against Cruithlinthe,
line 33	: Ried; Reid	against Riede,
line 40	: Coneremore	against Conere Mor,
line 41	: Ederskeol; Etherskeol	against Eders Keol,

and also "Iber" against "Eber", and "Gaithel", "Gaythelos", against "Geithel". Almost all these examples involve the Gesta Annalia and Wardlaw texts having only one letter's difference compared with the Diceto text, and could have been arrived at independent of each other. Equally, the Latin "Beatricis" and "Fergusii" could also have appeared independently. However, if

112. *Ibid.*, 238 and W.W. Scott, 'John of Fordun's Description of the Western Isles', *Scottish Studies*, xxiii (1979), 1-13, at 8.

Fordun's Gesta Annalia text was copied from Diceto, then he would have to be the author of the Latinisations that are not found in Diceto's text. Certainly, "Donaldi" (8) is an example of the Gesta Annalia text Latinising a name independently of the other two texts. He would, however, also have to be responsible for "Ethachi" (12) and "Echdachi" (14) for 'Echach'/'Echdach', which has to be unlikely in view of the fact that elsewhere Fordun rather idiosyncratically Latinises this name into "Eugenius". (For the one example where the Gesta Annalia's Latinisation is preferred - in his account of "Ethachus Rothay" in Book I - I have argued¹¹³ that he has taken "Ethachus Rothay" from his source-text of the Gesta Annalia Genealogy). "Alpini" (11) instead of Diceto's "Elpini" could be a change made by Fordun himself, given Alpin's familiarity as Cináed mac Alpin's father. It could, however, be the reading of the source-text of the Gesta Annalia's Genealogy.

Initial "A" of "Alpini" looks earlier than the initial "E" of "Elpini", supporting the tantalising possibility that the Gesta Annalia text is, in fact, derived from the exemplar of the Diceto text (or a copy of it), and not from the Diceto text itself. This finds some additional support from "Ederskeol" being one word in the Gesta Annalia text, as it should be, and not two in the Diceto text, and possibly also

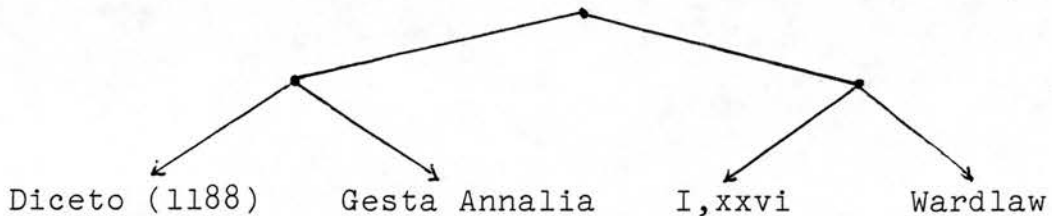
113. See pp.47-8 above on Fordun's nameless sources for his account of Scottish origins.

from the Gesta Annalia text's spelling of Gáedel as "Gaithel", as opposed to Diceto's "Geithel": "-ai-" rather than "-ei-" is more plausibly the original version of the Gaelic scribe of the Diceto exemplar. Doubt can also be cast on Fordun's Gesta Annalia text as a mere copy of the Diceto text itself on account of the fact that apparently nothing else from Diceto's Ymagines Historiarum can be found in Fordun's work. Fordun would surely have used some of Diceto's material concerning the Kings of Scots. It appears safer to conclude, therefore, that though the Gesta Annalia text and the Diceto text are closely related, the former is not derived from the latter but, rather, is derived from the exemplar of the Diceto text, if not from Diceto's source-text itself.

In order to consider the precise relationship of the Wardlaw text to the Diceto and Gesta Annalia texts it is necessary to take into account the brief extract of the Genealogy which is quoted in Book I, Chapter XXVI, and extends only from Símon Breac to Mil Espáine. As I have shown in a previous chapter,¹¹⁴ this section is not derived from the Wardlaw text itself, but shares with it some significant errors which are not found in the Diceto text. It is better and therefore earlier than the Wardlaw text. Unfortunately this section of the Genealogy is not given in Fordun's account of the Gesta Annalia text. However, I argued that it cannot

114. Above, pp. 64-5.

belong to the immediate source-text of the Gesta Annalia text: "Ethachius Rothay" (Book I, Chapter XXVIII) has clearly been taken from a text of the Genealogy closely related to Diceto's, but it is difficult to see how "Rothay" could have been in the immediate source-text of the Wardlaw text - and, thereby, the text from which the section in Book I, Chapter XXVI, is derived - leaving the Gesta Annalia as the only logical source.¹¹⁵ Clearly, the Gesta Annalia's immediate source-text cannot be said both to share errors absent from Diceto with the Wardlaw text and to have "Rothay". The section of the Genealogy in Book I, Chapter XXVI must, therefore, be independent of Diceto and the Gesta Annalia texts, and share a source with the Wardlaw text before finally sharing a source with the other texts. I suggest, therefore, that the text history for this group of texts is



What I have been referring to as the "Diceto exemplar" now becomes the exemplar for this whole group of texts, which I will refer to as the "Diceto group".

I have argued¹¹⁶ that the text of the Genealogy, for which Símón Breac's pedigree in Book I, Chapter XXVI, is the only extant survival, was the text used by

115. Above, pp. 62-4.

116. Above, pp. 66-8.

the synthesist of (almost all) the versions of the origin-legend which appear in Book I, so that Fordun's account of Símon Breac's genealogy in Book I, Chapter XXVI, is actually quoted from the synthesist's work.

There are a couple of readings in the Wardlaw text which appear to be older than Diceto or the Gesta Annalia texts, and therefore to lend some support to the suggested text history. The best is "Angusa" instead of Diceto's and the Gesta Annalia's "Ene^gus(s)a" (line 25). Its lack of the epenthetic vowel which the other two texts exhibit makes it look like the earlier version: though not impossible, it is unlikely to have been lost in copying either by sight or dictation. Much later in the Genealogy, Book I, Chapter XXVI, reads "Engus Olmucatha" as opposed to Wardlaw's "Anegus" and Diceto's "Ene^gus Olmucatha", which by the same criterion makes it seem that Book I, Chapter XXVI, has preserved the original version, and that Diceto and Wardlaw have acquired the epenthetic vowel independently. Such indicators are, perhaps, rather tenuous. One might add that the introduction of an epenthetic vowel could suggest that the scribe, if he were copying by sight, was Gaelic. If it was copied by dictation then the reader would have been Gaelic and, therefore, as we have seen¹¹⁷ by the survival of distinctively Middle Gaelic spellings, so must the scribe.

117. Above, pp. 289-92.

If the Wardlaw, and Book I, Chapter XXVI, texts' relationship to the Diceto and the Gesta Annalia texts is as I have suggested, then it is significant that the Wardlaw text was given to Fordun as a 'Genealogy of David I'. This suggests that the exemplar of the Diceto group of texts was originally headed by David I, and was therefore originally written down during his reign. This matches the conclusion reached by my brief survey of the philological evidence. It would also appear that the source-text common only to Wardlaw and Book I, Chapter XXVI, being also headed by David I, was probably also written down during his reign.

A version of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots also appears interspersed in Andrew of Wyntoun's Original Chronicle. All in all, it gives a complete account of the Genealogy from Fergus Mór mac Eirc to Noah, but progresses 'X father of Y' rather than 'Y son of X'. Although it is a late text (Wyntoun worked c.1400), and has become quite corrupt in places, it is possible nevertheless to find enough evidence to indicate its relationship to the Latin texts of the Genealogy, and so to provide more information on the Genealogy's text-history. Appendix III gives some of the less corrupt readings from Wyntoun's account of the Genealogy, and collates them with the Diceto and Wardlaw texts on the one hand, being the principal witnesses of the two branches of the Diceto group of

texts, and on the other hand with the Poppleton text whose readings, as I have shown,¹¹⁸ are usually nearer to those of the source-text which it shares with the exemplar of the Diceto group. Wyntoun's text is taken from the Cottonian and the Royal manuscripts of his work, which F.J. Amours, Wyntoun's most modern editor, describes as the best.¹¹⁹ F.J. Amours shows¹²⁰ that the Cottonian manuscript, ascribed to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, is the earliest manuscript of Wyntoun's third and final version of his work, and that the Royal, ascribed to between 1440 and 1450, is the earliest manuscript for Wyntoun's second version of his work. Wyntoun's first version survives only in the Wemyss manuscript, which is later (after c.1500) and corrupt.¹²¹

It is clear that the Wyntoun text shares a source with the Diceto group of texts and the Poppleton text: it has almost all the distinctive readings shared by Diceto and Poppleton which appear to be the result of textual accidents. For example, in a significant passage (see lines 80-3 in Appendix I and Appendix III):¹²²

<u>Wyntoun (Cott.MS, Royal MS)</u>	<u>Diceto (Lambeth MS)</u>	<u>Poppleton MS</u>
Edeym(s.o.)Glaes, Edoym(s.o.)Glays	Etheon f.Glachs	Edom f.Glais
Myadad-Fael, Moyadade-Fael	Noethath Fail	Nuadat Fail
Alten, Olten	Elchatha Olchaim	Elchada Olchaim
Sirne-Elkade, Syrne-Elkade	Sirne	Sirna

118. Above, p.288f.

119. Chron. Wyntoun, i (1914), xliii-lxi, at xlv.

120. Ibid., xlvii-liv and lxii-lxiv.

121. Ibid., xlix.

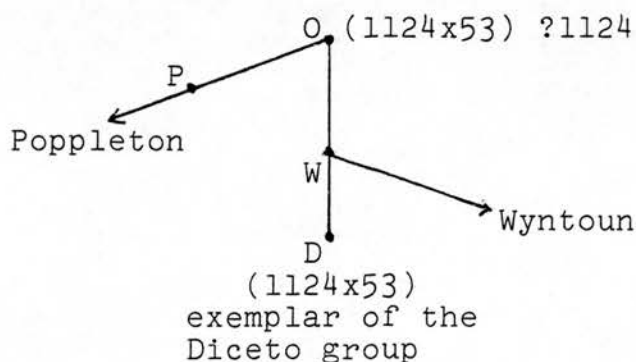
122. For its significance, see above, p.288f.

Furthermore, looking at Appendix III, it is apparent that Wyntoun's text shares some significant errors with the Diceto group. Thus, it reads (line 67) "-Aldecan"/"-Aldeten", akin to Diceto's "Aldethan", for Althethain (Poppleton - "altlechin"); it has an additional final a (line 69: "Comota"/"Comata"), like Diceto's "Conletha", for Conclaid (Poppleton, "Conlaich"); it has (lines 76-7) merged Poppleton's "Fiachraig Tollgreich f. Muredaich Bollgreich" into "Fiakak-Bolgeg"/"Fyakak-Bolgeg", as has Diceto ("Fiechachch Bolgai"); it uses 'f' for lenited palatalised b (line 79) in "-Duff"/"-Dwff", like Diceto's and Wardlaw's "Duf"/"-duf", for Duib (Poppleton, "Dinb"); it reads (line 100) "Neande", as does Diceto (and Wardlaw has "Veande") for Nema (which is Poppleton's reading); and (line 120) it reads "Reyn"/"Reyne", akin to Diceto's "Rein" (Wardlaw has "Jeyn") for Sem (which is Poppleton's reading).

However, it is clear that the version of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots preserved in Wyntoun's text is older than the exemplar of the Diceto group. Idiosyncratic readings common to Diceto and Wardlaw are absent: thus it reads (line 27) "-Fire"/"-Fyere" for Fir, unlike Diceto's and Wardlaw's "-fith"; it reads "Acir-Cirare"/"Acyre-Cyryr" for Achir Chir, unlike Diceto's and Wardlaw's "Akirkirre"; it has (line 80) "Glaes"/"Glays" for Glais, rather than

Diceto's "Glachs" and Wardlaw's "Glachus"; it retains the final consonant (line 93) in "Tygernek"/"Tygerneke" (Poppleton, "Tigernaig") as opposed to Diceto's "Thiernai" and Wardlaw's "Thyerna"; and it has avoided metathesis in (line 98) "Milet"/"Mylet" (for Miled), as opposed to Diceto's "Micel" and Wardlaw's "Micelii", and in (line 40) "-Allodeg" as opposed to Diceto's "Etholach" for Allathaig. Many more such examples can be seen in Appendix III.

All this suggests the following text history for the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots during David's reign. For brevity's sake I shall call the exemplars of Poppleton and Diceto 'P' and 'D', and the (Gaelic) exemplar of Wyntoun 'W'; all are ultimately derived from the ollamh ríge's 'official' text, which I shall call 'O':



There is another, but much worse, manuscript of the W version of the Genealogy found immediately in front of king-list D (National Library of Scotland MS.34.7.3: the Genealogy is on folios 17r-19r). Marjorie Anderson has shown¹²³ that king-list D is closer to Wyntoun than

123. Anderson, KKES, 64.

any other king-list, and would appear to be derived from one of his sources. This manuscript of the Genealogy appears also to be close to Wyntoun, and its preservation of apparently older readings than Wyntoun's suggests that it is not a mere copy of Wyntoun, but has been derived from one of his sources. Thus, it reads "Rogyn" (f.18v19) for Rogein where Wyntoun (Book III, Chapter X) reads "Regyn(e)"; "Boyd" (f.17v4) for Boidb where Wyntoun (Book I, Chapter XIV) reads "Boe"; and "Aroth" (f.17v1) (cf. Wardlaw's "Aroth" as opposed to Diceto's "Haoith") for Aboth where Wyntoun (Book I, Chapter XIV) reads "Doyt". Because the Genealogy finishes with Fergus Mór mac Eirc, with whom king-list D starts, the Genealogy plus the king-list appears to have become one work. The desire to flow smoothly from the Genealogy into the king-list would sufficiently account for why the progression has been altered from 'Y son of X' to 'X father of Y'. The original of this work appears, therefore, to have been one of Wyntoun's sources; this would satisfactorily explain why he gives the Genealogy progressing from father to son and only as far as Fergus Mór. The Genealogy and king-list in NLS.34.7.3 were written by James Gray, who was secretary to two archbishops of St. Andrews in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹²⁴ Wyntoun was also very closely connected with St. Andrews, so that it is irresistible to conclude that this Genealogy-plus-king-list source

124. Ibid.

that he shares with Gray was written at St. Andrews. In turn, this makes it likely that the W text of the Genealogy was written for St. Andrews in David I's reign.

Looking again at Appendix III, it is evident that the W text has preserved distinctively Middle Gaelic orthography where the D text has not. Thus, it seems often to have had 'd' for /ð/ where the D text had 'th', as in (line 32) Wyntoun's "Crudid"/"Crudyde", not Diceto's/Wardlaw's "Cruithlinthe"/"Crucluith"; (line 49) "Dedaa", not "Dethath"/"Dethach"; (line 81) "Myadad-"/"Moyadade-", not "Noethath"/"Nothachus"; (line 82) "-Elkade"/"-Elkada", not "Elchatha"; (line 105) "Arkada"/"Erkada", not "Erchatha"; and (line 110) "Gedil-"/"Gedyll-", not "Geithel"/"Gaythelos". Some of the instances in which the W text has preserved a distinctively Middle Gaelic spelling where the D text has not could be because the philological development represented by the D text's spelling had yet to take place when the W text was written down. Thus, where the D text has written 'w' for a vocalised intervocalic gh, the W text still writes 'g', as in (line 46) Wyntoun's "Eogen" as opposed to Diceto's/Wardlaw's "Ewein"/"Ewin" for Éogain; (line 54) "Regyn(e)", as opposed to "Rowein"/"Rwen", for Rogain; and (line 113) "Cogyn(e)-", as opposed to "Owan"/"Ewan", for Éogain. For Tigernaig (line 93), where Diceto and Wardlaw have dropped the 'g' for original intervocalic gh, Wyntoun

has "Tygernek(e)". There are examples of final palatalised gh in an unstressed syllable being retained in Wyntoun's text where Diceto has 'ch': thus, (line 28) "-Aslugeg"/"-as-Lugeg" for 'Aslingig', rather than Diceto's "Aslingich"; and (line 40) "-Allodeg" for Allathaig rather than Diceto's "Etholach". This might suggest that the development of palatalised gh in unstressed syllables to ch had yet to occur by the time the W text was written down. Unhappily, however, too many of the original 'g' endings have become garbled, usually into 'k', but sometimes into 't' or 'c': it is at least possible that behind some of these lies an original 'c' for ch.

Another orthographical point that is easily detected from Wyntoun's text is that it does not admit the epenthetic vowel where Diceto does: thus Óengusa is either "Angus" (lines 27 and 61), "Engus" (line 29), or "Egwsw-"/"Eugws-" (line 88), but not like Diceto's "Eneghussa" (lines 29 and 61) or "Eneghus" (line 88), showing the epenthetic vowel within the 'ng'. This could suggest that the W text was not written 'by ear' as much as the D text, and that had it survived it could well have shown as high a standard as the P text appears to have in spelling according to Middle Gaelic conventions. In a couple of respects, however, the W text might have been less learnedly Middle Gaelic than the P text. There is an example (line 33) where Wyntoun renders nil an original lenited f which the

Poppleton text spells 'f'. There is also an example (line 74) where Wyntoun renders 'v' an original lenited b which Poppleton spells 'b'. Neither of these spellings should be considered to be noticeably aberrant, however. More striking is (line 79) Wyntoun's 'ff' (originally 'f'?) for palatalised lenited b. There are, however, plenty examples of Wyntoun having a 'b' for originally lenited b (e.g. "Eber", line 109), or an 'm' for lenited m (e.g. "Lamyne", line 115).

It is clear from the above that the scribe of the W text was familiar with Middle Gaelic orthography. Furthermore, it is possible to detect a few Gaelic words of explanation in Wyntoun's text. At Eochaid Riata Wyntoun reads "Cadak-Resedek-Corbre-Rigada" in the Cottonian MS, or in the Royal MS (which is usually better) "Cadak-Rydesedek-Corbre-Rygada". This is probably a rendering of 'Echdach Riada e-side Corbre Rigada', explaining that Eochaid Riata is also (literally 'he-himself') Corpre Rigfada. (The addition of a 'k' at the end of a word is not unprecedented in Wyntoun's text: it is found also in line 33, "Fydeasek"/"Fideacek" for 'Findachai'). Another example of this kind of explanation probably appears at Éremón mac Miled, where Wyntoun reads "Mylet...(had) till son Ermeon-Malanseyde" (in the Royal MS, and almost identically in the Cottonian MS). "Malan", as it stands, is a puzzle. However, Galam is an alternative name for Mil Espáine:¹²⁵ the

125. For instance, in the second redaction of LG.

"seyde", therefore, could stand for 'side', so that it originally explained how Galam and Mil Espáine were the same person. More of a puzzle is Wyntoun's "Steg(e)" between Mug Láma and Conaire (father of Eochaid Riata). If it is a Gaelic word, I can only think of steig ('portion', 'slice').¹²⁶ Conaire mac Moga Láma, an eponym of the Síl Chonaire, would be a natural place to 'slice' the Genealogy, especially as, from Eochaid Riata mac Conaire upwards, the Genealogy becomes exclusively 'Scottish'. It is possible, therefore, that the "Steg" was meant to indicate this fact in a shorthand manner.

It is evident, therefore, that whoever wrote the W text was not only familiar with Middle Gaelic spelling conventions (and was perhaps as competent a speller as the scribe of the P text), but was also familiar with Gaelic historiography. The fact that copies of the W text can be traced to St. Andrews makes it tempting to associate the W text with the attempt in 1125 by David to obtain metropolitan status for the bishop of St. Andrews.¹²⁷ As Hugh the Chantor makes plain, the status of David's regnum was at issue: he reports¹²⁸ how Thurstan, Archbishop of York, as part of his case against St. Andrews receiving the pallium, "secreto et palam in curia ostendit Scociam de regno Anglie esse". Such an argument would, no doubt, have been anticipated, so that it would be no surprise if the Scottish delegation

126. R.I.A. Dictionary.

127. A.A.M. Duncan, Scotland: the making of the Kingdom (1975), 259.

128. Cited in Scotia Pontifica, ed. Robert Somerville, (Oxford 1982), 7n.18.

took along with them a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots in an attempt to fortify their case. Equally, it would be no surprise if St. Andrews desired a text of the Genealogy for themselves.¹²⁹ It would, of course, only be natural that such a text, produced in connection with the king's business, would have been copied - as W evidently has been¹³⁰ - from the 'official' text of the ollamh ríge, either by a member of the ollamh's retinue or a St. Andrews cleric. (There would be nothing surprising about a (senior) St. Andrews cleric of this period being versed in Gaelic orthography and historiography).

If the W text arrived at St. Andrews more or less immediately, then it follows that the D text, which was copied from it during David's reign (? c.1150), is very likely to have been written at St. Andrews. I have suggested that the D text represents a (deliberate?) recasting of the text of the Genealogy into more 'Anglo-Norman' spelling by a scribe familiar with Gaelic orthography. It would not be difficult to imagine someone capable of working within both the 'Anglo-Norman' and Gaelic cultural milieux at St. Andrews in the latter part of David's reign. This refashioning of the spelling in the Genealogy, however, does not appear to have been inspired from within St. Andrews: the W text is the text which was copied

129. Such circumstances behind the production of the W text might account for its brief explanatory glosses.
 130. See above, p. 311.

and recopied at St. Andrews up to the fifteenth century, suggesting that it remained the principal (no doubt only) text of the Genealogy at St. Andrews during David's reign. The D text, therefore, was probably commissioned by somebody outwith St. Andrews. No doubt the client for whom it was written expected, or specifically required, that the text be accessible to those whose cultural milieu was predominantly Anglo-Norman. Such a requirement could well have been beyond the abilities of the retinue of the ollamh ríge of the day, which permits us to conjecture that it was David I himself who asked the St. Andrews scriptorium to produce this refashioned text of the Genealogy: if it had been a simple copy of the Genealogy which he wanted then he would surely have obtained it from the ollamh ríge.

It is quite conceivable that David, who had many dealings with England, would have felt the need for a more Anglo-Norman text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots for at least one occasion during his reign. Such an occasion could have been David's knighting of Henry FitzEmpress at Carlisle in 1149, a thoroughly 'Anglo-Norman' event in which there would have been an obvious interest in the prestige of David himself. This event is, indeed, especially attractive as the occasion with which to associate the production of the D text because it provides a possible route by which Ralph de Diceto was able to come across a copy. Ralph

spent all his working life in ecclesiastical office in the diocese of London:¹³¹ it is interesting to note, therefore, that not only himself, but also successive bishops of London (to whom he may have been related) were staunch supporters of Henry fitzEmpress.¹³² It is quite possible, therefore, that Gilbert Foliot, for instance, could have been present at the knighting of Henry and received a copy of the D text of the Genealogy which then came with him to London when he became bishop. Because there are Scottish texts derived from text D it appears that the D text itself remained in Scotland (no doubt with David's clerks): what Ralph of Diceto might have seen, therefore, was the copy given to, or taken down by, Henry's entourage at the time of his knighting. This suggestion would seem to require that Fordun copied his *Gesta Annalia* text of the Genealogy from at least a derivative of this copy of the D text which was, probably, in London. It is not inconceivable, of course, that he did this during his travels in the south of England.

Turning now to the other branch of the Diceto group of texts, it can be said that the source-text that is shared only by Wardlaw and the synthetic origin-legend text used by Fordun must, it seems, have been headed by David I. If it was written long after David's time (like Wardlaw's own text, presumably) then it

131. See Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, i (1876), xxviff.

132. See *ibid.*, xx-xxix: Gilbert Foliot wrote to Pope Eugenius III in support of Ralph's promotion to the Deanery of St. Paul's.

would, probably, have remained a Genealogy of David I rather than a Genealogy of the then King of Scots. (Perhaps after Alexander III it would have been difficult to update a Genealogy of David I through the progression 'X son of Y'). However, I have argued¹³³ that the synthetic origin-legend source-text was composed sometime in the mid-thirteenth century. It is hard to see, therefore, why the source-text of the Genealogy which it shares with Wardlaw should have been headed by David I, and not updated, unless we accept the obvious inference that it was, indeed, written during the reign of David I. If my dating of the D text is admitted, then it would have to have been written down between c.1150 (?1149) and 1153. A characteristic of this text is that it Latinises (at least) the key names in the Genealogy - e.g. "Micelius" for Mil, "Hermonius" for Éremón - and even appears to have Grecised Gáedel and Néil, into "Gaythelos" and "Neolos", no doubt reflecting the fact that they are described as Greeks in the origin-legend. Whoever wrote this text of the Genealogy was evidently well informed about the origin-legend. There is nothing satisfactory to show that he was Gaelic, however - indeed, his desire to Latinise (or Grecise) makes it likely that he was a rather learned Scoto-Norman probably belonging to one of the new Orders. If it is accepted that the D text represents a regally

133. See above, p. 168 on the sources for the Scottish origin-legend in the Scalacronica and Wyntoun.

inspired refashioning of the text of the Genealogy, then I would suggest that this text is a further refashioning perhaps in order to provide David's administration with a text that better suited their taste and which, by being more Latinate, was probably designed to be more 'acceptable' within an 'Anglo-Norman' context.

If, indeed, this source-text became the 'official' text of the royal administration, then this tempts some more conjectures. In my discussion of the synthetic origin-legend work used by Fordun, I suggested¹³⁴ that the synthesist was the ollamh ríge. Because he used material which I have tentatively suggested¹³⁵ was compiled for Alexander II's negotiations in 1220/1 for the right to be crowned and anointed, and would therefore have been in the administration's possession, it must already seem possible that the synthesist was the ollamh ríge during Alexander II's reign. Such a possibility would be greatly reinforced if the text of the genealogy used as the framework for the synthesis was what you might call the administration's 'official' text. As far as the history of Wardlaw's text is concerned, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he found it at Glasgow while he was bishop there. If this, then, was derived from the administration's 'official' text, then one can guess that it reached

134. See above, p. 76 on Fordun's nameless sources for his account of Scottish origins.

135. See above, pp. 159-60.

the archive of the bishopric of Glasgow via Robert Wishart, who would certainly have had access to it while he was a Guardian and who is known to have been interested in preserving a symbol of the kingship such as an old royal banner during the difficult period of the English occupation.¹³⁶

It appears from this survey of the Latin texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots that the text has a continuous history at least as far back as the seventh century and probably to the beginnings of the christian Gaelic pseudo-historical construct, preserved by the ollamhs of successive kings of the Dál Riata and then Scotia. Such continuity should be no surprise; given the importance of the Genealogy as a symbol of the kingship in a kin-based society, as witnessed in the royal inauguration-ritual, and serves to emphasise what is already known about the continuity between the kingship of the Dál Riata and of Scotia. The Genealogy's importance was evidently not lost during David I's reign, in which time it was apparently re-fashioned to suit the more 'Anglo-Norman' ambience of the royal court, and was probably turned to as a token of the kingship's prestige: its development is an interesting symbol of the change and continuity during this period. However, between the Poppleton compilation (1165x84) and the work of Fordun and Wyntoun two-hundred or more years later it is difficult

136. Balgrave, Docs. Hist. Scot., 346-7.

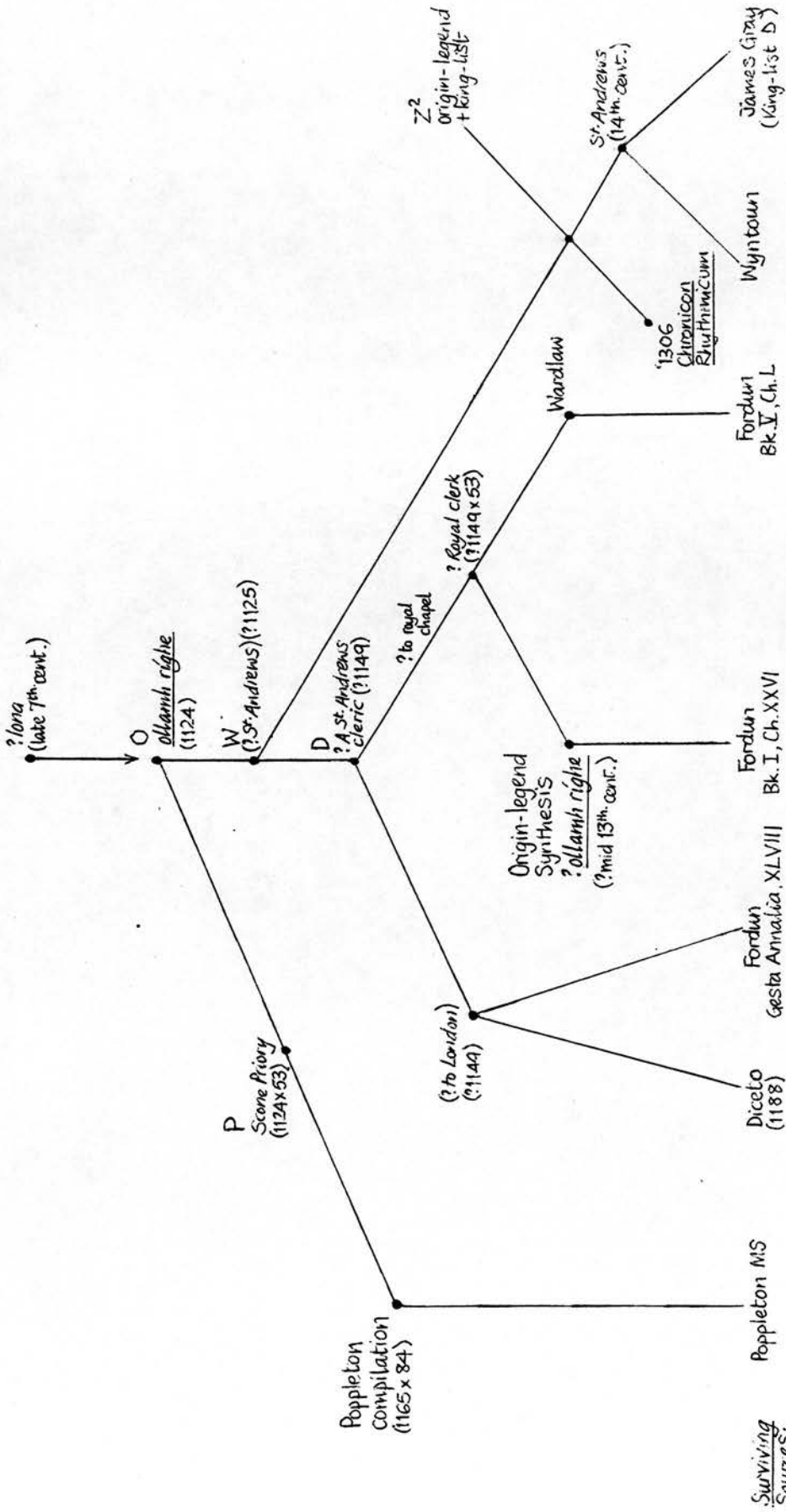
to detect much interest in the Genealogy itself as far as the evidence of the stemma of the text (p.324) is concerned.

With regard to the Gaelic and Scottish origin-legend, it can safely be said that it is inconceivable to imagine an evidently fully functioning ollamh ríge preserving the Genealogy without knowing the significance of its characters; or being out of touch with Gaelic pseudo-historiography generally. And equally, it is inconceivable to imagine that throughout David's reign there was a continued interest in the Genealogy in the royal court but not in the origin-legends behind it.

To conclude, here is the proposed stemma for the Latin texts of the Genealogy:

*
 N/A
 PAGE
 2000
 *

TEXT-HISTORY OF THE LATIN TEXTS OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SCOTS



Surviving Sources:

APPENDIX I:

THE PRINCIPAL TWELFTH-CENTURY EXTANT TEXTS OF THE
GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SCOTS

The left-hand column gives the names from the text of the Genealogy from the Poppleton MS, as edited by Marjorie Anderson in her Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh 1980), 256-8.

The middle column gives the names from the text of the Genealogy in Ralph de Diceto's Ymagines Historiarum, from Lambeth Palace MS 8, the original and earliest text of the work, written by Diceto himself.

The right-hand column gives the closest Gaelic spelling (in the genitive) for each person. After Eochaid Muinremuir, where the names are uncommon, the Irish text is cited from which the closest spelling is taken. These texts are given at the end in the rough order of priority in which they are used.

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS 8</u>	<u>Closest possible Gaelic spelling</u>
Willelmus rufus	Willelmo	
Henrici	Henrici	
Dauid	David	
Maelcolaim	Malcolmi	Máelcolaim
(5) Donnchada	Dunecani	Donnchada
-	Bethoc	Bethóc
Malcolaim	Malcolmi	Máelcolaim
Cinada	Kinath	Cináeda
Maelcolaim	Malcolmi	Máelcolaim
(10) Domnaill	Duuenald	Domnaill
Constantin	Constantini	Constantin

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS 8</u>	<u>Closest possible Gaelic spelling</u>
Ernacha	Kinath	Cináeda
Alpin	Elpini	Alpin
Echach	Echach	Echach
(15)Edafind	Ethafind	Áeda Find
Echadach	Echdach	Echdach
Echach	-	Echach
Domongrat	-	Domongairt
Domnailbrie	Duuenald Bric	Domnail Bric
(20)Echachbuide	Ecchach Buide	Echach Buide
Edan	Edaim	Aedáin
Gabran	Cobram	Gabráin
Domminigrat	Douengart	Domongairt
Fergusa	Fergus Mor	Fergus Móir
(25)Eire	Erch	Eirc
Echach Muinremuir	Ecchac Munremor	Echach Muinremuir
		<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
Oengusaphir	Engusafith	Oengusa Fir R.502.162d7
Fedilinte Aislingig	Fethelmech Aslingich	Feideilmid R.502.162d8 Feidlimid Aslingthig LL350e27
Oengusabuiding	Enegussa Buthini	Oengusa Budnig LL350e28 Aengusa Buaidnich LecllOrb6
(30)Fedilinter Uamnaich	Fethelmeth Romaich	Feideilmid R502.162d10
Senchormaic	Sencormach	Senchormaic LL336a62
Cruithinde	Cruithlinthe	Croithluithe R.502. 162d12 Cruithluthe LL336b1
Find Fece	Findachai	Find Feicce R.502. 162d13 Find Fecci LL350e31
Achircir	Akirkirre	Achir Chirr LL336b3
(35)Achachantoit	Ecchach Andoth	Echach Antoit LL336b4
Fiacrachcathmail	Faichrach Catinail	Fiachach Cathamail R.502.144g16 Fiachrach m. Cathmail LL350e33-4

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS. 8</u>	<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
Echdachriada	Ecdach Riede	Echach Riata LL350e35 Echach Riatai LL336b6
Conore	Conere	<u>Conaire</u> LL336b8
Mogalanda	Mogalama	Moga Lama LL336b9
(40)Luigdig f. Ellatig	Lugthag Etholach	Lugdach Allathaigh BB140cb34-5 Lugdach Find qui 7 Ollsuthach vel Olldotig LL350e38-9
Corpre Crumpchimi	Corbre Crungring	Corpri Cromchind LL323f47 Cairpri Chrommchinn R502.162d24
Dare Dornmoir	Daredromor	Dare Dornmair LL323f48
Eorbre f. Admoir	Corbrefindmor	Corpri Find Moir GA(H)33 Cairpri Findmoir LL323f49
Conarremoir	Conere Mor	Conaire Moir R502.162d27
(45)Etersceuil	Eders Keol	Etersceoil LL336b15
Eogami	Ewein	Eogain R502.162d29
Elela	Ellela	Ailella LL336b17
Iair	Iair	Iair R502.147ab37
Dedaid	Dethath	Dedaid LL336b18
(50)Siu	Sin	Sin R502.162d33
Rosiu	Rosin	Rosin R502.162d34
Their	Ther	Thrir GA(H)41
Rothir	Rether	Rothrir GA(H)42
Rom	Rowein	Rogain LL324e16
(55)Arandil	Arindil	Airndil GA(H)43 Arndil La337 1.7
Manine	Mane	Mane GA(H)44 Maine R502.162d37
Forgo	Forgso	Forgo GA(H)45
Feredaig	Feredach	Feradaig R502.162d39
Elela Arami	Ellela Earin	Ailella Erann R502.162d40
(60)Fiachra f. Firmara	Fiachac Fimmora	Fiachach Fir Mara R502.162d41 Fiachrach BB139a39
Oengusa turung	Enegussa Turbinig	Oengusa Turbig LL338a45 Aengusa Tuirmig Temrach <u>Sen. Sil Ir.</u> , 330

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS. 8</u>	<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
Fircechairroid	Firketharocht	Fir Cetharraid R502.144a30 Fhircheathra Roich <u>GT</u> C§159
Ferroid	Fir Rocht	Fir Raith R502.162d45 Fhir Roich <u>GT</u> .C§154
Firanroid	An Roth	Fir Anaraith R502.162d46
(65) Firaibrig	Firalmai	Fir Almaig R502.144a33
Labchore	Lamcure	Laebchuire R502.144a34
Echachaltlechin	Ecchach Aldethan	Echach Altlethain R502.144a35 Echach Altlethain LL346cb2
Elela Casiaclaig	Elela Cassieclai	Ailella Casfhiaclaig LL346cb3
Conlaich	Conletha	Conlaid R502.162d50
(70) Erero	Iretro	hIrero R502.162d51
Moalgi	Melge	Melge LL346cb6
Cobthaig Coelbreg	Cobthai Cailbrech	Cobthaig LL346cb7 Cobthaich <u>Coil</u> <u>Breg</u> R502.144a40 Cobtaig Cael <u>Breg</u> BB77a53 Cobthaid Caibreg <u>GT</u> .C§154
Ugaine Moir	Hugune Mor	Ugaine Mair R502.162d54
Ecdaigbuadaig	Ecchach Rothai	Echach Buadaig R502.162d55 Echach Buadaig Lec53rb44
(75) Duachlograich f. Fiachraig Duadach f. Duachlograich	Duach Lotherais	Duach Ladrach LL346cb10 Duach Ladrach <u>R502.</u> 162d56
Fiachraig Tollgreich	Fiechachch Bolgai	Fiachach Tolgraich LL346cb11 Fiachrach Tolcraich Lec104rb18
Muredaich Bollgreich		Muredaig Bolgraich LL346cb12 Muiredaig Bolcgraig R502.117g9-10
Semoin f. Brice	Sinonbricht	Sineoin Brice R502.117g11 Simoin <u>Brice</u> BB97a27
Eun Dinb	Eon Duf	-

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS. 8</u>	<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
(80)Edom f. Glais	Etheon f. Glachs	Aedain Glais R502.117g12
Nuadat Fail	Noethath Fail	Nuadat Find F(ail) R502.117g13
Elchada Olchaim	Elchatha Olchaim	Giallchada m. Ailella Olchain LL346cb16-7
Sirna	Sirne	Sirnai R502.117g16
Dem	Dein	Dein R502.117g17
(85)Demail	Demail	Demail R502.117g18
Rodchada	Rothotha	Rothechtada BB97a34 Rechtada R502.117g19
Ogmaich	Ogmain	Ogamuin R502.115b39 Main i. Ogamain GT. Cs154
Oengussa f. Olmochada	Ene <u>gus</u> Olmucatha	Oengusa Olmugaeda R502.117g22-3 Aengusa Olmucaid Lec53rb22
Fiachrachlaibrinne	Fiachach Labrain <u>n</u>	Fiachach Labrinni R502.117g24-5 Fiachu Labrain <u>n</u> R502. 116b3
(90)Sinergnaid	Smirnai	Smirgnath R502.115b40
Smereta	Sinrecha	Smretha R502.117g27
Enmocha	Embatha	Enbotha Lec53rb14
Tigernaig	Thiernai	Tigernmais R502.117g29
Fallaig	Faleg	Fallaig R502.117g30
(95)Etheoir	Etheor	Ether R502.115b41
Iair	Iair Olfatha	hIreoil Fatha R502.117g32-3
Hermeom	Ermon	hErimoin R502.117g34 Eremeoi <u>n</u> Lec53vab27
Meledespan	Micel Espaine	Miled Spain R502.158,52
Bili	Bile	Bile R502.117g42

<u>Poppleton MS.</u>	<u>Lambeth MS. 8</u>	<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
(100)Nema	Neande	Nema R502.115b44
Brige	Brige	Brige R502.117g44
Brigoind	Bregain	Bregaind R502.115b44 Bregain̄ R502.117g45
Bracha	Bratha	Bratha R502.117g46
Theacha	Deatha	Deatha R502.117g47
(105)Erchada	Erchatha	Erchada Q C1.7c4 Ercada LL346c6
Aldoit	Aldoith	Alldoit R502.117g49
Noda	Node	Nu(a)du R502.115b46
Nonaill Hemir	Nonael	Noenail R502.117g51
	Eber Scot	Ebir Scuitt R502.117g52
(110)Goildil Glais	Geithel Glas	Goidil Glais O.C1.7c19 Gaedail Gl(ais) R502.117g53 Gaidil Glais LL346c20
Neuil	Neoil	Niuil LG.R2§16
Fenius Farsaid	Fenias Farseth	Feniusa Farrsaidh LG.R2§16
Eogani	Owan	Eogein LG.R2§16
Glunud	Glonin	Glunfind LG.R2§16
(115)Lauind	Lamin	Lamfhind LG.R2§16
Etheoir f. Iair	Etheor	Etheoir LG.R2§16
Agmemnoni	Achnoman	Agnomain R502.117,58
Thri	Thoe	Thoe LG.R2§16
Boi	Boib	Boidb LG.R2§16
(120)Sem	Rein	Sem LG.R2§16
Mair	Mair	Mair LG.R2§16
Esro	Etheth	Ethecht R.502.117,58
Aduir	Abiur	Abor R502.115b52

<u>Poppleton MS</u>	<u>Lambeth MS. 8</u>	<u>Closest attested Gaelic spelling</u>
Hieridach	Artheth	Aurthacht <u>LG.R2§16</u>
(125)Aoth	Haoith	Boath R502.115b52 Aboth R502.116b20 Abuith <u>LG.R2§16</u>
-	Aora	Ara <u>lg.R2§16</u>
-	Iara	Iarra <u>LG.R2§16</u> Iara R502.116b21
Srau	Israv	Sru <u>LG.R2§16</u>
Esro	Esrav	Esru <u>LG.R2§16</u>
(130)Boid	-	Baaith <u>LG.R2§16</u>
Riafich	Richaith Scot	Rifaith Scut <u>LG.R2§16</u>
Gomur	Gomer	G(omer) R502.117,58
Iafech	Iafeth	Iafeth R502.117,58
Noe	Noe	Noe R.502.117,58
(135)Lamech		Lamaich R502.116b49
Matussalem		Mathusalam R502.116b49
Enoc		Enoc R502.116b51
Iarech		Iareth R502.116b51
Malalechel		Malalel R502.116b51
(140)Caman		Cainan R502.116b52
Enos		Enos R502.116b52
Sed		Seth R502.116b52
Adam		Adam R502.116b53
Dei Vivi		De Bi LL346c37

The following list gives the texts from which I have obtained the closest attested Gaelic spellings for the persons

in the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. By 'person' I mean not just the name, but the same (or nearest) genealogical position. This helps to give some idea of how orthodox these Scottish texts are within the corpus of medieval Gaelic genealogical texts. They are arranged into groups of texts. If the closest spelling was not found among the first group then I looked for it in the second group; if not the second, then the third; and so on. If I could not find the person in the same position as in the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, then I returned to the first group to find not just the closest spelling but also the nearest genealogical position; and if not the first, then in the second; and so on.

MS: folio and line no. Description or title of text.
 of first line.

Group 1 (Gaelic texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots from twelfth-century MSS)

R502.162c44 Genelach Ríg nAlban

LL.336a36 Genelach Ríg nAlban

Group 2 (Gaelic text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots from a later MS)

GA(H) Genelaig Albanensium (in Trinity College, Dublin MS.H.2.7, col.69,1.13)
 (in the edition by Bannerman, Dalriada, 65-6)

Group 3 (Gaelic texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots from even later MSS)

- BB.148c41 Recension of Genelaig Albanensium
Lec.109vb34 Recension of Genelaig Albanensium

Group 4 (Related to a Gaelic text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots)

- LL.350e12 Genealogy of Berchán, "profeta, episcopus et poeta"

Group 5 (Genealogical material from twelfth-century MSS)

- R502.117e39 Genelach Osrithe
R502.143bc39 Genelach Clainne Colmáin
R502.144g10 Note on the twelve sons of Lóegaire mac Néill NoíGiallaig
R502.147a1 Senchas Ébir
R502.158,43 Genealogy of the Cairraige
LL.323f6 Genelach Músraige Tíre
LL.324d44 Genelach Érand
LL.338a1 Genelach Ríg Ailig
LL.346cb1 Genealogy of Óengus Turbech
LG.R2516 Genealogy of Gáedel Glas

Group 6 (Material from early Gaelic genealogical texts)

- R502.115a20 "Énna, Labraid.."
R502.116a1 "Nuadu Necht..."
La.336 Genelach Clainne Áeda (of the Dál Fiatach) (in the edition by Kuno Meyer, 'The Land Genealogies and Tribal Histories', ZCP, viii (1911), 291-338, 418-9).

Group 7 (Genealogical material from later Gaelic MSS)

- BB.96ea31 Genealogy of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair
- BB.139a1 Genealogy of the Érand
- BB.140a52 Genelach Músraige Mittaine
- Lec.53ra Senchas Úgaine Móir 7 a Chlainne
- Lec.103vb Genelach Músraige Mitain
- Senchas Sí1 Ír (in the edition by M.E. Dobbs, 'The History of the Descendants of Ir', ZCP, xiii (1921), 308-59; xiv (1923), 44-144).
- O Cl.7 Genealogy of the Uí Néill (in the edition by S. Pender, Analecta Hibernica, xviii (1951).)
- GT.Cs54 (=Lec.456c1) Genealogy of Diarmaid mac Domnaill Ua Máel Sechlainn of the Cenél Conaill.

APPENDIX II: THE GESTA ANNALIA TEXT COLLATED WITH THE
DICETO AND WARDLAW TEXTS.

Diceto

Lambeth Palace MS 8

Fordun

(See Preface)

GA xlviiii

V l "Wardlaw"

...David	...David	David
Malcolmi	Malcolmi	Malcolmi
Dunecani	Duncani	Duncani
Bethoc	Beatricis	Beatricis
(5) Malcolmi	Malcolmi	Malcolmi
Kinath	Kenath (Keneth)	Kenethi
Malcolmi	Malcolmi	Malcolmi
Duuenald	Donaldi	Douenaldi
Constantini	Constantini	Constantini
(10) Kinath	Kenath (Keneth)	Kenethi
Elpini	Alpinj	
Echach	Ethachi	
Ethafind	Ethafind	
Echdach	Echdachi	
(15) Duuenald Bric	Donaldi Brek	
Ecchach Buide	Echae Vuid (E. Buid)	
Edaim	Edaim	
Cobram	Cobram	
Douengart	Donengard	
(20) Fergus Mor	Fergusii Magni	Fergusius
Erch	Erth	Erth
Ecchac Munremor	Etehac Munremor (Eachic M.)	Euchadii
Engusafith	Engusafich	Angusafith
Fethelmech Aslingich	Fechelmech Aslingich	Fechelmech
(25) Enegussa Buthini	Enegussa Buchin	Angusa
Fethelmeth Romaich	Fechelmech Romaith	Fechelmech Romach (F. Romaich)

<u>Diceto</u>	<u>GA</u> xlviii	V l "Wardlaw"
Sencormach	Sencormach	Sencormach
Cruithlinthe	Crinchlinth	Crucluith
Findachai	Findachai	Findach
(30)Akirkirre	Akirkirre	Akirkirre
Ecchach Andoth	Ecchach Andoch	Echadii
Fiachrach Catinail	Fiachrach Catmall	Fechrach
Ecdach Riede	Ecdath Ried (Ecddaych R.)	Euchodii Reid
Conere	Coner (Conere)	Conere
(35)Mogalama	Mogalama	Mogal
Lugthag Etholach	Lugthag Etholach	Lugtach
Corbre Crumgring	Corbre Crumgring	Corbre
Daredromor	Darediomore (Daredromor)	Dordremore (Dardremore)
Corbre Findmor	Corbre Findinor	Corbrefynmore
(40)Conere Mor	Coneremore	Coneremore
Eders Keol	Ederskeol	Etherskeol
Ewein	Ewein (Ewyn)	Ewin
Ellela	Eliela	Ellela
Iair	Jair	Iaire (Iafr)
(45)Dethath	Dethach	Detach (Dethach)
Sin	Sin	Syn
Rosin	Rosin	Rosyn
Ther	There (Teyr)	Ther
Rether	Rether	Rether
(50)Rowein	Roweni (Rowyin)	Rwen
Arindil	Arindil	Arindil

<u>Diceto</u>	<u>GA</u> xlviii	V 1 "Wardlaw"
Mane	Mane	Manre (Manee)
Forgso	Fergusii	Fergusii
Feredach	Feredach	...
Eber Scot	Iber Scot	Iber Scot
Geithel Glas	Gaithel Glas	Gaythelos
Neoil	Neoili	Neolos

APPENDIX III: SOME READINGS OF WYNTOUN'S TEXT OF THE
GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SCOTS IN COMPARISON
WITH RELATED TEXTS

The Cottonian MS readings are taken from The Original
Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, ed. F.J. Amours, ii
(Scottish Texts Society, 1st series, no. 50) (Edinburgh,
1903).

The Royal MS readings are taken from The Orygynale Cronykil
of Scotland by Androw of Wyntoun, ed. David Laing, i
(Edinburgh, 1872).

<u>Line no.</u> (in App.I)	<u>Wyntoun</u> (Cott., Royal)	<u>The Diceto group</u> (Diceto, Wardlaw)	<u>Poppleton MS</u>
Bk. III, Ch.x:11.1087-1138			
(Laing calls 1.1110 '1120', and is ten too high thereafter)			
27	Angus-Fire, Angus-Fyere	Engusafith, Angusafith	Oengusaphir
28	-Aslugeg, -as-Lugeg	Aslingich,-	Aislingig
29	Engus-Byntynyt, Engus- Byntynet	Enegussa Buthini, Angusa	Oengusabuiding
32	Crudid, Crudyde	Cruithlinthe, Crucluith	Cruithinde
33	Fydeasek, Fideacek	Findachai, Findach	Find Fece
34	Acir-Cirare, Acyre-Cyryr	Akirkirre, Akirkirre	Achircir
38	Conar, Conare	Conere, Conere	Conore
40	-Allodeg, -Allodeg	Etholach, -	Ellatig
46	Eogen, Eogen	Ewein, Ewin	Eogami
49	Dedaa, Dedaa	Dethath, Dethach	Dedaid
52	Trere, Trere	Ther, Ther	Their
53	Roteyr, Roteyre	Rether, Rether	Rothir
54	Regyn, Regyne	Rowein, Rwen	Rom
55	Arynden, Arynden	Arindil, Arindil	Arandil
59	Caren, Earen	Earin, -	Arami
61	Angus Turnet, Angus Turnec	Enegussa Turbinig,-	Oengusaturung

<u>Line no.</u>	<u>Wyntoun</u>	<u>The Diceto group</u>	<u>Poppleton MS</u>
63	Fyer-Auroet, Fyere-Anroet	An Roth, -	Firanroid
67	Eakek-Aldecan, Eacak- Aldeten	Ecchach Aldethan, -	Echachaltlechin
68	-Casyaclek, -Casiaclek	Cassieclai, -	Casiaclaig
69	Comota, Comata	Conletha, -	Conlaich
70	Iero, Jero	Iretro, -	Erero
74	Eakak-Vadek, Eakak-Vadek	Ecchach Rothai, -	Ecdaiqbudaig
76-7	Fiakak-Bolgeg, Fyakak- Bolgeg	Fiechachch Bolgai, -	Fiachraig Tollgreich Muredaich Bollgraich

Bk.II, Ch.x:11.929-58; 933-61

79	Eoyme-Duff, Coyem-Dwff	Eon Duf, Fonduf	EunDinb
80	Edeym(s.o.)Glaes, Edoym (s.o.) Glays	Etheon f. Glachs, Etheon f. Glachus	Edom f. Glais
81	Myadad-Fael, Moyadade-Fael	Noethath Fail, Nothachus	Nuadat Fail
82	-Elkade, -Elkada	Elchatha, Elchatha	Elchada
88	Ewgws-, Eugws-	Enegus, Anegus	Oengussa
93	Tygernek, Tygerneke	Thiernai, Thyerna	Tigernaig
97	Ermeon-, Ermeon-	Ermon, Hermonii	Hermeom
100	Neande, Neande	Neande, Veande	Nema
105	Arkada, Erkada	Erchatha, Erchatha	Erchada
109	Eber Stywut, Eber Stiwut	Eber Scot, Iber Scot	Hemir

Bk.I, Ch.xiv:11.1418-38; Ch.xv:11.1418-38

110	Gedil-Glays, Gedyll-Glays	Geithel Glas, Gaythelos	Goildil Glais
111	Newil, Nevyle	Neoil, Neolos	Neuil
113	Cogyn-, Cogyne-	Owan, Ewan	Eogani
114	-Clynnyn, -Glymyne	Glonin, Glonyn	Glunud
115	-Lamyne, Lamyne	Lamin, Lamy	Lauind
117	Agnoyme, Agnoym	Achnoman, Achnemane	Agmemnoni
120	Reyn, Reyne	Rein, Jeyn	Sem

CHAPTER SIX

THE GAELIC TEXTS OF THE GENEALOGY OF KINGS OF SCOTS

It is evident, then, that the Latin texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots are an important source of information for the Gaelic origin-legend and, thereby, the Gaelic identity in Scotland. The Gaelic texts of the Genealogy, as I hope to show, help to complete the picture, in that they cast light on the development of the Scottish identity itself.

The most important Gaelic genealogical texts are the Senchus Fer nAlban and the Genelaig Albanensium which have been edited and discussed by John Bannerman.¹ They are only found together, with the Genelaig following the Senchus: indeed, the Genelaig appears to have been written originally (in 697x8) as an addition to the Senchus,² so that they should be seen as constituting a single text. The Senchus is a survey of the three cenéla who made up the Scottish Dál Riata in the mid-sixth century - the Cenél nGabráin, Cenél nÓengusa, and Cenél Loairn: the Genelaig gives pedigrees for each of these plus a fourth, the Cenél Comgaill, who were of the same stock as the Cenél nGabráin. It is clear from its contents, therefore, that this 'Senchus plus Genelaig' text is Scottish in origin. John Bannerman has demonstrated,³ however, that in its extant form it is a

1. Bannerman, Dalriada, 27-156.

2. Ibid., 109-10: for the dating, see Appendix II of this chapter.

3. Ibid., 39, 107, 110, 118-32.

tenth-century edition of a seventh-century original. The tenth-century edition has evidently involved considerable revision, as well as translation from Latin, of the original text:⁴ such a high level of interest in Scottish affairs on the part of the editor suggests that, although the text survives only in Irish manuscripts, there can be little doubt that it, too, originated in Scotland.

A major feature of the extant Senchus plus Genelaig text is that it describes the eponyms of the Cenél Loairn and the Cenél nÓengusa as brothers of Fergus Mór mac Eirc, ancestor of the Cenél nGabraín (and the Cenél Comgaill). Erc is thus portrayed as the immediate common ancestor of all the kindreds who appear in the Senchus and the Genelaig. John Bannerman has shown convincingly⁵ that this feature is, in fact, an invention of the tenth-century editor.⁶ Within the terms of a kin-based society the creation of a new common ancestor is palpably the expression of a new political identity, shared by the living descendants of the supposed common ancestor. Before this invention, the immediate common ancestor of the Cenél Loairn, Cenél nÓengusa and Cenél

4. Ibid., 39, 118ff.

5. Ibid., 118ff.

6. All texts which mention Loarn and Óengus as sons of Erc are later: see ibid., 125ff. Fergus was no doubt concocted because he lived at the time of St. Patrick (at least according to the Tripartite Life: see Bannerman, Dalriada, 120): he was thus probably remembered as the first christian king of the Dal Riata. For this reason alone he could have appeared at the beginning of a Dál Riata king-list (compare with, e.g., the second part of the Laud Synchronisms: see O'Rahilly, EIHM, 413). Possibly also Fergus removed the royal dynasty from Ireland to Scotland, though the evidence for this is an entry in AT alone (Bannerman, Dalriada, 74).

nGabráin was no doubt represented as Cairpre/Eochaid Riata. Not only is he the eponym of the Dál Riata, but he appears as the leading figure in the origin-legend current around 700⁷ (and probably in the tenth century)⁸ of the Dál Riata's settlement in Argyll. It would appear, therefore, that it was principally as members of the Dál Riata that the cenéla in Scotland had a shared political identity. The creation of Erc as opposed to Cairpre Riata as their immediate common ancestor thus provided them with a new political identity that, by definition, replaced the Dál Riata identity as the focus of political and social unity; a new political identity which had evolved from the earlier Dál Riata one, and had, in the process, travelled over a new political horizon, leaving the Dál Riata identity out of immediate view. This new political identity is, according to the titles of the Senchus and the Genelaig, the Fir Alban, who by the creation of Erc as their immediate common ancestor were brought together as a genealogically distinct group

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7. Bede, Ecclesiastical History of the English People I, i: Bannermen, Dalriada, 123.
 8. Ibid., mentions a saga of which only the title survives, Tochomlad Dáil Riatai i nAlbain, (Tochomlad, 'progress'). If Alba here originally meant 'Scotland', then the saga cannot be older than the tenth century; but, the fact that the saga has become well established in Ireland by the tenth century suggests that Alba in the title originally meant 'Britain', which would make the saga older than the tenth century, allowing it to be equated more easily with the Cairpre Riata origin-legend (as John Bannerman suggests).

(presumably) for the first time. This genealogical readjustment is, in fact, an element of what is a new origin-legend. The tenth-century editor has not only made Loarn and Óengus brothers of Fergus Mór mac Eirc, but (in a manifestly concocted passage)⁹ adds that six of Erc's twelve sons 'took possession of Scotland' (gabast Albain), while the other six remained in Ireland.¹⁰ The obvious contrast between this and the Cairpre Riata origin-legend is that it clearly purports to describe the beginnings of the Fir Alban, rather than of the Dál Riata in Argyll. This new origin-legend, therefore, confirms the implication of the new genealogical focus; that, according to the tenth-century editor, Fir Alban has replaced Dál Riata as the political identity shared by the cenéla of the Senchus. Indeed, their designation as Fir Alban in the title of the text and their portrayal as the conquerors of Scotland both make it clear that, to the editor at least, Fir Alban is the dominant and unifying political identity in Scotland. The significance of the tenth-century edition of the Senchus plus Genelaig text, then, is that it is the earliest surviving evidence for the idea of the 'Scottish people' as a focus of political identity. Indeed, its earliest appearance as a revision of material which (at least tacitly) belonged within the framework of the older Dál Riata identity suggests that the editor was probably in the vanguard of its articulation.

9. Ibid., 118-21.

10. Senchus, 11.2-6; Bannerman, Dalriada, 41.

The Senchus, of course, is not a simple 'X son of Y son of Z' pedigree. There are, however, some medieval Gaelic texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots which present it in the more conventional linear fashion. These texts of the Genealogy appear in the Genelaig and in other (briefer) compilations of Scottish royal genealogical material, which, like the Genelaig, can now only be found in Irish manuscripts. The only significant area of disagreement among them is in the section of the Genealogy from Eochaid Muinremuir to Cairpre/Eochaid Riata, where two entirely different versions are witnessed. I hope to show that one version represents a rewriting of the other, and that this rewriting provides further evidence concerning the development of the idea of the 'Scottish people' as a central political identity. It is necessary, therefore, to demonstrate that both versions originate in Scotland, and, moreover, to show that they are not simply the products of two different 'schools', so that one version is, indeed, a revision of the other. In order to do this the source(s) for each Gaelic manuscript of the Genealogy must be established, as well as their chronological relationship to each other.

There are five medieval Gaelic ^{texts}~~manuscripts~~ of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, each of which is found as part of Irish manuscript compendia of genealogical material. The earliest extant ^{text}~~manuscript~~ of the Genealogy, which I will refer to as 'R', appears in

Rawlinson B.502¹¹ (otherwise the Book of Glendalough) written in Leinster c.1130.¹² The next extant ~~manuscript~~^{text} is found in the Book of Leinster,¹³ written as part of its genealogical compendium by Aed Ua Crimthainn, Abbot of Terryglass (ob. 1168), probably before 1161.¹⁴ The remaining ~~manuscripts~~^{texts} of the Genealogy appear within the principal ~~manuscripts~~^{extant texts} of the Genelaig Albanensium,¹⁵ which are found in Trinity College, Dublin, H.2.7 (1928), dating from the middle of the fourteenth century,¹⁶ which I will refer to as 'H'; the Book of Ballymote,¹⁷ compiled between 1384 and 1406, which I will refer to as 'B'; and the Book of Lecan,¹⁸ completed probably by 1418, which I will refer to as 'Lc'. In his discussion of the text-history of the Senchus plus Genelaig, John Bannerman shows¹⁹ that H represents the

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11. R.502.162c44-e27; CGH, 328-30.
 12. P. Ó Riain, 'The Book of Glendalough or Rawlinson B.502', Éigse, xviii (1980-1), 263-76.
 13. LL.336a36-c21; CGH, 328-30nn., 426; The Book of Leinster viii (1983), ed. Anne O'Sullivan.
 14. W. O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster', Celtica, vii (1966), 1-31, at 27.
 15. The MSS of the Senchus and Genelaig text are fully discussed in Bannerman, Dalriada, 28-38. The edition (65-7) is based on H.
 16. Ibid., 31.
 17. BB.148c41-149c17.
 18. Lec.109vb34-110rc30.
 19. Bannerman, Dalriada, 33-5.

oldest extant form of the text, while B and Lc are derived from a common source written in the fourteenth century, which has translated more of the Senchus into Gaelic and displays some additional material in the Genelaig. It will be convenient, therefore, to take B and Lc together, and refer to them as the B.Lc text. There is some variation among these manuscripts of the Genealogy as to which branches of the main pedigree they describe and which kings head the stem and its off-shoots: the earliest is Dub mac Máel Coluim (King of Scots, 961-6) (with his brother Cináed, King 971-95); the latest is David I (1124-53); and, in between, pedigrees can be found headed variously by Constantin mac Cuiléin (995-7), Máel Coluim mac Cináeda (1005-34), Mac Beathad mac Findlaig (1040-57), and Máel Snechta mac Lulaig (rí Muireb,²⁰ ob. 1085). The contents of each text have been summarised in Appendix I, so as to facilitate comparison.

It can be shown that all these manuscripts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots have the tenth-century Senchus plus Genelaig as their source. This is obvious enough as far as H and B.Lc are concerned, of course; but it is not so immediately demonstrable with regard to R, which consists only of an extensive pedigree of Máel Coluim mac Cináeda with a branch headed by Máel Snechta which, in turn, has a branch headed by Mac Beathad. Fortunately, it is possible to use this Máel Snechta and Mac Beathad pedigree in R as evidence to show that the

20. So called by AU in his obit.

scribe of R has seen a text of the Genelaig.

This pedigree of Máel Snechta is found in the B.Lc text of the Genelaig. It does not appear in H, which suggests that it has been added to the Genelaig later than the stage in the text's development shared by H and B.Lc. It follows on immediately from the final pedigree in H, so that, as can be seen in the Appendix, it is separated by the Genelaig's seventh-century material from the more contemporary pedigrees headed in B.Lc by Constantin mac Cuiléin and David I. All together it looks rather as if it has been written originally into a gap at the end of a manuscript of the Genelaig. In B.Lc it reads:

B.149 c9	Maelsnechta	Lc.11Or c20	Maelsneachta
	m.lulaig		m.lulaich
	m.gilli comgain		m.gillichomgaill
	m.maelbrigde		m.mailbrigdi
	m.ruaidri		m.ruaidri
	m.morgaind	25	m.morgaind
15	m.domnaill mic cathmal		m.domnaill
	m.ruaidri mic aircellaich*		m.cathmail
	m.fercair fhoda		m.airchellaich ^x
		30	m.fearchair foda

* "air" is written suprascript

x "ambcellaich" written later in righthand margin.

'Aircellach' is clearly the Ainbcellach who heads the first Cenél Loairn pedigree in the seventh-century Genelaig.

Where the B.Lc text differs from R it appears that R has the earlier reading.²¹ Thus it gives Máel Snechta's grandfather, correctly,²² as Gille Comgain; it has a Domnall between Ruaidrí and Morgan, who has probably been dropped accidentally in B.Lc; for the "ainb" of Ainbcellach it reads "ail", which is more likely to be a misreading of "a(i)nb" than of "air", (while "air" in B.Lc is more likely to be a misreading of "ail" than of "a(i)nb"); and, finally, it gives the branch headed by Mac Beathad: no doubt it was written originally as Mac Beathad's pedigree, and has been rearranged as a result of being up-dated subsequently with the addition of Máel Snechta, with B.Lc then choosing to omit Mac Beathad's branch. R gives the pedigree back through Loarn Mór; B.Lc obviously intends the reader to do likewise by referring to the pedigree of Ainbcellach which it gives previously in the Cenél Loairn section of the seventh-century material.

Nothing so far suggests that R has taken Máel Snechta's pedigree from a text of the Genelaig from which the B.Lc text has been derived. The pedigree, however, is not just a simple account of biological reality. A close scrutiny of the text reveals that it is, in fact, a concoction. Suspicions are aroused when it is considered that Máel Brígte (Mac Beathad's uncle), who was already dead, presumably, when his sons killed his

21. Except that R omits the Domnall between Morgan and Cathmál (who is witnessed in L, and therefore must have appeared originally).

22. See p. 350, below.

brother Findleach in 1020,²³ is portrayed in the pedigree as being only seven generations (including the Domnall between Ruaidrí and Morgan) removed from Ainbcellach (King of the Dál Riata, 697-8),²⁴ who was killed in 719²⁵ (and whose brother Selbach retired into a monastery in 723 and died in 730).²⁶ According to the pedigree, therefore, some 300 years are covered by these seven generations. If you take 30 years per generation as a reasonable average, this is three generations short; or, to put it another way, it requires rather improbably an average of 43 years per generation, implying a remarkable descent through among the youngest in each of seven consecutive generations. The suspicion concerning the pedigree's authenticity is confirmed when it is realised that the four names it gives above Ainbcellach are almost identical to the first four names that appear in the Genelaig's second Cenél Loairn pedigree, which in H reads:²⁷

Mongan
 m.Domnaill
 m.Cathmai
 m.Ruadrach

Morgan is palaeographically very close to Mongan (and, indeed, probably represents the original seventh-century reading, bearing in mind that Mongan is (as far as I know)

23. ES i, 551; AU and AT 1020.

24. Anderson, KKES, 105.

25. ES i, 218; AU and AT 719.

26. ES i, 220, 227; AU and AT 723, AU 730.

27. Bannerman, Dalriada, 66, 11.91-4. B.Lc is similar.

unprecedented in Scotland, while Morgan, which is Scottish, is unlikely to have been known to Irish scribes);²⁸ Ruadrach is simply an older form of the genitive of Ruaidrí; while "Cathmai", which is unprecedented,²⁹ could possibly have originally read 'Cathmail', or more probably, has been amended due to its unfamiliarity. It is evident, therefore, that the bottom part of Máel Snechta's pedigree (originally headed by Mac Beathad) has been concocted by adding the first four names from the Genelaig's second seventh-century Cenél Loairn pedigree (amended to more conventional and modern forms) onto the first of the seventh-century Genelaig's Cenél Loairn pedigrees, headed by Ainbcellach. The remainder of the pedigree, upward from Domnall "mac Morgaind" (whom B.Lc has apparently omitted) is no doubt authentic: certainly, independent confirmation as far as Domnall's son Ruaidrí is found in the Annals of Ulster, which in 1029 record the death of 'Máel Coluim mac Máel Bríge mic Ruaidrí', and in 1032 the burning of his brother 'Gille Comgan mac Máel Bríge, mormaer of Moray', who is clearly Máel Snechta's grandfather.³⁰

The important point with regard to elucidating the source of R is that the pedigree has evidently been

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28. The embarrassment the name has caused to Irish scribes of the Genelaig is evident by their varied spellings: see Bannerman, Dalriada, 37. (The 'r' of B's Morgan is only a suprascript addition). This confusion obviously suggests that the original reading was unfamiliar to Irish eyes.
29. Lec.11Orb41 reads "Caithnia", BB.149b37 reads "Catnia": neither of these represent Cathnia, genitive Cathniad. Again, unfamiliarity seems to have bred confusion.
30. ES i, 571; AU and AT 1029, AU 1032.

concocted from material taken from the Genelaig. It is most unlikely that this concoction, initially of Mac Beathad's (and, later, Máel Snechta's) pedigree, represents their genealogy as it was known to them or their ollamh. We can be fairly sure that a kindred of Mac Beathad's stature had a genealogy tracing their descent back to an apical figure of the kindreds of Moray, and beyond. It is hardly credible, therefore, that his pedigree should have been re-written beyond as close an ancestor as Mac Beathad's great-grandfather, thereby jettisoning well-established genealogical (and therein political) relationships with kindreds in Moray, who would, no doubt, have traced their descent from ancestors of Mac Beathad remoter than Domnall "mac Morgáind". It is equally hard to believe that Domnall could have been portrayed as the apical ancestor of the 'men of Moray'. Furthermore, if the intention behind the re-casting of Mac Beathad's pedigree was to make him appear to be of the Cenél Loairn (and it is difficult to see what other design was intended), then this would normally, and less drastically, have been achieved by adding the necessary names at, or near, the end of his already established genealogy. The concoction, therefore, does not look like an example of politically-motivated genealogical reconstruction, and cannot, thereby, be accepted readily as Scottish in origin. Of the principal extant texts of the Genelaig, it appears in B.Lc but not in H. H and B.Lc are both derived from an Irish manuscript of the tenth-century Senchus plus Genelaig text, so that it is clear that Mac Beathad's pedigree was

introduced into the Genelaig in Ireland. All the evidence, therefore, points irresistibly to the conclusion that it was concocted by an Irish scholar using an Irish text of the Genelaig, into which, at the same time, he wrote it. Because he evidently knew Mac Beathad's lineage as far as his great-grandfather, he no doubt also knew key features of Mac Beathad's ancestry, such as to what cenél he belonged, and even from what king he based his claim to the kingship.³¹ It is easy to see the concoction, therefore, as simply an attempt by an Irish interpolator to fill a gap in his detailed knowledge. It would appear, then, that his information included the fact that Mac Beathad was of the Cenél Loairn, and possibly that he was a descendant of Ferchar Fota and/or³² Ainbcellach, who were late seventh-century kings of Dál Riata; as well as each degree of Mac Beathad's descent as far as Domnall. It would be natural for him, then, to turn to the Cenél Loairn material in his copy of the Genelaig in order to supply the missing generations in his account of Mac Beathad's pedigree. He appears to have synchronised it in order to make Mac Beathad one more generation removed from Erc than Constantin mac Cuiléin and Máel Coluim mac Cináeda in the Genelaig's account of their pedigrees,³³ no doubt

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31. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish Regnal Succession: a Reappraisal', Studia Hibernica, xi (1971), 7-39, at 38-9.
32. There is some doubt about the authenticity of the record of Ferchar's reign in the king-lists: see Anderson, KKES, 111-2, 179.
33. It will be shown (below, p.357) that Máel Coluim headed the second pedigree when Mac Beathad's pedigree was written into the Genelaig. The Genelaig's pedigree omits Eochaid mac Echach, father of Áed Find: see Anderson, KKES, 239.

in recognition of the fact that Mac Beathad was later than they.

Whatever the precise circumstances, it is evident that this pedigree of Mac Beathad (and, later, Máel Snechta) originated in an Irish manuscript of the Senchus plus Genelaig text. Its appearance in R thus becomes good evidence for the use of the Genelaig by R's scribe.

Máel Snechta's pedigree, with a branch headed by Mac Beathad, appears also in L, where it shares with R all those differences compared to B.Lc which, I suggested, shows that R used a text of the pedigree older than B.Lc's. There are more indications than Máel Snechta's and Mac Beathad's pedigree which show that the scribe of L (Áed Ua Crimthainn) has used the Genelaig. Thus, he quotes verbatim a sentence from the Genelaig on the four principal cenéla of the Dál Riata in his account of pedigrees branching from the main stem of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots; while, in his account of the genealogies of the saints, he has transformed a pedigree headed by Berchán 'prophet, bishop, and poet',³⁴ by attaching it to a pedigree of Ainbcellach which he must have taken from the Genelaig.

The scribes of the extant Gaelic manuscripts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, therefore, have all

34. LL.350e12-55. The edition in the Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae, ed. Padraig Ó Riain (1985), 34 (§201), gives the previous version of this pedigree, which makes it clear that it is Áed Ua Crimthainn who has altered it and attached to Ainbcellach's pedigree: Áed Ua Crimthainn in LL substantially revised the Corpus of saints' genealogies; ibid., xixf.

evidently made use of the Senchus plus Genelaig text. It is necessary, however, to be more precise about what, if any, other sources of the Genealogy they used, and thereby, what they were able to glean from their texts of the Genelaig, in order to examine the relationship between the two versions of the section between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid/Cairpre Riata which they witness. To do this, it is necessary at this juncture to give the different readings of this section of the Genealogy.

What I will call 'Version I' appears in the first pedigree of all the texts of the Genelaig, where it is always headed by Constantin mac Cuiléin; a fragment appears in a note in Rawlinson B.502 (144g17-8) on the descent of Muirecht, a wife of Lóegaire mac Néill NoíGiallaig; and it can be found at the end of this section of the Genealogy as it appears in R:

	VERSION I	
H (similarly in B.Lc)	R.502.144g	R
m.Echac(h) Munremair	m.Echach Muinremair	m.Echdach M.
m.Oengusa	m.Oengusa	m.Oengusa Fir
m.Fergusua Ulaig	m.Fergusua	m.Feideilmid
m.Fiachach Tathmail	m.Fiachach Cathamail	m.Oengusa
m.Fedlimid Lamdoit		m.Feideilmid
m.Cingi		m.Cormaicc
m.Guaire		m.Croithluithe

(contd.)

H
(similarly in
B.Lc)

R.502.144g

R

m.Cindtai

m.Find Feicce

m.Corpri Rigfhotai

m.Achir

(Version II) ↑

m.Echdach

(Version I) ↓

m.Fiachach

m.Feidelmid

m.Cincce

m.Guaire

m.Cintae

m.Coirpri Rig.

What I will call 'Version II' can (largely) be found in the top part of this section of the Genealogy in R (above); it appears in the second pedigree of the Genelaig in B.Lc (where it is headed by David I); it appears in its complete form in L's main stem of the Genealogy; and, finally, it is also found in Áed Ua Crimthainn's concocted pedigree of Berchán (LL.350e12-55):

N.B. Brackets denote glosses; and the first six lines of L are now illegible - the readings have been taken from the facsimile as edited in CGH.

VERSION II

Lc. (Similarly in B)	L	LL.350e
m.Echach Munreamair	m.Echach Muinremar	m.Echach Munremuir
m.Aengusa	m.Oengusa	m.Oengusa Fir
m.Feidlimid Aislingthi	m.Feidlimthi	m.Feidlimid Asling- thig
m.Aengusa Buaidnich	m.Fergusua	m.Oengusa Bugnig
m.Feidlimid	m.Feidlimthi	
m.Senchormaic	m.Senchormaic	m.Senchormaic
m.Laith Luaithi	m.Cruithluthi	m.Cruithluthi
	m.Find Feicce	m.Find Fecci (.i. Ramand)
m.Aithir	m.Achir Chirr	m.Achir Chirr
m.Echach Antoit	m.Echach Antoit	m.Fiachrach (.i. Antoit)
m.Fiachach Tathmail 7rl-	m.Fiachrach (.i. Cathmail)	m.Cathmail
	m.Echach Riatai is e-side Carpre Rigfota	m.Echach Riata qui est Carpre Rigfota a quo Dal Riada

Because Version I always appears in the first pedigree of the Genelaig, both in H and in B.Lc, it evidently belonged to the tenth-century Senchus plus Genelaig text. The incomplete appearance of Version II in B.Lc (but not in H), tacked on to the second of the Genelaig's pedigrees as an alternative to the 'established' Version I of the first pedigree, looks very much like a later addition to the Genelaig. B.Lc takes Version II only as far as

Eochaid Antoit, replacing his father Fiachra Cathmál with the very similar Fiachu Tathmál of Version I: 'Fiachra Cathmál mac Echach Riata' - which, as will become clear, appears to be the genuine reading of Version II - is thus forgotten, probably by being taken as a syncopation of Version I's detail from Fiachu to Cairpre (= Eochaid Riata). Perhaps this (and B.Lc's omission of the odd name and epithet) could be explained as the consequence of Version II being added to a manuscript of the Genelaig originally as a marginal gloss where there was not quite enough space. Anyone reading B.Lc's second pedigree would thus naturally read from the Fiachu Tathmál, with which its incomplete Version II ends, on to Fedelmid, father of Fiachu Tathmál in the first pedigree, and so on according to Version I right on to 'Cairpre Rigfota' rather than Version II's preferred 'Eochaid Riata'. This is exactly what the scribe of R has done: he has copied the second pedigree, giving Version II as far as Eochaid Antoit, and then continued with Version I from Fiachu (Tathmál) copied from the first pedigree. It is apparent from this, therefore, that all R's Genealogy of the Kings of Scots material (main stem and branches) has been taken from a manuscript of the Senchus plus Genelaig.

The main pedigree of the Genealogy in R (in which both Versions are combined) is headed by Máel Coluim mac Cináeda. It seems, therefore, that (like H) its source-text of the Genelaig had Máel Coluim mac Cináeda heading its second

pedigree (rather than his great-great-grandson David as in B.Lc): no doubt R's scribe preferred the second pedigree to the first (headed by Constantin mac Cuiléin) in recognition of the fact that, up to his time of writing in the early twelfth century, the lineage descended from Máel Coluim had produced many kings, but Constantin's had yielded none. It is clear from R, then, that Version II as it appears in the B.Lc text of the Genelaig has been added to the Genelaig before Máel Coluim mac Cináeda's pedigree was extended to David I. R's Genelaig source-text must have contained the Mac Beathad/Máel Snechta pedigree, as we have seen already; every indication, however, suggests that Version II was not added to the Genelaig at the same time as this pedigree: Version II is attached to another pedigree, and Mac Beathad's pedigree is a concoction composed around only the bare essentials of his descent, and thus was clearly not taken from a step-by-step copy of his genealogy such as would have detailed the section between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid/Cairpre Riata. Presumably Version II was added to the Genelaig from a complete text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots headed by a (more-or-less) contemporary king, whom you would expect to have been added to the Genelaig's pedigree of his lineage (as David and Máel Snechta were). This being so, the fact that Máel Coluim mac Cináeda was evidently the latest King

of Scots (barring Mac Beathad and Máel Snechta)³⁵ who appeared in R's source-text of the Genelaig suggests that Version II (at the latest) was added to the Genelaig from a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots belonging to the period of Máel Coluim's reign, 1005-34. This requires that H, whose second pedigree is also headed by Máel Coluim, is derived from a manuscript of the Genelaig that included Version II tacked on to Máel Coluim's pedigree. The lack of Version II in H would then have to be seen as the result of an intermediate source of H ignoring it: this is not improbable if, as seems likely, Version II originally appeared as a marginal gloss, representing an alternative to the 'established' Version I of the Genelaig's first pedigree.

This does not, however, adequately explain the source of L's Version II, which is noticeably fuller than Version II in B.Lc and R. There can be little doubt, though, that L's reading of 'Fiachra Cathmal mac Echach Riata' (and the epithets that appear in Áed Ua Crimthainn's pedigree of Berchán) represent a genuine rendering of Version II: all these readings can be found in the Latin texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, which are

35. The addition of Máel Snechta to the Genelaig implies that he was taken to be a rí Alban: it is not impossible that Máel Snechta was, indeed, for a time King of Scots (but presumably not after 1078, when Máel Coluim mac Donnachada inflicted a crushing set-back on him: SAEC, 100). If, for instance, he had been king for a short period during (say) Máel Coluim's first decade, then it is conceivable that the Scottish king-lists (which all derive from a source-text not earlier than c.1099) have forgotten it, or deliberately tidied it away in Máel Coluim's favour.

indubitably Scottish in origin and apparently all derive from David I's inaugural Genealogy.³⁶ Thus, the Poppleton manuscript of the Genealogy - which is the nearest extant text to this Scottish 1124 original - reads:³⁷

Poppleton MS	A Partial Reconstruction of the Original.
f.Echach Muinremuir	m.Echach Muinremuir
f.Oengusaphir	m.Oengusa Fir
f.Fedilinte Aislingig	m.Fedilmthe Aislingig
f.Oengusabuiding	m.Oengusa Buidnig
f.Fedilinter Uamnaich	m.Fedilmthe Ruamnaich
f.Senchormaic	m.Sen Chormaic
f.Cruithinde	m.Cruithluide
f.Find Fece	m.Find Fece
f.Achircir	m.Achir Cir
f.Achachantoit	m.Echach Antoit
f.Fiachrachcathmail	m.Fiachrach Cathmail
f.Echdachriada	m.Echdach Riada

If Áed Ua Crimthainn (L's scribe) had used only a manuscript of the Genelaig for his account of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, then he would surely have given Version II only as far as Eochaid Antoit, made Fiachu Tathmál his father rather than Fiachra Cathmál, and continued from Fiachu according to Version I on to Cairpre Rigfota, not Eochaid Riata, - as in R and suggested by B.Lc. The

36. See pp. 284ff, 311.

37. The reconstruction is based on the readings in Chapter V, App. I.

fact that he has not done this, but has given Version II as it appears in Scottish texts of the Genealogy, suggests that the pedigree of David I which represents his main stem of the Genealogy (which includes Version II) was not derived from the Genelaig, but, rather, has been copied by him from a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots headed by David independent of the Genelaig. He has evidently used this text for Berchán's pedigree beyond Eochaid Muinremuir as well, for in both it and his pedigree for David he has "Morga" instead of Forggo. The epithets in the Version II of his Berchán pedigree and the Poppleton text which are absent from the Version II in B.Lc, R, and L, thus appear to have been derived from this independent text of David's pedigree. This text no doubt originated in Scotland, and in all probability it is closely related to the other Scottish texts of the Genealogy which were headed by David that can be traced. Indeed, it is tempting to identify it with what I have called the W text of the Genealogy (dated ?1125), which includes the phrase after Eochaid Riata [is]e-side Cairpre Rigfota.³⁸

L's main stem of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots is thus, apparently, derived from a Scottish pedigree of David I. L's pedigrees which branch off it, however, are evidently taken from a manuscript of the Genelaig. As can be seen from Appendix I their arrangement conforms

38. See above, p. 315.

precisely with the Genelaig's. The only notable difference between the Genelaig (of H, its earliest extant form) and L is that the second pedigree (L's second branch-pedigree) is headed not by Máel Coluim mac Cináeda but by his father and uncle, Cináed and Dub. This, then, seems to be the only trace of a pre-Máel Coluim stage in the Irish text of the Genelaig. It is significant that it has evidently been found by L's scribe in a manuscript of the Genelaig that contained the addition of the Mac Beathad/Máel Snechta pedigree. This suggests that the tenth-century Genelaig text used by L and R (and the sources of H and B.Lc) was a single 'living' manuscript which was constantly being up-dated by the addition of glosses - a common enough medieval phenomenon. This being so, Máel Coluim no doubt would have been added initially as a gloss to his father and uncle's pedigree. This increases the probability that Version II was added, also as a gloss to this particular pedigree, from a text of the Genealogy headed by Máel Coluim (at the latest).

The existence of the pedigree of 'Cináed and Dub' in this 'living' manuscript of the tenth-century Senchus plus Genelaig text is the best evidence available for dating the arrival of this text in Ireland. The pedigree was probably not originally headed by both; Cináed, the later of the two, was thus no doubt an up-dating gloss. It is difficult to tell who has been added as a gloss in

the first pedigree of Constantin mac Cuilén. The order of the pedigrees cannot help, in that it no doubt reflects the arrangement of the Scottish original of the text, not the 'balance of power' at the time the text was copied in Ireland. Dub was preceded and succeeded by Constantin's grandfather and father respectively: their three reigns span the period 954x71. I would suggest, therefore, that the constantly up-dated 'living manuscript' of the Senchus and Genelaig text (from which source-texts of H and B.Lc were copied almost a century apart, and from which R and L derived Genealogy of the Kings of Scots material) originally had its first pedigree headed by either Illuilb or his son Cuilén, and its second pedigree headed by Dub. This suggests that it was a copy made in Ireland sometime between 954 and 971 of a (no doubt) Scottish manuscript of the text - possibly of the original of the tenth-century edition. The use of the manuscript of the Irish copy of 954x71 by two Leinster scribes, Áed Ua Crimthainn and the scribe of R working at Glendalough suggests that it was probably written in Leinster. If it was written in 954x71 then this in turn suggests a date for the original composition of the edition of the Senchus plus Genelaig that would tally with John Bannerman's proposal, on linguistic grounds, of the mid-tenth century.³⁹

39. Bannerman, Dalriada, 39.

All the medieval Irish manuscripts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, therefore, are exclusively derived from an Irish copy (954x71?) of the Genelaig, except L which has also used a (Scottish) pedigree of David I. All the manuscripts of Version I of the section of the Genealogy between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid/Cairpre Riata can, thus, be traced back to the mid-tenth-century Scottish edition of the Senchus plus Genelaig text. There should be no doubt, then, that Version I is Scottish in origin: after all, it describes an essentially Scottish piece of genealogy. Furthermore, the Genelaig's reading of the stretch of genealogy shared with kin-groups in Ireland - i.e. beyond Eochaid/Cairpre Riata - has characteristics which I have identified, in my discussion of the Latin texts, as being peculiar to Scottish texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. Thus, the Genelaig gives Conaire Mór mac Eterscéoil's grandfather and great-grandfather as Éogan and Ailill, a feature found (in similar genealogies) only in Scottish texts of the Genealogy.⁴⁰ Version I, therefore, represents the reading of a tenth-century Scottish text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. Version II's appearance in all the Latin texts of the Genealogy⁴¹ shows, at any rate, that it represents the reading of the Genealogy pertaining to the Scottish ollamh ríge in 1124.⁴² Both

40. See above, pp. 260-1.

41. See Chapter V, and its Appendix I, 11.27-36.

42. See above, pp. 284ff, 311.

Versions, therefore, can safely be identified as Scottish. Version II would no doubt have reached Ireland from Scone, where the ollamh ríghe is likely to have been based.⁴³ As far as Version I is concerned, the fact that it belongs to the original text of the tenth-century edition of the Senchus plus Genelaig suggests that it also came to Ireland from Scone: surely only someone at the centre of Scottish kingship would have had the authority or the inclination to undertake the fundamental genealogical revision, represented by the tenth-century edition, in which a new origin-legend and political identity is created for the dominant kindred(s). It should be no surprise that there were connections between Ireland and the centre of the emerging Scottish kingship: John Bannerman has informed me that his study of the Irish annals of this period⁴⁴ shows a steady level of contact between Scone and Ireland. Indeed, it has to be likely that both Versions were taken to Ireland by the ollamh ríghe himself, who in common with important members of the professional orders, would no doubt have travelled fairly extensively.

Both Versions, therefore, seem to come from the same "school". The only Scottish source-text that can be traced for Version I belongs to the mid-tenth century, while it is only after this date that the earliest Scottish source-text for Version II can be suggested.

43. See John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III', forthcoming.

44. John Bannerman, Studies in the History of Scotia, forthcoming.

It appears, therefore, that the section of the Genealogy from Eochaid Muinremuir to Eochaid/Cairpre Riata has been entirely re-written sometime after the mid-tenth century. Because the revised Genealogy (Version II) was the 'official' text in the twelfth century, and can be traced in all likelihood to David I's ollamh,⁴⁵ it seems clear that the rewriting is the work of a Scottish ollamh ríge: indeed, as one of his key functions was the maintenance of the 'official' text of the Genealogy, it is difficult to see who else would have had the authority to undertake such a substantial revision. At the latest, Version II seems to have been introduced into the Irish manuscript of the Genealog from a pedigree of Máel Coluim mac Cináeda: the revision of the Genealogy can, thus, be dated to before 1034. However, because Máel Coluim's father was, like himself, apparently added as a gloss to this manuscript, it is possible that Version II was entered into the Irish Genealog at this earlier stage, i.e. from a pedigree of Cináed mac Máel Coluim (King of Scots 971-95). I think that the ollamh ríge is only likely to have revised his text of the Genealogy on the occasion of a royal inauguration (at which he read it out as part of the ritual). I would propose, therefore, that Version II dates from 971x1005.

The intention behind the revision of this section of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots surely lies in the difference between the two Versions. At a superficial

45. See Chapter V, esp. p. 285f.

level, a striking difference is that, while Version I is equally divided between simple 'person' names that seem to be nothing more than that (such as Óengus), and person-names with an epithet added (such as Fergus Ulach, 'Bearded Fergus'), Version II has either names embellished with an epithet (e.g. Óengus Fír), or names which are entirely descriptive so that they are rather like an epithet without a name, as it were:

thus it has "Cruith-luithe" (genitive) which seems to be a combination of cruth, 'shapeliness/manner', and luth, 'vigour/power (athletic)';⁴⁶ "Find Fece" (L reads "Find Feicce") which is, no doubt, a form of find fec, 'white tooth' (or 'teeth'),⁴⁷ and "Achir C(h)ir" (genitive) which seems to be aicher, 'sharp/keen/fierce', cir, 'jet-black', i.e. 'keen jet-black (haired?)'.⁴⁸ None of these descriptive 'epithet-names' can be found elsewhere as simple person-names: they are not examples

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46. Unless otherwise informed, all the following definitions have been derived from the RIA Dictionary of the Irish Language. For cruithluithe to be grammatically correct it seems that it has to be an adjectival formation from cruth and luth which, thereby, is treated as an i stem: it could thus be genitive plural, perhaps meaning something like 'athletic-powers mannered (one)'.
 47. Taken as an i stem adjectival formation, this would seem to mean 'white-teethed (one)'. There is a case for regarding all these purely descriptive "names" as adjectival formations (with those derived from nouns treated as i stems): indeed, this seems to make much better sense. · Áed Ua Crimthainn, however, has not read it in this way, glossing fec with ramand, 'spade': in Ireland the word seems to have survived as a term for a spade-handle, while (going by Dwelly) it survived in Scotland meaning simply 'tooth'.
 48. The Irish texts give chirr, which looks more like the genitive of cerr, 'crooked/wry': the Poppleton MS's c(h)ír, however, looks more like the genitive of cir, which appears to make better sense.

of proper names which are simple adjectives.⁴⁹ The 'unepitheted' names in Version I, however, are either common straightforward names such as Óengus and Guaire or are names ("Cingi", "Cindtai"; both genitive) which were no doubt, straightforward personal names in their time.⁵⁰ Comparing the epithets used in each Version, it is apparent that those in the re-written pedigree are more ambitious and numerous than those in the older version. Thus, while Version I has ulach, 'bearded'; tathmál, 'rallying/uniting (of people(s))- 'prince'; and lamdoit, '...?.. hand';⁵¹ the new re-written version has fír, 'rightful/just/true'; aislingthech, 'dreamer/visionary'; buidnech, 'having troops/populous'; ruamnech, 'glorious, active';⁵² sen, 'old/ancient'; antoit, 'very ..?..';⁵³ and cathmál, 'battle-prince'. Clearly, therefore, the section from Eochaid Muinremuir to Eochaid/Cairpre Riata has been almost totally re-written in order to make it more impressive, even heroic.

It is quite common to find striking epithets attached to names in legendary sections of Gaelic

49. As in M.A. O'Brien, 'Notes on Irish Proper Names', *Celtica*, ix (1971), 212.

50. The former could be related to cing, 'warrior/champion'; the latter could be related to cinn, plural cinnta, 'levy/affection/respect/guilt'.

51. Doit can mean 'hand'; lam certainly does.

52. See D.S. Thomson, 'The Harlaw Brosnachadh: an Early Fifteenth-Century Literary Curio', in *Celtic Studies*, edd. J. Carney and D. Greene (1968), 147-69, at 162.

53. Toit can mean 'smell': could antoit here mean 'odourless'? Perhaps it is andoit, an epithet which seems to mean handless (i.e. possessing magical powers?: on this and the association of being without a hand or especially a foot with the single sandal of some royal inauguration rituals see Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The Topos of the Single Sandal in Irish Tradition', *Celtica*, x (1973), 160-6; and J.F. Killeen, 'Fer an Énais', *Celtica* (1971), 202-4 and M.A. O'Brien, 'Fer an énaís', *Celtica*, ii (1952-4), 351-3).

genealogies. Occasionally there are some names which (like Cruthluth) are purely descriptive, as if they were 'epithets without names'. Thus, deep in the pseudo-historical section of the Genealogy we find Óengus Turbech's grandfather "Fir Roid", whose father is "Fir Anroid",⁵⁴ i.e. Fer rod, 'fierce/strong man', and Fer anrod, 'very fierce/strong man'. Again, beyond Mil, we find⁵⁵ Glun find and his father Lam find, i.e. 'white knee' and 'white hand'. My impression, though, is that this re-written passage from Eochaid Muinremuir to Eochaid Riata provides a more sustained and coherent sequence of imagery than is found in other legendary genealogical material. The whole passage, indeed, can be read as a portrait of kingliness, and has been skilfully composed so that abstract qualities are presented as epithets qualifying straightforward personal names, while physical attributes are represented as simple 'unepitheted' personal names as if they were 'actual persons'. This is best illustrated if I tentatively provide a possible translation:

... son of Rightful Óengus, s.o. Visionary
 Fedelmid, s.o. Óengus of the troops, s.o.
 Glorious Fedelmid, s.o. Ancient Cormac, s.o.
 Shape-of-athletic-powers (one), s.o. White-
 teeth(ed)(one), s.o. Keen jet-black (haired)
 (one), s.o. ...?.. Eochaid, s.o. Fiachra battle-
 prince...

54. Chapter V, App. I, 11.63-4.

55. Chapter V, App. I, 11.114-5.

All these abstract qualities and physical attributes are obviously appropriate to a king in a Gaelic context, and can be equated easily with the medieval Gaelic view that the king should represent 'perfection' in body and soul as a concomitant to his central rôle as the protector of his people both from enemies in war by his prowess as a warrior and from dearth by his 'virtue' (fír). The qualities and attributes apparently described in this section of pedigree would surely not seem out of place in a panegyric poem. It would be fair to say, therefore, that this passage is essentially a piece of eulogistic literature, portraying and extolling the ideal of kingship. There is much here, it would seem, that would repay the attention of a scholar of Gaelic literature.⁵⁶

It should not be a surprise that the royal genealogy should be combined with such eulogistic material. One of the most important rôles of the ollamh ríge was to compose and recite a praise-poem at the inauguration of a new king.⁵⁷ This praise-poem seems to have been designed at the same time to extol the virtues of the new king as well as to present him with a model of kingliness which he was meant at least to aim to imitate. Invariably the model of kingliness was presented by referring to heroic figures in the new king's ancestry. At the inauguration the ollamh ríge also recited the royal

56. Perhaps as a Scottish prototype of the later bardic panegyric code, on which see John MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and its Historical Background', TGSL, 1 (1976-8), 435-98.

57. J.E.C. Williams, The Court Poet in Medieval Ireland (1971), 41f.

genealogy, which has been described⁵⁸ as the king's charter or title to the kingship. Both the general ideal of kingliness and the particular suitability of the king-to-be were expressed through the king's ancestry. It seems quite natural, therefore, that a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots should be used as a device not only for describing the new king's relationship to key figures in the nexus of political and kindred identities, and his relationship to heroic legendary figures, but also for portraying ideals of kingliness. However, I can think of no other example of a genealogy being re-written so extensively in order to introduce such panegyric material: clearly, this aspect of genealogical writing deserves to be studied more extensively.

This re-writing of the section of the pedigree between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid Riata into such a poetic portrait of kingliness is on its own a striking example of how a genealogy could be used by an ollamh, and provides important evidence for the perception and function of genealogy in medieval Gaelic society. Clearly, genealogy was much more complex than the simple record of biological reality. It is well known that it was also a means of defining kindreds, population-groups, and nationality, and of expressing how these related to each other. The revised pedigree

58. David N. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', in Early Medieval Kingship edd. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (Leeds, 1977), 72-104, at 73.

of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots shows that it also had the concomitant potential to express ideals of rulership, the focal-point of any population-group.

There can be little doubt that the upper part of a pedigree was understood essentially to represent biological reality. In Gaelic kin-based society, however, contemporary political reality seems to have been perceived as being inextricably bound-up with genealogy. Where such political considerations have influenced a genealogy (usually remote sections) it still appears to be presented as if it were a credible representation of actual biological ancestry. The historical significance of the re-writing of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid/Cairpre Riata, therefore, rests on the fact that genealogical material which could be taken as a record of biological descent has been replaced with material which includes improbable descriptive "names" that were surely never intended to be understood to be real individuals. In other words, Version I, which functions as an expression of a 'political relationship', has been jettisoned in favour of Version II, which functions as an expression of a 'political ideal'. This suggests that, by the late tenth century, it was no longer felt to be necessary for the Kings of Scots to have a pedigree which expressed a clear political relationship with people with whom their nearest common ancestor was beyond Eochaid Muinremuir.

Thus, the 'furthest-back' genealogical identity which is, apparently, perceived to be of real political relevance is their descent from Erc mac Echach Muinremuir - i.e. their identity as Fir Alban. This, therefore, is the ultimate political identity as far as the Kings of Scots are concerned, and the members of the polity of which they are the apex. This revision of the Genealogy can thus be seen to follow in the wake of the new origin-legend and common ancestry, centred on Erc, created in the tenth-century edition of the Senchus: the re-writing of this section of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots goes together with the tenth-century edition of the Senchus as evidence for the idea of the Fir Alban, the 'Scottish people', as an ultimate, central, political concept. Put simply in modern parlance, these tenth-century texts are evidence of the Scottish national identity. The fact that these earliest traceable expressions of the Scottish national identity are both revisions of older material suggests that the mature development of this political idea belongs at the earliest to the tenth century.

It seems that the revised section of the Genealogy has been carefully selected because Eochaid Riata is a particular ancestor of the Scots, so that the new panegyric version refers exclusively to the kingliness of the Kings of Scots. The continued importance of Eochaid Riata serves to emphasise that the remainder of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots continued to be a meaningful expression of genealogical links with all of Gaeldom, showing that the Fir Alban were thus, by definition, part of the wider Gaelic identity.

APPENDIX I: THE CONTENTS, AND THEIR ARRANGEMENT,
IN EACH MANUSCRIPT

<u>Senchus</u>	...H.....B.Lc.....
Pedigree of David (to Óengus Turbech)L..
Pedigree of Constantin mac Cuiléin (to Óengus Turbech)	...H.....B.Lc.....
(to Alpin)L..
Pedigree of Cináed and Dub (to Alpin)L..
Pedigree of Máel Coluim mac Cináeda (to Dedad)R.....
(to Alpin)	...H.....
Pedigree of David (to Fiachu Tathmál)B.Lc.....
Statement on 'the four chief <u>cenéla</u> of the Dál <u>Riata</u> ...'	...H.....B.Lc.....L..
The original <u>Genelaig</u> (697x8)	...H.....B.Lc.....
Pedigree of Máel Snechta (to Eochaid Muinremuir)R.....L..
(to Ferchar Fota)B.Lc.....
Pedigree of Mac Beathad (to Domnall/Morgan)R.....L..

APPENDIX II: THE DATING OF THE ORIGINAL GENELAIG

The bulk of the Genelaig consists of a group of early pedigrees introduced by the statement that 'there are four principal cenéla of the Dál Riata...'. One pedigree is given for each cenél, each under the title 'Genealogy of Cenél X', except for the Cenél Loairn who get two pedigrees. Few of the figures who head these pedigrees can be identified in other sources. Ainbcellach, who heads the first Cenél Loairn pedigree, was king of the Dál Riata in 697-8¹ and was killed in 719.² John Bannerman³ has identified the Congus who heads the Cenél nGabraín genealogy as the father of a Talorc who is defeated by the Picts in 731, and who hands over his brother to the Picts in 734, and of a Cu Bretan who died in 740:⁴ Congus, therefore, no doubt flourished around 710 or so. There is no reason to doubt that the other figures who head the remaining pedigrees were contemporaneous with Congus and Ainbcellach. Thus, "Mongan" (i.e. Morgan?) belongs to the same generation as Ainbcellach; and, apart from the Cenél Loairn genealogies, the longest pedigree belongs to Echtgach of the Cenél Comgail, who is seven generations from the eponymous Comgall, king of the Dál Riata from 506/7⁵ to his death (probably) in 538:⁶ taking 507 as a date for

1. See Anderson, KKES, 105.

2. ES i, 218; AU and AT 719.

3. Bannerman, Dalriada, 109.

4. ES, i, 228, 232, 236; AU and AT 731, 734, and AU 740.

5. See Anderson, KKES, 106-7, 136-7.

6. Ibid., 137 n.82.

the floruit of Comgall, and giving 27 years for each generation, then this implies that Echtgach flourished around 696.⁷

It is possible, however, to suggest a more precise date for the original composition of the Genelaig. The key consideration is that Ainbcellach would only have headed the first Cenél Loairn pedigree when he was the head of the cenél. His father, Ferchar Fota, died in 697, and is accorded a reign of 21 years as king of the Dál Riata;⁷ he is the first member of the Cenél Loairn to be mentioned in the Irish annals, where he is described leading the Cenél Loairn to defeat against the Britons in 678. It has to be likely that Ferchar Fota continued to lead the Cenél Loairn from 678 to his death. Ainbcellach, therefore, would not have headed a Cenél Loairn pedigree before 697. He must surely have been head of the Cenél Loairn during his reign as king of the Dál Riata, 697-8. His reign ended when he was 'expelled' and taken captive to Ireland:⁹ in such circumstances it must be doubted whether he continued to head the Cenél Loairn. Certainly, his brother Selbach appears to have been king of the Dál Riata from c.700 to 723;¹⁰ and is found in the annals destroying Dun Ollaigh in 701, and thus apparently crushing the Cenél Cathbath, a kindred of the Cenél Loairn;¹¹

7. This takes into account the generation possibly omitted in the Genelaig which appears in the Senchus. Anderson, KKES, 161, guesses that Echtgach flourished in "750 or later".

8. Perhaps mistakenly: see Anderson, KKES, 111-2, 179.

9. ES i, 206; AU 698.

10. Anderson, KKES, 105, 112.

11. ES i, 207; AU 701; Bannerman, Dalriada, 110.

seiging "Aberte"¹² in 712;¹³ and rebuilding Dun Ollaigh in 714.¹⁴ In 719 two sons of Ferchar Fota (obviously Ainbcellach and Selbach) fought the battle of Finnglen in which Ainbcellach was slain.¹⁵ It appears, therefore, that Selbach was in control of the Cenél Loairn certainly from 701, and probably from 698; and that the battle of Finnglen should, thus, be interpreted as an abortive attempt by Ainbcellach to regain his position. All in all, then, it seems that the only period in which Ainbcellach could have appeared at the head of the Genealogy of the Cenél Loairn is 697-8. As far as one can tell, this is an acceptable date for the other figures that head the pedigrees of the original Genealaig. It appears, therefore, that the original Genealaig was composed between 697 and 698.

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12. Probably Dunaverty: see W.J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (1926), 237.
 13. ES 1, 213; AU 712.
 14. ES 1, 215; AU and AT 714.
 15. ES 1, 218; AU and AT 719.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

According to my survey of Scottish texts before Fordun concerned with the Scottish origin-legend (the conclusions of which are summarised briefly in the Appendices to this chapter), there is enough evidence to suggest that there was a continuous interest at the highest levels in the Scottish origin-legend from the tenth to the fourteenth century. The text-history behind the surviving accounts, in Fordun, Bower, Wyntoun, and the Scalacronica, can be traced back through the thirteenth century, and links up with the text-history behind the extant texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, a text-history which suggests that the most learned in the Kingdom of the Scots before the twelfth century held significantly similar views to those in later centuries concerning Scottish origins. Furthermore, there is evidence which seems to suggest that there was also a continuous interest in at least the rudiments of the origin-legend among the 'politically conscious'. My discussion of Scottish texts concerned with the Scottish origin-legend, summarised in the Appendices, has, admittedly, been unable to offer consistently the security of water-tight conclusions. If, however, its conclusions are at least the fruits of a reasonable balance of probability, it should be possible to use this material to reconstruct the salient

features of Scottish political identity before the Wars of Independence. Before discussing the origin-legend within the context of political ideas and identity, however, I propose to assess the evidence which the legend provides with regard to medieval Scottish historiography.

The key elements on which almost all of the traceable Scottish accounts of Scottish origins are agreed are the identification of Gáedel as the first leader of the Scoti; his marriage to Scota, daughter of Pharaoh; their journey from Egypt to Spain; and then the settlement of the Scoti in Ireland. Only in much abbreviated accounts (usually post 1300) are any of these elements missing. Gáedel is often said to come from Greece; Scotia is frequently said to be named after Scota (while the Scoti are always defined as descendants of Gáedel and Scota); and most accounts, no doubt, described some of the Scoti in Ireland settling in Scotland. I have noticed¹ that these regular features conform to the same basic story as in the accounts of Gaelic origins found in such relative profusion in medieval Irish texts, but that some of these features are unique to Scottish texts. They can, thus, be said to represent the fundamental elements of what can be described as a 'Scottish version' of the Gaelic origin-legend.

There are signs that Scottish texts of the Gaelic

1. Above, pp. 22, 73.

origin-legend contain some very old material. I have commented in Chapter Five² on the possibility that the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil' section of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots represents one of the earliest traceable stages in the development of the christian Gaelic pseudo-historical construct, and probably belongs (at the latest) to the seventh century, and possibly to Iona. It is significant, therefore, that the Gáedel/Éber legend, derived from a Life of St. Brandán, agrees with it in the uncommon detail of making Éber the son of Gáedel.

The Gáedel/Éber legend, furthermore, is unique among versions of the Gaelic origin-legend in making an Éber the sole leader of the Scoti from Spain to Ireland: this rôle is otherwise given (in Irish texts)³ to the sons of Mil Espáine, notably Éremón and Éber who divide Ireland between them. It has long been recognised⁴ that the notion of the Scoti settling in Ireland from Spain was motivated by the fact that the names Hibernia and Iberia are irresistibly similar: St. Columbanus (ob.615) thus employed Iberi in the sense of Hibernia.⁵ It has also been noted⁶ that Éber has been taken from Eberus, the Hiberno-Latin form of Hibernus/(Hiberus). Clearly, the description of Éber leading the Scoti from Spain to Ireland looks

2. Above, pp. 268-9.

3. As far as I know, without exception from the seventh-century Leinster genealogical poems (see below, p. 385. to the Lebor Gabála and beyond.

4. Eoin Mac Neill, Phases of Irish History (1919), 91.

5. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 195 n.2.

6. Ibid., 195.

compellingly like an early, indeed original, element in the Gaelic origin-legend, concocted in the same spirit as so much of the rest of the earliest elements of the legend by extrapolating from any suggestive details that could be found in the Latin christian learning within which it was felt a history of the Gáedil needed to be constructed. In comparison with the notion of making Éber, whose name so succinctly represents this 'link' between Ireland and Spain, the sole character in this stage of the legend, the more common Irish accounts where Éber has to share the limelight with at least one brother, Éremón (whose name may bear a relationship with Ériu),⁷ looks rather like a version where the neatness of the original has been distorted by an accretion of detail: while it is not difficult to imagine how, in the process of concocting a christian Latin history for the Gáedil, a single appropriately named ancestor was all that was felt to be necessary, it is equally easy to see how fertile this key episode of the first Gáedel to reach Ireland could be for being made, later, to represent a perceived division of Ireland. This the dual leadership of Éremón and Éber clearly does with regard to the two 'halves' of Leth Cuinn and Leth Moga: indeed, the multiple landings that this requires⁸ betrays all the awkwardness

7. Ibid., 195-6.

8. They land initially as a body at Inber Scéne; then they go north where Érerón lands, and return south back to Inber Scéne where Eber finally lands: see O'Rahilly, EIHM, 197f.

of a later accretion. Significantly, only the initial landing ^{-site} ~~is at a site which~~ has evidently been extrapolated from an early christian text (Orosius),⁹ suggesting again that originally only a single landing, and thereby a single leader, was described.

This original leader must, therefore, have been Éber. On the face of it, however, it is not clear whether he was Éber mac Gáedil, as uniquely in the Scottish Gáedel/Éber legend, or Éber mac Miled, as in Irish texts. Mil Espáine, as has long been recognised,¹⁰ is derived from miles Hispaniae, and could, thus, have been concocted simply in order to provide Éber with a father: if this was the original version, however, then it does not presuppose that the legend at that time consisted of any pre-Spanish stages. The most convincing evidence in support of the Gáedel/Éber legend representing the original version of this episode is the not infrequent reference to Éber mac Gáedil as "Éber Scot".¹¹ This epithet can only be explained by supposing that Éber mac Gáedil was originally portrayed as the first Scotus to arrive in Scotia, Ireland, (and thus potentially, like Mil, the ancestor of all the Scoti).

If the Gáedel/Éber version of the Gaelic origin-legend represents the original (or at least very early)

9. Eoin Mac Neill, Phases of Irish History (1919), 93-5.

10. E.g., O'Rahilly, EIHM, 195.

11. LG ii, 16, (36), 66.

recension of the legend with regard to the migration from Spain to Ireland, then this suggests that some of its other detail may also be very early, if not original. Thus, for instance, the episode of Ireland being sighted first from Brigantia has been identified¹² as being derived from passages in Orosius, and thus looks, by its method of concoction, to be another very early detail. Thus, one is immediately struck by the neat simplicity of Gáedel, Gaelic eponym of the Gáedil, marrying Scota, Latin eponym of the Gáedil, and having as their son Éber Scot, the first Scotus to inhabit Scotia: there is a clear logic here which looks irresistibly like the original design of the concocted pseudo-history. Furthermore, Gáedel, by his name, fits naturally into the rôle of the 'first leader', according to the Gáedel/Éber legend, who reaches Spain from where, in a touch no doubt deliberately reminiscent of Moses, he is the first to spy the 'promised land' of Ireland only to die before he can set foot there himself; and, of course, it seems only natural that Éber, who (as I have noted) so well fits his rôle, should be portrayed as Gáedel's son and complete the exodus. The simple clarity of purpose in this construction has all the appearance of the first pristine conception of a deliberately christian account of Gaelic origins.

12. Eoin Mac Neill, *op.cit.*, 93-4 : see also Rolf Baumgarten, 'The Geographical Orientation of Ireland in Isidore and Orosius', Peritia, iii (1984), 193-207.

It is noteworthy that the Scottish Gáedel/Éber legend is the only account which features Éber mac Gáedil by himself in the episode connecting Ireland and Spain, and is also the only account where all these elements modelled on Moses are attributed to a single character. Furthermore, it is only in other Scottish accounts that we find Gáedel portrayed as the first leader, and "founding father", of the Gáedil; while it is rare, except again in other Scottish accounts, to find Gáedel described as Scota's husband. It is far more common in Irish texts (notably the Lebor Gabála) to find Nél or Mil Espáine as the husband of Scota, and Íth, uncle of Mil, as the first to spot Ireland from Brigancia: neither Nél nor Mil fully match the rôle of Gáedel as a 'founding father'. These Irish accounts, therefore, look very much like later developments that have rather dissipated the portrayal of Gáedel as the Moses of the Gáedil, which must have been a key element in the original intention of giving the Gáedil an exodus parallel to that of the Children of Israel.¹³ Indeed, in the versions where Nél or Mil is described as Scota's husband, Gáedel is left doing nothing of consequence, which can hardly have been originally meant for the eponym. Occasionally, Gáedel is described in Irish texts as 'our father',¹⁴ emphasising how he must in previous versions have been

13. As suggested by R.A.S. Macalister: LG i, xxvii.

14. LG i, 196: or 'our ancestor', LG i, 36.

given a more prominent rôle in the legend's plot. It has been suggested¹⁵ that Néil's prominence is due to his being regarded as a (pseudo-) eponym of the Uí Néill, implying that it was a later development. As far as Mil Espáine is concerned, his name clearly indicates that he was originally conceived with regard to the Spanish episode alone: he frequently appears in Irish texts (e.g. the first redaction of the Lebor Gabála)¹⁶ as not much more than the father of Éremón and Éber. He is, therefore, not in his original position when he appears in the pre-Spanish stages of the legend: his portrayal as the ancestor of the Gáedil in the Éber/Éremón version could have caused him eventually to be confused with Gáedel himself.

All in all, therefore, it appears that the Gáedel/Éber account in our Scottish texts represents, in the main, a very early recension of the Gaelic origin-legend, much of whose detail can, indeed, lay claim to being original, concocted from Orosius, the Bible, some straight-forward eponyms, and the similarity between the names Hibernia and Iberia. If the presence of Éremón mac Miled in the earliest genealogies in the late seventh century¹⁷ suggests a knowledge of Éremón and Éber sons of Mil Espáine, then the Gáedel/Éber legend must be at least as old as the seventh century: clearly, this Scottish evidence provides important material for the scholar of the early Gaelic origin-

15. A.G. van Hamel, 'On Lebor Gabála', ZCP, x (1915), 97-197, at 143.

16. LG v, 10ff., continuing from LG ii, 32.

17. On which see above, pp. 263ff: CGH, 4, 6 (R502.115b42, 116b8).

legend. Furthermore, the consistent portrayal of Gáedel as the founding father of the Scoti and husband of Scota in apparently all the surviving Scottish texts of the Gaelic origin-legend seems, therefore, to be very old, suggesting that the Gaelic origin-legend, as well as the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil', has a long continuous history in Scotland stretching back to over seven centuries before Fordun. Conceivably, this continuous history represents a distinct Scottish tradition (at least latterly) within the Gaelic cultural province, a tradition (or school) perhaps characterised by conservatism: the only notable Irish text which describes Gáedel and Scota as husband and wife is the Saltair na Rann,¹⁸ which appears to have been interpolated later than the tenth century by a Scot.¹⁹ Given the general survival in Scotland of such old elements, it is not necessary to argue that the Life of St. Brandán from which the surviving texts of the Gáedel/Éber legend are derived has to be as old as the seventh (or eighth) centuries:

18. Lines 3993-6.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hiberniae, III, vii. (Opera Omnia v, 147) describes Gáedel as Scota's husband. Perhaps this can be taken as evidence to suggest that a version of the legend featuring Gáedel was known in Ireland in the twelfth century. There has to be a formal possibility, however, that he derived this information from Scotland. It follows his account of the 'takings of Ireland' and precedes his observation that the Scots came from Ireland and share the same language and culture with the Irish.

19. Gearóid S. Mac Eoin, 'The Date and Authorship of Saltair na Rann', ZCP, xxviii (1960-1), 51-67, at 59-60.

it is notable that the rare detail of portraying Éber Scot as Gáedel's son is shared by the Gáedel/Éber legend and all the texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. This ancient recension could have remained current in Scotland (among newer versions, such as the 'Sons of Mil' recension) long after it had been lost in Ireland (if indeed it was ever established beyond, say, the parúchia of Iona). The same may even be true for the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend, which I suggested²⁰ could relate originally to a non-Goidelic population group (and thus be potentially older). The persistence of such old material consistently in Scotland, and the survival there of the Gáedel/Éber version with so many potentially original features, when taken with the evident antiquity of the version of the 'Genealogy of the Gáedil' in the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, points towards Iona as playing a crucial rôle in the early development of the Gaelic origin-legend, and thereby the articulation of Gaelic identity within a christian context. This matches Iona's evident pioneering rôle in chronography, notably in the keeping of annals,²¹ as well as in political theory.²² This background could explain the self-confidence which would have sustained, or at least launched, what I have perceived

20. Above, p. 124.

21. A.P. Smyth, 'The Earliest Irish Annals: their First Contemporary Entries, and the Earliest Centres of Recording', PRIA, lxxii C (1972), 1-48, at 36ff.

22. E.g., the inauguration of Aedan mac Gabráin (Adomnan, Columba, 107af.). On Adomnan's ideas of imperium, see F.J. Byrne, The Rise of Uí Neill and the High-kingship of Ireland, 6-7.

to be a distinct Scottish school of Gaelic historiography.

My survey of Scottish origin-legend accounts has suggested that Gaelic historiography concerned with articulating political identity continued to be active in the East of Scotland through to the mid thirteenth century (probably in close association with the kingship itself) as it^s witnessed in particular by the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum' and the origin-legend synthesis used by Fordun: I have suggested that both were probably written by the ollamh ríge. Furthermore, there are other traceable works of Gaelic political historiography apart from this origin-legend material. Marjorie Anderson has pointed out²³ that the annotated king list from Cináed mac Alpin, which she dates to c.1105x65,²⁴ and which was used in 1165 or soon after in the common source of all the surviving 'Latin lists', was no doubt written by a Gael in that place-names are given in Gaelic (as well as mac being consistently used rather than filius). I would suggest, moreover, that the very form of this annotated king-list is Gaelic. After giving the name and reign-length of each king it gives some details on their death (noticing at least where they died) and place of burial (invariably Iona). It is, therefore, strikingly similar to some Irish king-lists

23. Anderson, KKES, 51.

24. Ibid., 52.

which (apart from name and reign-length) likewise concern themselves only with the circumstances of each king's death: some twelfth-century examples of this type of list are the metrical list of Leinster kings by Gilla na Náem Ua Duinn (ob.1160), Cúiced Lagen na lecht rí²⁵ and the list, dated to c.1165, of kings of the Ulaid in the poem Clann Olloman uaisle Emna.²⁶ In his edition of the latter, Francis John Byrne characterises these two metrical lists as "a series of summarised aideda":²⁷ I would argue that this represents a particular genre of king-list characteristic of Gaelic historiography. Perhaps the annotated king-list from Cináed, as we have it now, represents a prose Latin translation, by the scribe of the 1165x source of the 'Latin lists', of an originally Gaelic poem list.

If, as E.J. Cowan has argued persuasively,²⁸ this list from Cináed is the origin of the idea that Scottish kings were customarily buried at Iona, then this possible poem-list could have been originally written in connection with the last 'unusual' detail which it notices, namely the transfer of Domnall Bán's bones from Dunkeld to Iona. The text further states that the 'three sons of Erc, namely Fergus, Loarn and Óengus' were buried at Iona. This, of course, is pure fiction, and must

25. BB.58a: see F.J. Byrne, 'Clann Olloman Uaisle Emna', Studia Hibernica, iv (1964), 54-94, at 60, for this and other examples.

26. F.J. Byrne, op.cit.

27. Ibid., 60.

28. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 7.

refer to the 'sons of Erc' origin-legend concocted in the tenth-century edition of the Senchus. It is evident, therefore, that this 'king-list with summarised aideda' was composed with the intention of portraying Iona as the cradle of the kingship and its people. Not only does this association with Iona have obvious political overtones, but it is noteworthy that Alexander I was sufficiently interested in Colum Cille to commission a copy of Adomnán's Life of the saint.²⁹ Perhaps, then, it was composed by a cleric closely associated with Alexander I; perhaps, even, by his ollamh (who could also have been a cleric).

There are other possible examples of Gaelic political historiography. If (as I will suggest)³⁰ the 1165x source-list common to all the 'Latin lists' has welded the annotated list from Cináed together with a Dál Riata list by a skilful use of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, then it would seem to be likely to be the work of a Gael. Another work which shows possible Gaelic influence is the Verse Chronicle of 1214x49, a poetic version in elegiac couplets of the X group of Latin lists:³¹ it is a highly Latinate work, but perhaps the fact that it is in the form of a poem suggests a Gaelic authorship.

29. Adomnán's Life of Columba, ed. A.O. and M.O. Anderson (1961), 10.

30. See below, n.100.

31. Anderson, KKES, 60f. Its earliest extant manuscript appearance is in the Chronicle of Melrose, where it was added piecemeal. A.O. and M.O. Anderson have put it together in their edition of the text: Chron.Melrose, xxv-vi.

An important aspect of these works of Gaelic political historiography written from the mid twelfth century in the East of Scotland is that they seem to have been written in Latin, and, indeed, to have adopted a more 'Anglo-Norman' orthography for Gaelic names. As with the D text of the Genealogy,³² I would suggest that this reflects the changed cultural situation in the Church and the upper reaches of society in the East of Scotland that became evident from the reign of David I. At least, therefore, this suggests that a historiography which was characteristically Gaelic remained active through the medium of Latin until, I would suggest, the mid thirteenth century (when we see the ollamh ríge for the last time at a royal inauguration),³³ culminating in the masterly work of origin-legend synthesis on which Fordun depended so heavily. In this way this tradition of Gaelic historiography passed on much of the material with which Scottish historians articulated and reinforced Scottish identity for centuries to come. At the same time, it is possible that this Latin continuation of a Gaelic historiographical tradition, from c.1150 to c.1250, became increasingly separated from the mainstream of Gaelic culture: it is a remarkable fact, for instance, that Gaelic texts of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots from this period onwards are

32. See above, 295f.

33. See John Bannerman, 'The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III' (forthcoming).

fossilised with David I as their latest king, perhaps suggesting that there was a break in contact between the kingship and Ireland from the later twelfth century.

As the twelfth and thirteenth centuries progress, it is notable how the prevalence of texts which are 'compilatory' in character declines: in other words, texts which essentially consist of putting different sources together, ranging from highly skilled works of synthesis (such as the origin-legend synthesis itself, perhaps the 1165x common source of the 'Latin lists', and to a certain extent the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum') to texts which have made little or no effort to stitch together their material (such as the Poppleton compilation and Z¹). Both synthesis and compilation are highly characteristic of Gaelic historiography, of course. After the origin-legend synthesis there does not seem to have been an origin-legend text which was a fresh work of 'compilation': there are a few, however, such as the W recension, which added new material to an existing compilatory text.

At the same time as the declining occurrence of these 'compilatory' texts there is an increased prevalence of texts which, in contrast, concentrate their efforts on reworking the contents of their source material. Characteristically, this involves the rewriting of a single source-text without the benefit of any other sources, usually with a view to making it more readable -

for example, by ironing out any awkward or unconvincing detail. Good examples of this would seem to be the 'Éber' recension and the 'Edinburgh' recension of the origin-legend; and the 'Partholón' recension, which has apparently made two sources into a readable account, should also be regarded as an example. This emphasis on achieving a coherent and plausible recension of a text is more in line with the more narrative style of historiography that is evident in England during this period.

Perhaps the greater respect for source-material shown by the 'compilatory' texts (and the skill employed in some texts in harmonising disparate material with a minimum of interference in the contents) shows a more professional attitude towards historiography, where there is a discipline of writing a record of the past which is quite 'unliterary', in comparison with the more narrative style where history becomes subsumed into 'literature', distinguished only by its content. The suggestion, therefore, is that the former belongs to a distinct historiographical tradition, with its professional exponents, while the latter belongs merely to a general milieu of literacy without a specific tradition of 'professional historians'. A decline in 'professional historiography' is perhaps also suggested not only by some clumsy 'mistakes' in later texts - notably Z²'s erroneous belief that the

Dál Riata and Pictish king-lists formed a single line of succession - but also by the use of drastically simplified versions of the origin-legend which were probably based on not much more than the common knowledge of the 'politically conscious' (as in the 'Grosseteste' account and the 'Piere d'Escoce' legend). It is tempting to relate this suggested decline of 'professional historiography' to a gradual fading out of the filid in the East of Scotland comparable to the decline in the position of the breitheam or judex during the same period:³⁴ perhaps their status was reduced to being simply clerics in a manner comparable to the decline of the medical kindreds of the West Highlands in the seventeenth century.³⁵ Perhaps it is not too fanciful to consider whether John of Fordun himself was not the descendant of a learned kindred: this might provide an explanation not only of how he acquired a copy of the origin-legend synthesis (did he inherit it from his forebears?) but of how someone of such relative unimportance (in comparison to Barbour, Bower, and Wyntoun who were an archdeacon, abbot and prior, respectively) came to write such an ambitious work as a national history - indeed, a seminal national history.

34. See G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (1973), 69-82, who at 74 notes "the impression that the judex remained a key figure north of the Forth well into the thirteenth century". The judex eventually became the 'dempster', a relatively insignificant position, by c.1300.

35. See John Bannerman, The Beatons (1986), 120-33.

When the text-histories traceable stage-by-stage behind the surviving Scottish accounts of the Gaelic origin-legend become apparent through the thirteenth and into the fourteenth centuries, it seems to have monopolised the Scottish view of their own origins, apparently at the highest levels of society and learning. The only Scottish text which includes different origin-legend material is the Poppleton compilation (of probably 1165x84). Its 'introduction', De Situ Albannie, apparently written by the compiler himself,³⁶ tells how Albania is called after "Albanectus" younger son of Brutus 'first king of Great Britain', an idea derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth;³⁷ and it also describes a division of Albania/Scotia into seven kingdoms ruled by seven brothers, evidently referring to the legend of the division of Pictland among the seven sons of Cruithne, eponym of the Picts, with each son representing the eponym of a region.³⁸ It also mentions³⁹ how "omnes Hibernienses et Scotti generaliter Gatteli dicuntur a quodam eorum primeuo duce Gathelglas uocato"; and in the next item, probably in the compiler's own words,⁴⁰ it tells how the Scoti take their origin from Scythia, or from Scota daughter of Pharaoh 'who, it is said, was Queen of Scots/Scotia'. Clearly, this is no more than a

36. Suggested in Anderson, KKES, 236.

37. To which it probably refers: Anderson, KKES, 241 n.5.

38. Ibid., 139f.; and see below n.80.

39. Anderson, KKES, 243.

40. See above, pp. 15-7.

compendium of origin-legend material, and does not represent 'conflicting' traditions. The 'Albanectus' and 'sons of Cruithne' legends are, indeed, no more than pieces of place-name lore, dindsenchas: they do not purport to explain the origins of Scotia or, especially, of the origins of the Scots as a 'people'. The separate identities of Albanectus, the Picts, and the Scoti are clearly delineated in De Situ Albanie in a manner reminiscent of the successive takings of Ireland in the Lebor Gabála: after Albanectus, the Picts rule (and Albania is called Pictavia), and thereafter the Scoti rule (so that it is now called Scotia).⁴¹ As E.J. Cowan has pointed out,⁴² the Poppleton compilation does seem deliberately to portray the Picts and the Scoti as related to each other by making them both Scythians. This should not be made too much of, however: it is the most remote relationship possible, and seems to have been inferred simply from Isidore's description (quoted in the compilation) of the "gentes Scitie" as "Albani".⁴³ The perceived bond between the Picts and the Scoti, then, is no more than that they both inhabited Albania. There is no reason to think, therefore, that the Scots of the twelfth century felt any more identified with the Picts than they did in the late tenth-century Scottish Chronicle,

41. The same sequence of 'takings of Alba' appears in the Duan Albanach (ll. 1-28): see K.H. Jackson, 'The Duan Albanach', SHR, xxxvi (1957), 125-37, at 128-9, where he also provides evidence which suggests that its author was Irish. The Duan was composed 1058x93 (*ibid.*, 127).

42. E.J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', SHR, lxii (1984), 111-35, at 122.

43. Anderson, KKES, 244; Etymologiarum, IX, 2, § 65.

which also appears in the Poppleton compilation:⁴⁴
 here the regnum Scottorum is portrayed as starting
 with Cináed mac Alpín who, it says, destroyed the
 Picts, whom God had deigned to deprive of their heritage
 because of their wickedness. This view that Cináed
 annihilated the Picts at least represents the fact
 that Pictish identity was effectively extinct from the
 tenth century, becoming merely the lifeless plasma for
 more recent religious and ethnic fantasies. From the
 very opening of the tenth century 'Pictland' and the
 'Picts' disappear from contemporary record.⁴⁵

It is evident from my discussion of the text-
 histories behind surviving Scottish accounts of Scottish
 origins that the Gaelic origin-legend continued to be a
 central element in the Scottish explanation of their
 own origins, in the East of Scotland (and no doubt
 elsewhere in Scotland), at the highest levels of
 society and learning through the thirteenth century
 and into the fourteenth (and beyond with Fordun and
 Bower, etc.). This continuous Scottish interest
 throughout, and beyond, the 'Anglo-Norman Era' in the
 Gaelic origin-legend obviously indicates that the
 inhabitants of the regnum Scottorum, as a whole, saw
 themselves as 'Gaels': they were, thus, part of an
 identity as a 'people' which they shared with the
 inhabitants of Ireland. This awareness of being part
 of a people which was spread across both Ireland and

44. Anderson, KKES, 249-53.

45. See below, p. 404.

Alba is evident in the regular portrayal of Ireland as the home destination of the Scoti in their peregrinations, and/or of the settlement of the Scoti in Scotland as a branching-out, rather than a wholesale migration, from Ireland. Thus, the Gáedel/Éber legend in both the Z and W recensions appears to have stated⁴⁶ that Éber named Ireland Scotia after he had conquered it; and, similarly, the 'Grosseteste' account has Scota's landing-place, Ulster, called Scotia;⁴⁷ the 'Éber' recension appears to have altered its source material in order to portray Ireland as uninhabited before the arrival of the Scoti thus making it their divinely-willed destination and the conclusion to a central (and also innovatory) theme of its account;⁴⁸ and the 'Partholón' recension portrays Ireland as the 'sure and perpetual home, in freedom' for the Scoti, also making this the resolution to a central (and, again, innovatory) theme in its account;⁴⁹ the 'Edinburgh' recension appears to have described Fergus mac Ferchair as a son of a king of Ireland;⁵⁰ and the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum' seems to portray "Lori" as the leader of 'some' of the Scoti from Ireland:⁵¹ even the much abbreviated accounts of the legend in the Instructiones and the Processus

46. Chap. III, App. I (p.173) (for Z recension); App. III (p. 180) (for W recension).

47. Chap. II, App. II.

48. See above, pp. 167-8.

49. See above, Chapter II, Appendix II.

50. See above, p. 175.

51. See above, pp. 185, 218-21: Chron. Picts-Scots, 333.

mention the sojourn of the Scoti in Ireland,⁵² even though it cannot have been necessary to their cause. The impressive fact is that not only do some of these examples show that they were happy to repeat this ^{ie}view when they found it in their source(s); some also show that they were apparently willing to strengthen it, and make it more explicit, by making Ireland the divinely-willed and perpetual home of the Scoti. There is a clear awareness, therefore, that they share an identity as a people with the Irish, and, furthermore, that Ireland is at least the fulcrum, if not indeed the 'home' of this people. When Robert I wrote to 'all the kings of Ireland' and said "ab uno processimus germine nacionis",⁵³ he was only expressing a long established fact of Scottish (and Irish) identity: that they were of a single nacio, the Gáedil, - in English, the 'Gaels', in Latin, the 'Scoti'.⁵⁴

All accounts of Scottish origins agree in bringing them to Scotland from Ireland. The principal version of this episode appears to have featured Fergus Mór mac Eirc and his brothers: it is found thus in the tenth-century edition of the Senchus Fer nAlban and

52. See above, p. 231.

53. Ranald Nicholson, 'A Sequel to Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland', SHR, xlii (1963), 30-40, at 38.

54. This point is emphasised in Barrow, Bruce, 379, n.9, who also demonstrates (at 321) that one aspect of Robert Bruce was that he was "a potentate in the immemorial mould of the western Gaidhealtachd": he would surely, thus, have been aware that the 'one seed' was of Ireland's soil.

(obliquely) in the annotated king-list of c.1105x65;⁵⁵ and the fact that Fergus Mór with either Loarn or Óengus are also found heading the lists of kings of Alba in the Irish Synchronisms of the early eleventh century and in the Duan Albanach of 1058x93 no doubt reflects (at least) eleventh century Scottish king-list material.⁵⁶ I suggested⁵⁷ that the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum's' apparent portrayal of Loarn as the leader of this migration before the time of Fergus the 'first king' is probably a variant of the 'sons of Erc' account, and is perhaps even an older and more factually correct version of its material. Certainly, the awareness of being a settlement from Ireland can be traced before the 'sons of Erc' legend to the Cairpre Riata account, which appears in Bede.⁵⁸ There is a formal possibility that the Fergus mac Ferchair of the Símon/Fergus legend, which can be traced through Z¹ to a pre 1200 text of a Life of St. Congal, is as old a feature as Símon Breac possibly is.⁵⁹ However, he could well be simply a doublet of Fergus mac Eirc: certainly, it appears that the two Ferguses were not distinguished from each other in Z¹.⁶⁰ Conceivably, 'Ferchair' is a transcriber's error (e.g. by the author of Z¹?) for Eirc (or Erca). At any rate, the idea of Fergus (mac Eirc) as the 'first king' is probably derived from a king-list which, in the manner of some other early

55. See above, pp. 389-90.

56. Anderson, KKES, 44ff.

57. Above, pp. 219-21.

58. See above, p. 342.

59. See above, p. 124.

60. Thus, some of Z¹'s derivatives give both Ferguses the same patronymic (Erc in W², Ferchar in the 'Edinburgh' recension: see Appendix I), or make them chronologically separate (as in the origin-legend synthesis: see above, p. 163).

medieval Gaelic lists,⁶¹ was headed by him because he was regarded as the first christian king of the Dál Riata.⁶² The legend of his involvement in the migration from Ireland was probably not established until the 'sons of Erc' legend in the tenth century (though an earlier germ possibly survives in an entry in the Annals of Tigernach).⁶³ From the thirteenth century Loarn and Óengus become less noticeable in the texts I have studied, leaving Fergus mac Eirc (or Fergus mac Ferchair) frequently portrayed as the sole leader of the Scots' migration from Ireland, as well as their 'first king'.

The evidence of the content of the Scottish origin-legend in Scotland not only indicates that Scots saw themselves as part of a wider, Gaelic, people: it should also point towards some fundamental developments within this identity relating to the inhabitants of Scotland especially with regard to political identity. The evidence of the origin-legend material which I have been able to trace is particularly significant in this respect insofar as it appears to represent the views of those at the 'nerve-centre' of the kingdom. I have suggested in my survey that the bulk of this origin-legend material was probably composed and edited by people closely connected with the kingship itself. This

61. See Anderson, KKES, 106.

62. Perhaps following Patrician tradition: see ibid., and Bannerman, Dalriada, 120f.

63. See Bannerman, Dalriada, 74 and n.1: it is usually taken as referring to the removal of the Dalriadic dynasty from Ireland to Scotland (e.g. in ibid., 1).

is most obvious in the case of the ollamh ríge, who was no doubt responsible for the earlier texts of the Genealogy, and probably also for the tenth-century revision of the Senchus plus Genelaig text; and I have suggested that the ollamh ríge was the author of the synthetic origin-legend text in (probably) the mid thirteenth century and maybe the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum' as well.⁶⁴ It is also evident with regard to St. Andrews, where (or within the ambit of which) I have suggested that the 'Z' and 'W' recensions of the origin-legend were fashioned in the thirteenth century, including thereby some king-list and royal genealogical material as well: as the seat of the chief bishop of the kingdom, St. Andrews as an intellectual centre was inevitably associated closely with the kingship, as is especially evident by the fact that the collegiate church of St. Mary (otherwise the Céli De) formed a royal chapel certainly in the late thirteenth century, and possibly considerably earlier in effect if not in name.⁶⁵ Other traceable origin-legend texts seem to have been produced in important royal foundations (such as Scone). Although the details with regard to the authorship of each individual text may not be secure, and are at times rather speculative, nevertheless I think that the overall impression of regally-inspired activity (some of which was, no doubt, sponsored directly

64. For all this, see Appendix I.

65. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (1973), 231.

by the government) which was concerned with the origin-legend is unexceptionable: an explanation of who the people of the kingdom were could obviously be of interest with regard to the kingship and be of political importance to the kingship itself (as in the Instructiones and Processus, and the Declaration of Arbroath).

There are, typically, more than a few elements in the make-up of political identity, which tends to be conceptually rather amorphous and unsystematic. My discussion of its development in Scotland in the light of the origin-legend will focus on two elements in particular. First I will seek to trace the development of a more territorially-conceived political identity; and then I will concentrate on the development of the identity of the Scots as a 'people' in a political sense.

In Chapter Six I discussed⁶⁶ how a new origin-legend was formulated in the tenth century, describing how the sons of Erc mac Echdach Muinremuir 'took Alba' which replaced the origin-legend focused on the eponymous Cairpre/Eochaid Riata. This new origin-legend thus sought to account for the kingship of Alba, and also provided the concomitant Fir Alban with a newly concocted genealogical definition focused on the sons of Erc. I suggested, therefore, that this new origin-legend represented the articulation of a new political identity. The first appearance of this new political identity in annals of the best available contemporary

66. Above, pp. 341ff.

authority coincides with the opening of the tenth century: thus, in 900 the Annals of Ulster record the death of Domnall mac Constantin "rí Alban",⁶⁷ while the Scottish Chronicle in describing events of 903 uses the Latin Albania, ^{referring to} ~~meaning~~ the kingdom of Scone.⁶⁸ The first annalistic mention of Fir Alban is in the Annals of Ulster's account of the second battle of Corbridge, 918.⁶⁹ In both of these sources their first use of rí Alban, Albania, and Fir Alban marks a clean break with the terms rex Pictorum, Pictavia and Picti which they had previously used with regard to the king and kingdom of Scone, and which now disappear for ever from contemporary record. It has long been recognised,⁷⁰ furthermore, that this new identity involved a radical change of meaning for the word Alba, which up to this point had denoted 'Britain'. From 900, it became used habitually, and solely, to refer to the kingdom of Scone (and thereby 'Scotland'): no doubt it came to acquire its new meaning after initially being understood to mean 'Gaelic Britain' (hence Latin Scotia), with Fir Alban meaning 'the Gáedil of Britain' (hence Scoti).

There is nothing to suggest that the novelty of this identity can be simply explained as a fusion of Pictish and Gaelic identities. The origin-legend makes it clear that the Fir Alban are Gáedil from Ireland.

67. AU 900: O'Rahilly, EIHM, 386.

68. Anderson, KKES, 251. On its contemporaneity, see below, n. 74.

69. AU 918: O'Rahilly, EIHM, 386.

70. O'Rahilly, EIHM, 385-7.

The essential novelty of this new political identity, I suggest, is that it is expressed territorially. Gaelic political identities are invariably referred to in terms of peoples or kindreds - Ulaid, Dál Fiatach, Eóganacht, Uí Néill, and Lemnach, Dál Riata, Cenél Loairn, Cattaib, etc. This is true of the terms which Alba replaced, the king 'of the Picts' and 'Pict-avia'. Alba, in contrast, is a territory, the territory of a kingship, whose people are identified as 'the men' of that territory, or as Albannaig, literally '[those] dwelling in Alba'. The concocted genealogical construct focused on Erc was motivated by a desire to bring together the (no doubt) hitherto disparate cenéla of the Dál Riata in Alba. It appears, indeed, that it was precisely because it was coined as the territory of a kingship (at least conceptually) that Alba changed its meaning.

There is, however, one significant parallel in medieval Gaeldom to the territorially-expressed rí Alban and Fir Alban, namely rí Érenn and Fir Érenn. Francis John Byrne and Donnchadh Ó Corráin⁷¹ have both commented that this comparable Irish phraseology does not appear with any regularity in contemporary annalistic record until the reign of Máel Sechnaill mac Máel Ruanaid (ob. 862) and thereafter; and they relate this development to an increasing territorialisation

71. F.J. Byrne, The Rise of the Uí Néill and the High-kingship of Ireland (1970), 13; and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and Kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, ed. T.W. Moody (1978), 1-36, at 8.

in the medieval Irish polity which they outline,⁷² convincingly, with gathering momentum up to the twelfth century. It is, therefore, no doubt indicative of this 'increased territoriality' of the age that the fact of Ireland and Scotland being separate land-masses should thus appear to have become so influential in shaping political conceptions within Gaeldom: the one 'cultural' identity now consisted of two independent political identities which were expressed as homogeneous territorial entities. We should not doubt that such ideas were present in Scotland as much as in Ireland: thus, it is this sense of the kingship of Alba (and the Fir Alban) as the ultimate politically unifying concept among Gaels in Scotland which I suggested in Chapter Six⁷³ is unwittingly revealed by the radical revision (probably between 971 and 1005) of the section of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots between Eochaid Muinremuir and Eochaid Riata. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that Scots literati, at least, were perfectly aware of the idea of an Irish kingship: thus, there are a series of entries, relating to the period 862 to 919, in the Scottish Chronicle, which

72. See also F.J. Byrne, 'Senchas': the Nature of Gaelic Historical Tradition', Historical Studies ix, ed. J.G. Barry (1974), 137-60; F.J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings (1973), esp. 271; Donnchadh Ó Corrain, Ireland before the Normans (1972), 29-32.

73. Above, pp. 372-3.

are probably derived from a contemporary set of Scottish annals,⁷⁴ in which the deaths are noticed of Máel Sechnaill mac Máel Ruanaid, Áed Findliath mac Néill, and Cormac mac Cuilennáin, each of whom are described as rex Hiberniensium; and the death of Flann Sinna mac Máel Sechnaill and the three-year reign of Niall Glúndub mac Áeda are also noticed. Perhaps the notion of a territorially-expressed, and thereby 'independent', political identity was received in Scotland from Ireland. Be that as it may, it does not weaken the impression that the conditions for the development of such a political idea were in evidence in Scotland as well as Ireland; and that, therefore, the process of increasing territorialisation should be seen as a feature of Gaelic, and not just Irish, political development.

74. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 8-10. The Chronicle usually gives a regnal year for each event it notices; but this ceases after the death of Constantin mac Áeda (952). Furthermore, the Chronicle does not mention the death of Niall Glúndub's 'successor', Donnchad Donn mac Flainn (944), or indeed any 'international' events after the death of Athelstan, King of the English (939). Perhaps, therefore, the Chronicle's annalistic source only came down to the mid tenth century. The precise dates given for the deaths of Cináed mac Alpin and his brother Domnall suggest that this annalistic source preserves contemporary material from the mid ninth century. The inclusion of both Cormac mac Cuilennáin and members of the Uí Néill as rex Hiberniensium suggests a lack of political partisanship that is unlikely in a contemporary Irish source.

Both Francis John Byrne and Donnchadh Ó Corráin have identified the increased territorialisation in the medieval Irish polity within the context of a general process of increasing political centralisation:⁷⁵ Donnchadh Ó Corráin has put this most strongly, saying that⁷⁶ "Irish society, far from being static, entered a period of rapid, one might even say convulsive, change, in which ... larger and more cohesive kingdoms emerged, the powers and pretensions of the kings grew apace, the nature of kingship itself changed and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries rule over the entire island of Ireland had become ... the prize in the political game and the express object of the contenders". On the face of it, therefore, the same centripetal development can be suggested in Scotland as well: indeed, it is remarkable that Máel Sechnaill mac Máel Ruanaid, the first king to assert his political authority over all of Ireland and thus establish the kingship of Ireland on the agenda of political reality,⁷⁷ was a contemporary of Cináed mac Alpín who appears to have been the first to weld together the kingships of the Dál Riata and the Picts.

75. F.J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings (1973), esp. 86, 271; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans (1972), 29-32.

76. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and Kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, ed. T.W. Moody (1978), 1-36, at 35.

77. F.J. Byrne, The Rise of the Uí Neill and the High-Kingship of Ireland (1970), 13: see also D.A. Binchy, 'The Passing of the Old Order', in The Impact of the Scandinavian Invasions on the Celtic-Speaking Peoples c.800-1100 A.D., 1st International Congress of Celtic Studies, 1959, ed. Brian Ó Cuív (1975), 119-32, at 129f.

It is possible to suggest such a process of political centralisation in ninth-century Scotland from other evidence. Thus, John Bannerman has convincingly argued⁷⁸ that the extant Pictish king-lists are, in reality, lists of kings of Fortiu (which could have meant from the Forth to the Mounth). This implies that Alba is not simply a Gaelic term for a Pictish 'high-kingship' plus Dál Riata, but, rather, denotes (at least the idea of) a kingship considerably more expanded and centralised than the 'kingship of Fortriu'. This expansion can, in fact, be traced in the obits of 'kings of Scone' (as it were) in the Annals of Ulster:⁷⁹ thus Constantin mac Fergusa (ob. 820) and his brother Óengus (ob. 834) are each described as rex Fortrenn, while from Cináed mac Alpin each king is described as rex Pictorum up until Domnall mac

78. John Bannerman, Studies in the History of Scotia (forthcoming).

79. AU 820, 834, 858, 862, 876, 878, 900.

Constantin, rí Alban (ob. 900).⁸⁰

80. It is possible to see more evidence of this process in surviving pseudo-historical material relating to the Picts. A remarkable feature of the Pictish king-list composed (apparently) during the reign of Constantin mac Cináeda (862-77) is that it has evidently had a pseudo-historical section added to it by a Gael: thus, while the bulk of it is linguistically P-Celtic, those parts which, significantly, it does not share with the other group of Pictish lists, are linguistically largely Gaelic (Anderson, *KKES*, 79f., 101-2). These 'Gaelic' parts are at the beginning and from Cináed mac Alpin onwards at the very end: the likelihood, therefore, is that they were both added at the same time by the same Gaelic scholar, i.e. 862x77 or soon after (*ibid.*, 79-80). The added pseudo-historical section at the beginning (which is, of course, manifestly artificial) starts with Cruithne and his seven sons who appear to succeed him in turn: each of his sons are eponyms of a region apparently approximating to Fife, Moray and Ross, Atholl and the Gowrie, Strathearn and Mentieth, Sutherland and Caithness, Mar and Buchan, and Angus (*ibid.*, 130-43; 245 for edition of list A). Later it gives a list of thirty kings, each called "Brude", who ruled over Ireland and Albania for a-hundred-and-fifty-years. W.J. Watson has put forward (*The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (1926), 107. I do not think Anderson, *KKES*, 82, answers this) a compelling argument on linguistic grounds that the seven sons of Cruithne in the list have been taken (rather crudely) from a famous quatrain attributed (improbably) to Colum Cille on the division of Cruithne's kingdom among his seven eponymous sons. The notion of thirty kings ruling over Ireland, on the other hand, could be derived from the pseudo-history of the Dál nAraide, (who, like the Picts, were known as 'Cruthin'), some of whose early kings, such as Fiachna mac Baetáin (ob. 626) and Congal Cáech (ob. 637), are reckoned as kings of Tara (F.J. Byrne, *op.cit.*, 17): certainly, it is difficult to see what else could lie behind the idea of the Picts ruling Ireland. It seems probable, therefore, that this pseudo-historical section represents a conflation of material relating to the 'Cruthin' which has been composed in a manifestly artificial manner evidently with the purpose of articulating a view whose salient features are to present the eponymous sons of Cruithne as a single line of succession, and to give this line of succession some relationship to Gaeldom as a whole (Ériu and Alba). There is no reason to doubt that all this has been concocted by the Gaelic composer of the list: if the quatrain attributed to Colum Cille describing the division of the kingdom among the seven sons of Cruithne is older, as seems likely not only on linguistic grounds but simply because it accords better with the logic of naming the sons as regional eponyms, then it is easy to see this notion of the single line of succession as a new one.
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This centripetal momentum continues to be in evidence in the tenth century. Thus, it appears to be insufficient to see the emergence of the 'kingship of Alba' as simply a consequence of a rapid eastward expansion of the Dál Riata in that, instead of the usual pattern of the fragmentation of political control following in the wake of such expansion (as seen most famously with regard to the Uí Néill in the fifth century and the Clann Shomhairle in the thirteenth),⁸¹ it seems that we find a century-and-a-half of dynastic consolidation in the manner described by Donnchadh Ó Corráin characterised by the "ruthless discarding" of dynastic "segments" in the face of the inevitable proliferation of the ruling kindred:⁸² thus, it appears that what we see is the establishment of a new

80. (contd.) It is not difficult, therefore, to see this pseudo-historical section of the list as an attempt to express a new concept of political unification east of a line from Mentieth to Sutherland focused on the kingship of Fortriú (to which the list relates) within a wider identity spanning Ireland and Scotland; and that this new concept should be a concomitant of a new centralised political order based on the kingship of Scone.

It is noticeable that Albania in this list of 862x77 has been coined for this new political concept, rather than Pictavia. It is even more striking that the quatrain on Cruithne's sons also uses Alba in this sense, using it clearly to refer to Cruithne's kingdom. Perhaps the quatrain is not much older than the pseudo-historical section of the list: not only are all the proper names thoroughly Gaelicised, but also the succession of sons to their father is taken for granted. It is tempting, therefore, to regard the idea of Cruithne having his kingdom divided among his seven sons as being a Gaelic concoction of the mid-ninth century: it could thus be seen as the first and therefore most tentative articulation of the concept of this centralising territorial political identity, Alba.

81. F.J. Byrne, Irish Kings and High-Kings (1973), 84f.: John Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles: Historical Background' in K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands (1977), 201-13, at 202.

82. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans (1972), 37-42 and 'Irish Regnal Succession: a Reappraisal', Studia Hibernica, xi (1972), 7-39.

centralised political order focused on an increasingly restricted royal dynasty. A sure sign of this is that, certainly by the late tenth-century king-list source common to the Scottish Chronicle and the 'Latin lists',⁸³ a new immediate founding-father for the kingship was found in Cináed mac Alpín, the dynasty's nearest common progenitor. This centralising historiographical development of course, is roughly contemporaneous with the portrayal of a new political unity in the 'sons of Erc' legend concocted in the tenth-century edition of the Senchus. The fact that in the king-lists Cináed mac Alpin is said to have destroyed the Picts and that there are no Picts in the 'sons of Erc' legend serves to emphasise that this new centralised political identity was wholly Gaelic.⁸⁴ Perhaps the most telling sign of how deeply the concept of this centralised kingship had taken root by the eleventh century is how far the ambitions of the ruling dynasty of Moray, despite being remote from the kingship's power-centre, and

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83. E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 6. The Chronicle (an expansion of this king-list) was in existence by the reign of Cináed mac Máel Coluim (971-95): M.O. Anderson, 'The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', SHR, xxviii (1949), 31-42, at 37-9.
84. It is noteworthy that the Scottish Chronicle's reference to the adoption of the iura ac legis regni of Aed Find by the Gáedil and their king, Domnall mac Alpin, and to Constantín mac Áeda and bishop Cellach vowing to maintain leges disciplinasque fidei atque iura ecclesiarum ewangeliorumque pariter cum Scottis suggests that the 'law of the land', as it were, was (at least identified as) Gaelic.

despite being of near-equal strength with the dynasty of Cináed mac Alpín, were governed by the desire to be rí Alban rather than, say, autonomous kings of Moray. Another possible sign is the existence of the mormaer as the most powerful position under the king (east of a line from the Lennox to Moray). Mormaer first appears in 918,⁸⁵ and clearly denotes an office-holder,⁸⁶ and thus implies an unambiguously centralised political order becoming established in the early tenth century: it is probably a significant coincidence that the first contemporary references to mormaer and Fir Alban are in the same annal-entry. That mormaers are found only in the areas of effective royal control when a sufficient amount of evidence for a comprehensive survey of them becomes available in the twelfth century can be no surprise, and cannot alone support the suggestion⁸⁷ that the mormaer is originally Pictish: like the dabhach,⁸⁸ I see no reason why (bearing as it does a Gaelic name) the mormaer cannot be a Scottish Gaelic innovation. The impression, therefore, is that these centripetal ideas were translated into political reality to a greater degree for the kingship of Alba than for the kingship of Ériu: indeed, in Ireland, it seems

85. AU 918.

86. Maer, 'steward'.

87. E.g., Jackson, Deer Notes, 108.

88. See Alexis Easson, Systems of Land Assessment in Scotland before 1400 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis Edinburgh, 1986).

only to have become established to a comparable degree at the level of the provincial kingships.

The development of separate Scottish and Irish political identities may suggest that they were considered to be two equal parts of the wider Gaelic identity. This, however, is too simple. There are two eleventh-century texts that can perhaps help us to define more precisely how they were perceived in relation to each other. The first is the list of kings said to have been ruling at the time of the cattle-plague in 988 which has been interpolated, evidently by a Scot, into the Saltair na Rann.⁸⁹ It is headed by Cináed mac Máel Coluim, the king "for Albain" ('over Alba'), and then lists the kings ruling "for hErainn", 'over Ireland', i.e. the provincial kings such as Brian mac Cennétig 'over Munster' and Donnchad mac Domnaill 'over Leinster': it then goes on to mention kings in Britain and elsewhere. The kingship of Alba and the kingships of Ireland thus appear to be treated as two distinct entities: however, no 'king of Ireland' as such is given, so that the overall impression (for what it is worth) is of the provincial Irish kingships and the kingship of Alba as of roughly equivalent stature.⁹⁰ In sum, a similar impression is given by

89. Saltair na Rann ed. Whitley Stokes (1883), ll. 2349ff.: see Gearóid S. Mac Eoin, 'The Date and Authorship of Saltair na Rann', ZCP, xxviii (1960-1), 51-67, esp. 59-60.

90. This could reflect the fact that, in reality, they were similar types of kingship.

the more consciously political text known as the "Synchronisms of Irish Kings",⁹¹ which could have been written by a Scot, though (unfortunately for our purposes) the evidence is not compelling.⁹²

The order in which it gives its lists of kings is first "ríg for Éirinn", then "ríg for Albainn", followed by the provincial kings (plus the Osraige) in clockwise fashion from the North. Clearly, the 'kings over Ireland' do not seem to be conceived here as having political 'authority' over the 'kings over Alba' in the sense they are evidently portrayed as having over the provincial Irish kings: nevertheless, the fact that the kings of Ireland have been put before the kings of Alba, against the logic of the geographically-minded organisation of the lists, shows equally clearly that the author considered the kingship of Ireland to have a 'precedence' over the kingship of Alba.

Although Ireland and Scotland formed distinct political identities, therefore, it would be wrong to describe them as being considered 'equal': within Gaeldom as a whole it was the king of Ireland who was always regarded as the 'head of the Gáedil', as it were.

91. There are two versions: the earlier has Máel Coluim mac Cináeda (1005-34) as its last Scottish king, and is edited in A. Boyle, 'The Edinburgh Synchronisms of Irish Kings', *Celtica*, ix (1971), 169-79; the later has Máel Coluim mac Donnchada (1058-93) as its last Scottish king, and is edited in R. Thurneysen, 'Synchronismen der irischen Könige', *ZCP*, xix (1933), 81-99.

92. A. Boyle, *op. cit.*, 170, argues that the fact that the Kings of Scots follow immediately after the Kings of Ireland "can hardly be due to mere chance, and argues a special interest in the Scottish line on the part of the original compiler". However, the arrangement after the Kings of Ireland seems to be organised on a geographical basis, starting in the North: the apparent precedence given to the Scottish line would not, therefore, indicate any special interest.

It is not difficult to find signs of this view in Irish sources, of course: thus, in Metrical Dindshenchas the kingship of Ireland is evidently what is meant by the sovereignty of Alba and Ériu;⁹³ and Ruaidrí Ua Concho-bair 'king of Ireland' saw it as appropriate that he and each king of Ireland after him should give ten cows a year to the fer leighinn of Armagh for the tuition of students from Ireland and Alba.⁹⁴ More importantly, this view of the 'primacy' of Ireland and its kingship within Gaeldom is implicit in the apparent belief, evident in many of the traceable texts of the Scottish origin-legend, that Ireland is the intended 'home' of the Scoti; and one can note that the association of the Stone of Scone with Tara in the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend was probably originally conceived as improving the prestige of the Scottish kingship. The idea of Fir Alban may have represented a distinct and ultimate focus of political identity: it appears, though, that the Gaels in Scotland were at the same time aware of being a 'people within a people', or a 'branch of a people'. This is in contrast to the Gaels of Ireland: Ireland was always represented as the 'home' of the Gáedil in the Gaelic origin-legend - their great origin-legend corpus is, after all, called the Lebor Gabála Érenn - so that it is little wonder that

93. The Metrical Dindshenchas, ed. and trans. Edward Gwynn, iv (1924), 142: 11.127-8 of the poem on Carn Máil.

94. ES ii, 269; AU 1169.

they habitually equated 'Gaelic' with 'Irish' (and still do, of course). Perhaps it is not too simplistic to characterise the Gaelic identity as a cultural one, focused on Ireland, within which there were, by the tenth century, the two distinct political identities of Fir Érenn and Fir Alban.

As we move into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not only does the flow of traceable origin-legend material increase, becoming a significant collection of Scottish texts expressing Scottish political identity, but we can add to this the Scottish king-list material transcribed and edited in Scotland identified by Marjorie Anderson.⁹⁵ Marjorie Anderson argues⁹⁶ convincingly that these lists are derived from a common source which she dates to 1165 or soon after: while only a couple of lists can be traced to William's reign, about a dozen can be identified in the thirteenth century after 1214 (mostly belonging to the X group).⁹⁷ This gathering interest in king-lists contrasts with the indications concerning the currency of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots. In Chapter Five I argued⁹⁸ that half-a-dozen texts can be traced to David I's reign, but that thereafter it was copied only in the Poppleton compilation and in W¹: a high interest in the Genealogy during David's

95. Anderson, KKES, 44-76; 253-4, 264-91.

96. Ibid., 52.

97. Ibid., 52-76, and stemma at 234: see also above, pp. 197-8.

98. Above, esp. pp. 322-4.

reign is also suggested by its being refashioned into a more 'Anglo-Norman' orthography (the 'D' text), and then made more Latinate (the 'D (Wardlaw)' text); while the low level of interest thereafter seems to be confirmed by the fact that the most edited text ('D (Wardlaw)') appears to have fossilised with David I at its head, and that after the mid twelfth century the Genealogy probably excited only an antiquarian interest, only being copied into compilations of historical material.

The continuous interest in the king-list as the form of expressing the identity of the kingship is also evident by its consistent development through the reigns of William and the two Alexanders. The common source for all the Scottish texts of the list which was composed in 1165 or soon after appears to represent the conflation of two texts. The first is a king-list starting with Cináed mac Alpin and including (as well as reign-lengths) some notes on at least the death and burial of each king: Marjorie Anderson has dated this text to c.1105x65 and notices that it used mac rather than filius and gave place-names in Gaelic.⁹⁹ The second is a bare Dál Riata^a king-list with reign-lengths which prefers filius to mac. There is no reason to believe that the common source of 1165x was derived from a text which had already combined these lists. The list of Dál Riata kings has become disjointed at the end, with a sequence

99. Anderson, KKES, 50-2.

of four kings transposed so that they complete the list. Perhaps the source-list was garbled. On the other hand, it is possible that the source-list reached only as far as Fergus mac Echdach (ob. 781), and that the transposition of four kings is an attempt to fill the 'gap' to Cináed mac Alpin in order to make the combined lists appear to be a single unbroken line of succession.¹⁰⁰ Either way, this could suggest that Cináed mac Alpin had become so well established as the founding figure of the kingship that the Dál Raita list had become 'obsolete' and fallen into disrepair: each of these scenarios would indicate that the addition of the Dál Riata list represented something of an innovation, which in turn indicates a particular interest in the King-list. Perhaps the motivation was simply to make the King-list longer. This continuous list from Fergus Mór mac Eirc to the 'present' then had a Pictish King-list added to it in the reign of Alexander II, producing the parent of the X group of lists.¹⁰¹ In turn, a text of this X group was combined in the 'Z' recension with

100. M.O. Anderson, 'The Lists of the Kings', SHR, xxviii (1949), 108-18, at 110f. She suggests that, after the transposition, patronymics have been supplied in accordance with the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots; but she explains the transposition as the result of a scribe's eye jumping from one Alpin mac Echdach (? r.733-6) to another (ob.841). This would be fine if 'Alpin mac Echdach' appeared as the first in the sequence of four transposed names: however, he appears last. The only plausible explanation, I feel, is that the four have been transposed deliberately in order to fill in a gap between Fergus (brother of Áed Find) and Cináed by someone who has noticed that they supply an Eochaid and his son Alpin that would conform to the Genealogy's 'Cináed mac Alpin meic Echdach meic Áeda'; and that the two other names, Selbach and Dúngal, have been transposed because Dúngal mac Selbaig appeared in between the original Alpin (?733-6) and his father Eochaid.

101. Anderson, KKES, 50, 52.

the Gáedel/Éber and Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legends, probably in the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁰² Subsequently (again probably in the middle of the thirteenth century) a copy of this Z recension explicitly described the lists of kings of the Dál Riata, Pictish kings, and kings from Cináed mac Alpin as a continuous line of succession: the Declaration of Arbroath's '113 kings' have, no doubt, been taken from such a list.¹⁰³ Finally, it appears (from the Appendices to this Chapter) that this Z recension was used and modified during the thirteenth century by the 'Éber' recension, the origin-legend synthesis, the 'Edinburgh' recension, and the 'W' recension.

This shift in interest from the Genealogy to the King-list suggests that the king was seen less as the head of a lineage (and thereby a nexus of kindreds) and more as the latest in a line of successive holders of the regnum - which, in practice, means the rulership of a given entity most obviously defined territorially. That the kingdom was understood principally in a territorial sense is certainly suggested by the inclusion in Z² of others apart from Scottish kings into the line of succession: it is thus unambiguously a succession of holders of a given territorial entity.

102. See above, pp. 153-8 and 168.

103. Alexander III would have been reckoned the one-hundred-and-eleventh king. (List F enumerates the kings: Anderson, KKES, 269-78. Because F is not derived from Z², it does not regard the whole list as a single line of succession).

Furthermore, the author of Z^2 , in including the Picts into the line of succession, significantly failed to realise that the kingdom had not been a single unified entity for all time but (as a close reading of his source would have revealed) had been preceded by co-existent separate kingdoms of the 'Picts' and of the 'Scots': in the process, the redactor has made the first Scottish king the first to occupy this single kingdom,¹⁰⁴ thus portraying it unambiguously as the territory belonging to the kingship of the Scots. It is likely that Z^2 's author, in thus understanding his king-list material, was not 'misconstruing' it deliberately: if he had we would have expected him surely to have made the descriptions of the bounds of Fergus's kingdom conform to 'Scotland' rather than Argyll. If he misunderstood his material as a result of his assumptions about what a kingdom should be, then this would suggest that a more territorial conception of the kingdom and political identity had become well established by the time of Z^2 .

It is not difficult to relate this change of emphasis to the introduction of 'military feudalism' by David I and his successors, whereby what we would call 'socio-political relationships' were expressed formally in terms of the feu rather than kindred:

104. See above, pp. 161-2.

in other words, in those areas where the kingship was most influential, the king's relationship with his nobility was conceived formally not as a matter of kinship but as a matter of the granting of land in return for specified service(s). This, of course, is not to say that kinship ceased to be an important element in the realities of social and political relationships; or that the granting of 'property' was unknown before the twelfth century: what changed was the language in which these relationships were expressed. This should, at least, represent a change in emphasis between the various elements in the make-up of such relationships, whereby some became conceptually more predominant than others. It is in these terms, I think, that we can talk of a change from a kin-based to a 'feudal' society: if you like, the Genealogy gave way to the Charter. Given that this change was initiated by the Kings of Scots themselves, it should be no surprise if it resulted in a more 'feudal' rather than kin-based definition of kingship, whereby the king was seen more as the 'holder of a territory', as it were, than as the head of a royal kindred: certainly, Alexander III was able to conceive of his kingdom in unambiguously feudal terms for the benefit of Edward I when, in 1278, he responded to the King of England's claim to superiority over Scotland by declaring that 'no one has the right to homage for

my kingdom for I hold it of God alone'.¹⁰⁵ The preference for presenting the kingdom's history as a King-list of holders of a 'territorial entity' is clearly consistent with this 'feudal' view. Furthermore, the timing of the shift in preference from Genealogy to King-list coincides with the first signs that this 'feudal' view of the regnum Scottorum had become established in the minds of (at least) those who were associated closely with the kingship itself. Thus, it was in William I's reign that the title dominus rex was adopted¹⁰⁶ (i.e. the king was at the same time the feudal lord of his kingdom). Regnum itself was able to be conceived as a territory: G.W.S. Barrow has shown that we do not find the expression regnum Scottorum "in a clearly territorial sense" until the reign of Malcolm IV, and suggests that regnum Scotie was used for the first time in an "unambiguously territorial context" by a royal clerk writing about 1161; and he concludes that "in the last decade of the twelfth century the use of this convenient phrase grew rapidly", becoming a commonplace not only of royal but of private charters.¹⁰⁷ Again, however, it should be stressed that this only implies a change of emphasis in the overall conception of the kingdom, tilting towards a more territorial view. The 'kin' or 'people' based

105. G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', Innes Review, xxx (1979), 16-34, at 20-1.

106. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Das Mittelalterliche Englische und Schottische Königtum: Ein Vergleich', Historisches Jahrbuch, cii (1982), 362-89, at 374.

107. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History (1980), 152-5.

sense of kingship did not disappear, and indeed continued to be a vital component of the idea of regnum. Thus, it is a remarkable fact that, despite the Scottish royal chapel's often careful imitation of the practice of the English chancery, they retained the title rex Scottorum although the English adopted rex Anglie (rather than rex Anglorum) from the reign of King John onwards:¹⁰⁸ the king of Scots was essentially king of a people rather than a territory. By 1200, however, the 'Scots' were thought of more as the inhabitants of a feudally conceived kingdom, extending beyond Scotia proper benorth the Forth, than as a kin-based entity.¹⁰⁹ I will discuss the kin-based or people-oriented element later in more detail.

As before, a more territorially-conceived political identity coincides with an increase in the effectiveness of the kingship - as in the growth of the royal administration through the twelfth century,¹¹⁰ and in the restriction of the royal succession - as in the acceptance of primogeniture, initially evident in the acceptance of the child Malcolm IV, and further demonstrated by the acknowledgment by David, Earl of Huntingdon, of Alexander as

108. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Das Mittelalterliche Englische und Schottische Königtum: Ein Vergleich', Historisches Jahrbuch, cii (1982), 362-89, at 379 (and see 389). On the practice of Scottish clerks, see G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Scots Charter', in Medieval Studies Presented to R.H.C. Davis, edd. Henry Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (1985), 149-64.

109. See below, p. 428.

110. See esp. G.W.S. Barrow in RRS i, 27-56, and RRS ii, 28-67.

King William's heir in 1205.¹¹¹ This continuing centripetal development in Scotland duly led to the portrayal of a new immediate founding-figure for the kingship. In the tenth century Cináed mac Alpin became established in this position: in an annotated king-list written in 1198x1214, we find Máel Coluim mac Donnchada portrayed in the rôle for the first time.¹¹² The list is partisan in favour of

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111. ES ii, 365. there was probably still an awareness of David's rights under the old rules of succession: as David Sellar has suggested to me, David's homage to Alexander provides the context for his quit-claim of his and his heirs' rights to the kingship on which Florence, Count of Holland, based his claim in the Great Cause (see Grant G. Simpson, 'The Claim of Florence, Count of Holland, to the Scottish Throne, 1291-2', SHR, xxxvi (1957), 111-24). Certainly, the significance of David's homage is suggested by the fact that he only performed it four years after all the other 'magnates' had performed theirs to Alexander in 1201 (ES ii, 354).
112. Chron. Melrose, folio 13, which has been inserted into the Chronicle; see also p.xxii. The last entry in the original hand is the birth of Alexander in 1198: the next entry, written in a new hand, relates to William's death, 1214. Two of the Melrose scribes might have used it (writing in 1240x1 and 1240x64) when making prose insertions of royal successions (Chron. Melrose, xli-xliii, lvi-lvii): there is a formal possibility that their insertions on successions prior to Máel Coluim mac Donnchada belong to an earlier, lost, section of inserted folio 13 (which is the tail of a roll): Chron. Melrose, xxii. Both these insertions and inserted folio 13 itself are derived from the original king-list of the Y group (Anderson, KKES, 70, 75), so that it is quite possible that any similarity between the piecemeal insertions and inserted folio 13 (and these consist of only a couple of brief notices) can be explained as the result of both deriving from a common list-source. Certainly, inserted folio 13 itself gives no indication of having had any material prior to Máel Coluim mac Donnchada: and, furthermore, it is much more than the plain king-list which the piecemeal insertions need only have used.

his dynasty and takes primogeniture for granted: thus, it rather anachronistically says that Domnall Bán forced 'the legitimate heirs of Máel Coluim' into exile, and dismisses Donnchad mac Máel Coluim (wrongly) as a nothus.

The preference for King-list rather than Genealogy, therefore, is indicative of an increasing territorial conception of political identity which went hand in hand with the establishment ideologically of a new, more centralised, political order in the reign of William I.

As I have noted already,¹¹³ the thirteenth-century origin-legend accounts show that the Scots continued to think of themselves as part of the Gaelic people. However, in the East of Scotland, where these texts were written, this continued identity as part of a wider 'people' focused on Ireland can be seen to be on the decline throughout this period. Thus, it is only the earliest of these origin-legend texts, such as the 'Partholón' and 'Éber' recensions, that seem to have introduced innovations which are consistent with the sense of being part of the Gaelic people;¹¹⁴ while in the later 'Piere D'Escoce' legend of 1301x6 this sense has plainly become rather reduced, with Ireland being included merely as a stop-over point in Scota's journey: the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, moreover, is the

113. Above, pp. 397-9.

114. Above, p. 398.

first account of Scottish origins in which the eponymous Scota's destination is Scotland rather than Ireland. The Gaelic identity was, essentially, culturally-based: it is noteworthy that Robert I, in talking of the Irish and the Scots coming from the same national seed, mentions their having a common language and custom.¹¹⁵ It is not difficult, then, to relate the decline of the Gaelic identity in the East of Scotland to the decline of Gaelic there during this period: by Robert I's time significant areas of the east coast would not, in fact, have shared a common language and custom with the Irish.¹¹⁶ Where Gaelic remained, of course, the Gaelic identity survived undiminished: for instance, it was reported in 1602 that someone from Glenorchy refused to fight against the Irish, saying that "they would not serve against that people they were come of and whose language was one with theirs...".¹¹⁷ Where the Gaelic identity did decline, Scottish political identity remained as the principal 'people' identity. As I have suggested, this identity, already territorially expressed in the tenth century, became more territorially conceived in the later twelfth century. We would expect, therefore, as G.W.S. Barrow has shown,¹¹⁸ that the 'non-native'

115. R. Nicholson, *op.cit.*, 38.

116. See Charles Withers, Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981 (1984), 19-27. As he notes (at 22), Gaelic continued to be identified as 'the Scottish language' by non Gaelic-speaking Scots up to at least Fordun's time.

117. CSPS xiii, pt. ii, 937. I am grateful to Martin MacGregor for this reference.

118. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History (1980), 148f.

inhabitants of the regnum Scottorum came to see themselves as 'Scots', in that they were as much the inhabitants of the kingdom and lieges of the king as anyone else: an obvious sign of this development is the abandonment of the racial address in royal charters after 1179,¹¹⁹ so that where the king typically used to refer to French, English, Scots, Gallovidians and (rarely) Welsh, he now spoke only of 'Scots'. By the thirteenth century Scotia denoted the entire kingdom, both north and south of the Forth.¹²⁰ Clearly, this Scottish identity was essentially political: Gaelic, French, Flemings and English were Scottish alike if they identified with the kingdom of the King of Scots, i.e. with 'Scotland'.

This view of the Scots as a 'people' in an essentially political, 'kingdom-based' sense can be taken as an example of what Susan Reynolds has described¹²¹ as "one of the most important political developments of the centuries after 900.. (in which) kingdoms and peoples came to seem identical": indeed, Scotland appears to be an especially good example, insofar as the sense of the Scots as a 'people' (as Susan Reynolds has pointed out)¹²² depended on 'politics' rather than culture for its distinctiveness, in that it was centred on the kingdom. Origin-legends

119. RRS ii, 77.

120. G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity (1981), 153.

121. Susan Reynolds, Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300 (1984), 260.

122. Ibid., 276.

are an important, if not indeed necessary, expression of this kingdom/people entity: in Susan Reynolds' words, "any claim to regnal independence needed to presuppose a people and any people must by definition always have been a people". It is no surprise, therefore, that almost all the traceable origin-legend accounts talk (often incidentally) of Gáedel, Éber, Partholón, Fergus mac Ferchair, or whoever, leading a gens, populus, natio, or suchlike. Furthermore, it is tempting (for instance) ^{to} ~~for~~ relate the thirteenth-century origin-legend texts to the repeated attempts by Alexander II and Alexander III to obtain from the papacy the privilege of coronation and anointment as a recognition of their status as kings of an independent sovereign kingdom in the face of the claims of the Kings of England to superiority.¹²³ This idea of the Scottish 'people' in a political sense expressed in the origin-legend is, of course, far from being unparalleled,¹²⁴ and may indeed seem quite unremarkable. It does, however, contrast with the lack of an English origin-legend (certainly after the Conquest): the Brutus legend (derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's version) was used by some English historians,¹²⁵

123. See Duncan, Kingdom, 526, 554, 559, 576; Robertson, Concilia, xlv-xlvi; Marc Bloch, 'An Unknown Testimony on the History of Coronation in Scotland', SHR, xxiii (1926), 105-6; Cal.Docs.Scot. i, no. 2157.

124. See, e.g., R.E. Asher, 'Myth, Legend and History in Renaissance France', Studi Francesi xix (1969), 409-19; and, in general, Susan Reynolds, 'Medieval Origines Gentium and the Community of the Realm', History, lxviii (1984), 375-90.

125. For after 1300, see Laura Keeler, Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Later Latin Chroniclers (1946): for before 1300, see Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550 -c.1307 (1974), 422 and 432-3; and T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (1950), 14 n.2.

especially after it was tacked on as an afterthought to Edward I's reply to Pope Boniface VIII's bull Scimus fili;¹²⁶ but it should be noted that this was not an 'English origin-legend' insofar as it was only concerned with presenting the King of England as the heir of Brutus to the 'kingdom of Britain' in a manifestly (and rather contrived) feudal sense, and thereby made no attempt to justify Brutus's Trojan followers as the original 'English' people'.¹²⁷ The origin-legend evidence in this respect tallies impressively with what I have already noted concerning the royal styles in Scotland and England, in which the Scottish royal chapel for once did not follow English practice and retained the title rex Scottorum despite the adoption of rex Anglie by the English chancery from the reign of King John.¹²⁸ Clearly, the Scottish clerks were keen to portray the kingdom in terms of the 'Scottish people', while their English counterparts were evidently keen to see their kingdom in terms of a 'territory' rather than a 'people'.

In some of the origin-legend material which I have surveyed, this view of the kingdom as, essentially, a 'people' is quite forcefully expressed. The most secure example is in the '1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum', which I argued ended with the lines:¹²⁹

126. E.L.G. Stones, 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations between 1291 and 1401', Part I, Archives, ix (1969), 11-21, at 20: E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290-1296 (1978), i, 155 n.7.

127. Ibid., ii, 298-300.

128. Above, p. 424.

129. Above, p. 196.

Actenus hii toti fuerant ut plebs sua Scoti;
 Atque Deo dante sic amodo sic velut ante.
 Est totum cenum cujus caput est alienum
 Sic populus cenus quando fit rex alienus.

It is because the kingdom is a 'people' that it must naturally have a king from their own number. Similarly, there is a passage that appears to belong to the 'Partholón' recension which states¹³⁰ that 'in all these sufferings and straits [due to the hostile Hispani] they could never be prevailed on to be subject to, or to obey, a strange king; but always on the contrary, humble and devoted under their own king, they elected only to lead this beastly life, in freedom'. This sense of a 'people' being free if ruled by their own king is a good example of the idea of political independence which, as G.W.S. Barrow has shown,¹³¹ was a central element of Scottish political aspirations in the critical period from 1290.

The salient feature of Scottish politics after 1286, as is evident through the work of G.W.S. Barrow and Norman Reid,¹³² is the phrase 'community of the realm', which, to use G.W.S. Barrow's words,¹³³ "denoted the nation in formal terms". There can, indeed, be no doubt that the idea of the 'community of the realm' is intrinsically linked with the idea of

130. See above, p. 110, XX.2; but see also p. 42.

131. E.g., G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', Innes Review xxx (1979), 16-34, esp. 21ff.

132. Barrow, Bruce; Norman Reid, 'The Political Rôle of the Monarchy in Scotland, 1249-1329', Edinburgh unpublished Ph.D. thesis (1985), esp. 256-81.

133. G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity (1981), 128.

the 'people' in a political sense as a 'people/
kingdom' entity. We need look no further than the
seal of the first Guardians 'elected by the community
of the realm',¹³⁴ which on one side bore the inscription
'St. Andrew, be the leader of [your] compatriot Scots',
and on the other side showed a shield with the royal
arms, to see the Scots as the 'people' of a kingdom
firmly associated with the 'community of the realm'.
The seal no doubt also reveals an awareness of
the origin-legend's portrayal of the Scots as
'Greeks/Scythians':¹³⁵ probably St. Andrew was
regarded as a Scot insofar as he was the evangelist
of Greeks and Scythians (according to the Legend of
St. Andrews).¹³⁶ The idea of the 'community of the
realm' was no doubt particularly relevant to the
politically conscious strata of Scottish society at
the time; and there is a most interesting passage in the
material which is, apparently, derived from the 'Éber'
recension,¹³⁷ in which Gáedel speaks of the freedom

134. Barrow, Bruce, 17.

135. Most versions of the legend in Scotland give the Scoti a Greek origin - but only a few refer to a Scythian origin (the Declaration of Arbroath (final draft), and De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum in the Poppleton compilation); while most versions of the legend in Ireland give the Scoti a Scythian origin, with only a few referring to a Greek origin (e.g. LG i, 152; GT C§189 (Lec.366a8).) Perhaps Greece and Scythia were not clearly distinguished.

136. Anderson, KKES, 258.

137. Above, p. 112 (for translation); and p. 50, n.29.

of a people with a king of its own nation as 'the highest nobleness of man', suggesting that it was assumed to be of individual concern to anyone regarded (in the widest sense) as 'nobility'.

... hominum summa nobilitas ... ymmo
 gemma cunctis mundi mento preferenda
 jocalibus, nullius alienigene dominantis
 imperium pati, sed successione solummodo
 proprie nationis uti spontaliter potestate.

It is noteworthy, furthermore, that it is during the era of the phrase 'community of the realm's' greatest popularity that we find origin-legend accounts, such as those in the Instructiones (1301) and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), in which the 'Scottish people' become the chief subject of the legend with their leading-figures mentioned only incidentally, if at all: in earlier accounts it was the 'people' who were often only incidentally included in the narrative, with Gáedel, Éber, Símon, Fergus, or whoever, centre-stage. No doubt this shift in emphasis is related to the same heightened political awareness, evident in the adoption of the phrase 'community of the realm', caused by the new political experience of having a government based on the 'community of the realm' without the presence of a monarch in the kingdom: this seems to have resulted in the greater self-assurance of the community, compared to their expressed inability to bind the king in the treaty with Prince Llywelyn of Wáles in 1258,¹³⁸ witnessed in their effective take-over

138. Duncan, Kingdom, 571.

of the government from King John in 1295.¹³⁹

Just as the idea of the 'people' in a political sense can be detected (e.g. in the origin-legend accounts) before the period of the Guardians back through the thirteenth century, so it is also possible to find a similar idea to the 'community of the realm' well before the phrase itself was adopted.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the usual address in royal charters typically included the phrase omnibus probis hominibus suis totius terre sue.¹⁴¹ This contrasts with England, where the king preferred the phrase omnibus fidelibus suis (etc.), 'to all his faithful':¹⁴² the different Scottish address is impressive, remembering that, otherwise, the Scottish clerks seem to have been happy enough to imitate the practice of their English counterparts. The phrase used by the English chancery seems to refer to ideas portrayed in the English coronation-ritual, in which the inhabitants of the kingdom are regarded as a given section of the congregatio fidelium who are handed over by God to the King created by His

139. Barrow, Bruce, 63, calling it a "sober constitutional revolution".

140. See G.W.S. Barrow, Kingship and Unity (1981), 125.

141. RRS i, 73; ii, 76.

142. RRS i, 73.

divine grace through anointment:¹⁴³ this view does not conceive of the English as a 'people' with any political rôle, but merely as the mute recipients of the government of a God-made King. In contrast, the key phrase in the normal Scottish address, which is usually translated as 'all the responsible men', seems to imply political competence. As G.W.S. Barrow has put it,¹⁴⁴ "at its fullest the phrase no doubt covered all the king's free subjects; but essentially it referred to the king's substantial and responsible subjects, men of landholding class, burgesses and beneficed clergy": in other words, it related to the same people as "the totality of the king's free subjects"¹⁴⁵ to whom the idea of the community of the realm related, acknowledging their political competence in relation to the kingdom as the

143. Thus the phrase can be found expanded to (e.g.) omnibus fidelibus sancte ecclesie per regnum Anglie constitute (Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum ii, no. 1687). In the royal oath during the ritual the phrase populo sibi commissio appears (or, in another ordo, populo christiano mihi subdito): see English Coronation Records, ed. L.G. Wickham Legge (1901), 30; and 30ff., 46ff., for contemporary English rituals. See also P.E. Schramm, A History of the English Coronation (1937), and George Garnett, 'Studies in the History of the Coronation Ritual and Royal Succession in England from the Danish Conquest to the Accession of Henry II', Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (forthcoming): in general, see W. Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (1978), 128ff., and also W. Ullmann, The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages (1967), 2-51.

144. Barrow, Bruce, 27.

145. Barrow, Bruce (2nd edn.), xiv.

the phrase 'community of the realm' does as it was applied in Scotland.¹⁴⁶ The preference of the Scottish clerks in the twelfth century for the probi homines phrase rather than the English fideles, I suggest, shows that the idea of there being a 'politically competent' stratum of society was well established in Scotland, and happily acknowledged by the kingship, long before 1286; and that this was the ideological foundation on which the phrase 'community of the realm' took such an immediate and firm hold on Scottish political life in the constitutional crises during the period after 1286. This idea appears to match well with the portrayal of the 'people' in a political sense. Clearly, the political idea of the 'people' did not mean that every Tom, Dick or Harry, was deemed to have a say in their own right in the public affairs of the kingdom: it does, however, seem to suggest (or at least be conducive to) some notion of there being a 'politically competent community' who by their position in society were understood intrinsically to represent the 'totality' of the populus/gens/natio of the kingdom.

If these ideas were evident and established in the twelfth century, then it should not be a surprise if they existed before the twelfth century in the context of the kin-based society of the time. In

146. Ibid: "as far as we can tell, it never had such an exclusively aristocratic flavour in Scotland as it had in England".

the origin-legend in the tenth-century edition of the Senchus Fer nAlban the Fir Alban are defined genealogically as the descendants of sons of Erc, and thereby in particular as the Cenél nGabráin, Cenél Loairn, and Cenél nÓengusa. Clearly, this is more than just a dynastic origin-legend: that would have surely confined itself to Fergus Mór alone - and, in any case, such a dynastic legend is provided elsewhere by the portrayal of Cináed mac Alpin as the destroyer of the Picts and founder of the kingship of Alba.¹⁴⁷ Fir Alban, however, must have meant more than just the 'descendants of Erc': they are, after all, called Fir Alban (or Albannaig), 'men of Scotland', 'Scottish people', and not Uí Eirc or Síl nEirc or suchlike. It is no surprise, thus, to find the phrase Fir Alban used in the annals as a general term to describe Scots,¹⁴⁸ or to read that the war-cry of the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard was 'Albannaig, Albannaig'.¹⁴⁹ Clearly, Fir Alban denoted the 'Scottish people' (i.e. at least the 'free'). I suggest, therefore, that the 'sons of Erc' origin-legend portrays genealogically - i.e. in the formal (and probably rather stereotyped) means of expressing

147. See above, p. 412.

148. E.g., AU 918, 952, 1005, 1054, 1130.

149. SEAC, 202.

political relationships in a kin-based society - the idea of a 'political community', whose competence in the affairs of the kingship is represented by their relationship to the ruling dynasty, and who are understood, as a kin-group, to represent implicitly the Fir Alban as a whole. I would argue, thus, that tenth-century Scotland provides a good example of the notional 'kingdom/people' entity that Susan Reynolds has suggested¹⁵⁰ became the norm in European political conceptions after 900.

To conclude: my discussion suggests that there was a continuous Gaelic historiographical tradition in Scotland from (at least) the seventh century to which the origin-legend belonged; and that, as it adapted to the new cultural situation in the East of Scotland from the twelfth century so it passed on the origin-legend as a key element of subsequent Scottish historiography. It appears, therefore, that though English claims to superiority (as in the use of the Brutus legend by Edward I) did provoke reiterations of the Scottish legend, the origin-legend was neither concocted nor 'restored' in response to these English claims.

The origin-legend, I suggest, was known not only by the historians of the time in its most detailed form, but was familiar, at least in its bare essentials, to the politically conscious at large:

150. Susan Reynolds, Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300 (1984), 260.

certainly, there is good reason to suppose that those closely associated with the kingship were aware of it. Because the origin-legend served to articulate and re-assert Scottish political identity (at least, it would seem, among the literati within the ambit of the kingship), it would appear to reflect the political identity of those near the kingship's heart. While this is not clear evidence for the political identity of those that were more distant from the kingship both socially and geographically, it does provide useful information for the history of Scottish political identity at the fulcrum of its development.

From this position the origin-legend helps to suggest that the history of 'Scotland' and 'the Scottish people' as a political identity starts c.900 as a stage in the centripetal, and thereby increasingly territorial, political development within Gaeldom as a whole, which saw the birth of the territorially expressed idea of rí Alban and rí Érenn, Fir Alban and Fir Érenn, as ultimate focuses of political identity. In Scotland, unlike Ireland, this idea was given concrete form from the tenth century in the form of a central kingship which was the ultimate authority in (at least) a significant area of Alba. As soon as the curtain of documentary history lifts in the twelfth century, therefore, the idea of the ultimate authority of the king appears as a well-established and salient fact of

political life in Scotland: thus, it is succinctly expressed in Alexander I's attitude, as reported to Eadmer,¹⁵¹ that 'he wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone, and will not endure that any authority have the least power in any matter, without his control'. Furthermore, from the start, it would seem, a key element of this central political identity was the political notion of the Fir Alban with its 'political community'. I would argue, therefore, that the kingship of Alba is an early example of the 'kingdom/people' entity which Susan Reynolds identifies as becoming the norm in European political conceptions in the centuries following 900.

Moving into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it is possible to see the increased territorialisation and centralisation during this period as a continuation of the centripetal momentum in Gaelic politics that had produced the idea of Alba, 'Scotland', in the first place; and it would seem that this momentum proceeded apace in Scotland up to Alexander I's confident assumptions about his position vis-à-vis his kingdom, and in Ireland became firmly entrenched in Irish political ideas by the 'synthetic historians' of the eleventh century,¹⁵² and began to become more of a political reality during the twelfth.¹⁵³ It is

151. SEAC, 144.

152. F.J. Byrne, The Rise of the Uí Néill and the High-kingship of Ireland (1970), 3f.

153. J. Ryan, Toirdelbach O Conchubair, 1088-1156 (1966).

possible, indeed, to explain the peaceful and easy reception of military feudalism into those areas where the King of Scots had established his authority by supposing that the introduction of more territorial and centralising ideas did not represent much of a change at all; that it was not so much a matter of planting alien ideas as a matter of finding and applying a new vocabulary to articulate formally an already more territorial, dynastic and centralised, and less kin-based, reality of social and political relationships. It is interesting to note that it has been argued¹⁵⁴ that in twelfth-century Ireland (before 1169) "kinship was a dying force in politics" and that "the greater kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries ... developed power-based territorial lordships which bear striking resemblance to the feudal kingdoms of Europe".¹⁵⁵ In any event, I have suggested that in the East of Scotland through the late twelfth century there was an important ideological shift towards a more territorial and centralised political identity that was, no doubt, related to the introduction of military feudalism and the decline of the kin-based element in social and political relationships. It was no doubt during this process that the idea of the 'political community'

154. F.J. Byrne, 'Senchas': the Nature of Gaelic Historical Tradition', Historical Studies ix, ed. J.G. Barry (1974), 137-60, at 140.

155. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans (1972), 32. See also F.J. Byrne, 'The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169', in A New History of Ireland, vol. ii, ed. Art Cosgrove (1987), 1-42, at 12.

assumed less of a kin-based form and more of a feudal complexion, as is perhaps implied by the King's reference to 'his responsible men' in his charter-address. Perhaps, also, as the kingdom became more centralised (both in theory and in practice) so the sense of being a 'political community' (and thereby of being a 'people') became more unified, becoming the communitas regni rather than a group of cenéla. Certainly, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a continued sense of the Scottish kingdom/people as a self-contained independent entity, which explains (for instance) the dogged determination of the Scottish bishops and successive Kings of Scots throughout the twelfth century to obtain recognition from the papacy of a distinct Scottish Province,¹⁵⁶ and the repeated efforts of Alexander II and Alexander III to obtain the privilege of anointment and coronation, the badges of sovereign status.¹⁵⁷

To date there seems to have been an unwillingness

156. Robert Somerville, Scotia Pontificia (1982), 7f; Duncan, Kingdom, 258-64.

157. See above, n.123. No requests for anointment and coronation are recorded between 1259 and 1329. An inventory of the muniments of the royal treasury made in 1282 mentions two bulls, now lost, viz. "Bulla Innocentii Quarti de petitione et confirmatione iuris et libertatis regis et regni" followed by "Similis Bulla Alexandri Quarti" (APS i, 107). I would suggest that these are related to the requests for anointment and coronation in 1251 and 1259; and that the lack of further requests was because these were felt to represent a sufficient papal recognition and guarantee of the independent sovereign status of the King of Scots and his Kingdom. This would suggest, therefore, that the requests for coronation and anointment were motivated by a desire to establish the king's status (i.e. vis-à-vis English pretensions) rather than by a desire to portray the kingship in a manner comparable to the ideas expressed in the English coronation ritual.

to talk of the Scottish nation as an established idea before the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁸ It is possible to talk of 'nations' in different ways, of course, each denoting a sense of being a 'people'. It is, however, particularly relevant as a political idea (and, as such, is more than simply 'patriotism' or 'identity'). From the vantage-point of the origin-legend, then, I would propose that the Scottish nation, in this sense, became established from the tenth century; and that it is useful to use this terminology not just because it is easier than referring to a 'political sense of being a people', but because it recognises that this central political idea, which I have discussed only for the period 900-1300, has an essential similarity with the concept of nationalism which Tom Nairn has defined¹⁵⁹ as the central force in the European political order of recent centuries. This, of course, is not to deny the monarchic character of the medieval Scottish political order, and the fact that the form of this idea changes with time: what is constant is the central political idea of the 'people', the political sense of being a nation. In case this seems almost platitudinous, it is worth noting Tom Nairn's convincing argument¹⁶⁰ that since the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 England has

158. See, e.g., Barrow, Bruce, xi; Norman Reid, *op.cit.*, 461.

159. Tom Nairn, The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism, 2nd edn. (1981), esp. 295-6.

160. Ibid., pp. 291ff.

failed to admit the idea of an 'English nation' into its political structure, and has failed to develop a sense of nationality in the relevant sense.

Turning back to twelfth- and thirteenth-century England, I have noticed how there was no origin-legend of the 'English people', how the governed were regularly portrayed by the kingship as having no political competence, and how it has been suggested that the idea of the 'community of the realm' (whose governmental implications were steadfastly resisted by the kingship) had "an exclusively aristocratic flavour". This begs the question of whether England has failed politically to develop a sense of being a nation not just since 1688, but since 1066, or at all. How far back are the roots of the constitutional difference between Scotland and England, the former locating sovereignty with the people, the latter with the Crown in parliament?¹⁶¹ Perhaps it is significant that, at the curia in 1301, the Scots based their case on the assumption that kingdoms are, by definition, distinct peoples, while Edward I held that Brutus's kingdom was his property by right: certainly, this tallies with the different royal styles, with rex Scottorum portraying the king as king of a people, while rex Anglie portrays the king as king of a territory.

161. See MacCormick v. Lord Advocate, Court of Session, 1953.

I would argue, therefore, that it is misleading to talk of the "unification of the kingdom"¹⁶² or to say that the "nation was being forged" as a "shared identity" among many different ethnic groups in the thirteenth century:¹⁶³ rather, I would suggest that Scottish national identity, already established as an integral element of the kingship of Alba in the tenth century, followed in the wake of the expansion of the kingship into Strathclyde, Galloway and Lothian, and into the Western Isles, and later (and to a lesser degree) into the Northern Isles; and that it was readily adopted by the various immigrants, and more so their heirs, through the twelfth and into the thirteenth centuries.

It is true that the 'Anglo-Norman impact' was not solely confined to the immigration of people, but also included the introduction of new customs, notably relating to property. The area of Scotland thus affected can, indeed, be seen as part of a 'single aristocracy' found throughout the British Isles, who shared the same customs and often the same 'Neustrian' origins, with a few having significant stakes in more than one of the counties of Britain. It has recently been suggested,¹⁶⁴ moreover, that there was a "single political dynamic" throughout 'Anglo-Norman Britain', a "British informal empire", whose momentum

162. Norman Reid, *op.cit.*, 457.

163. E.J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *SHR*, lxxiii (1984), 111-35, at 135.

164. Robin Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles', in The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections, ed. R.R. Davies (1988), 142-59, esp.151-2.

was towards the political unification of the British Isles (centred on the English kingship). A serious weakness in this argument, however, is that similarity of custom, the wide interests of a few 'entrepreneurs', or an (ultimately) similar geographical origin cannot be taken to suppose the existence of a common political purpose. In fact, there is no evidence to suggest that this 'single aristocracy' conceived of itself as a corporate entity or, more importantly, as a single people. Everything suggests, rather, that they assumed a pre-existing identity wherever they settled, or even conquered, becoming English, Scottish or Sicilian (but not so readily Irish or Welsh). There was no durable or pervasive 'Anglo-Norman identity' in a political or any other meaningful sense.¹⁶⁵ It is no coincidence that there is no adequate word to denote these people, for none has ever existed: we should experience some embarrassment when we call them 'Normans', for they were Bretons, Flemings, Picards etc. as well; neither are they all 'English' or 'Anglo-' (for all that English historiography feels free to talk of 'English' rather than 'Anglo-Saxon' only after the English were utterly conquered). Throughout this period, therefore, their corporate identity was

165. See R.H.C. Davis, The Normans and their Myth (1976).

principally focused (in the British Isles) on either the kingships of Scotland or England (and no doubt they would have more readily become Welsh and Irish had sufficiently potent and enduring Welsh and Irish political 'magnets' been established). The influence of the different kingships of England and Scotland is also in evidence within the spectrum of similar custom: there was no one common law, but two, often with the same elements fertilised in different contexts to produce similar, but distinct, products.¹⁶⁶

The political identities that lie at the foundations of the history of the British Isles in this period are the Irish, Scottish, English and Welsh. It is significant that 'Britain' only existed as a political concept insofar as it represented the expansionist ambitions of one of these identities: it was most consistently coined in this sense by the Kings of England, but appears also among Welsh ambitions;¹⁶⁷ while Robert I's 'claim' on the throne of England¹⁶⁸ can also be seen in this light. As a political entity 'Britain' was not conceived in any other terms (except, in the aftermath of Edward I, with the idea of both the

166. See W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Common Law of Scotland and the Common Law of England', in The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections, ed. R.R. Davies (1988), 82-99.

167. R.R. Davies, 'In Praise of British History', in The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections, ed. R.R. Davies (1988), 9-26, at 11.

168. See above, pp. 223ff.

Scots and the Welsh joining forces to drive out the English).¹⁶⁹ The situation, therefore, was quite different from Ireland, where there was a well established common identity.¹⁷⁰

To look at medieval Scotland within a British context is, of course, historically stimulating. I hope, however, that my thesis has served to emphasise that the most relevant wider context for the study of Scotland throughout this period is Gaelic history. The common background of society, culture and identity across Ireland and Scotland should make this obvious enough. In particular, though, it was within the dynamic of medieval Gaelic history as a whole that the concepts of Alba and Fir Alban, 'Scotland' and the Scottish nation, were born and reared.

169. E.g., the Metrical Prophecy of c.1307 (Chron. Picts-Scots, 117-8; M.O. Anderson, 'The Scottish Materials in the Paris Manuscript, Bib. Nat., Latin 4126', SHR, xxviii (1949), 31-42, at 33-4. Also, A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Scots' Invasion of Ireland, 1315', in The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections, ed. R.R. Davies (1988), 100-117, at 114.

170. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and Kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, ed. T.W. Moody (1978), 1-36.

APPENDIX I:

BRIEF SUMMARY OF SCOTTISH TEXTS ANENT THE SCOTTISH
ORIGIN-LEGEND BEFORE FORDUN

(Texts are mentioned if they state more than that
'Scots/Scotia are derived from Scota')

Each entry gives: Title
 Brief Description
 Date: where written/by whom:
 Texts derived from it
 Page reference to discussion of text

1. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, 'Version I'

Probably represents a seventh-century (?Iona)
recension of the Genealogy of the Gáedil; traces
descent through '...Fergus Mór mac Eirc...Éremón
mac Miled...Éber mac Gáedil Glais meic Néoil meic
Fóeniusa Farsaid...Rifath Scot...Adam': Gaelic:

10th cent.; probably ollamh ríge:

copied into the edition of the 'Senchus plus
Genelaig' text;

revised into 'Version II'.

See Chapter Six.

2. Senchus Fer nAlban plus Genelaig Albanensium text.

Edition of a seventh-century text: made the eponyms
of the Cenél Loairn and the Cenél nÓengusa into
brothers of Fergus Mór mac Eirc: mainly Gaelic
(translated from Latin):

10th. cent.: ? ollamh ríge

to Ireland by end of 10th. cent., probably
954x71.

See Bannerman, Dalriada, 39, 107, 118-32; and, above,
Chapter Six.

3. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, 'Version II'

A copy of Version I, but the section between Eochaid
Muinremuir and Eochaid Riata rewritten into a 'portrait'
of kingliness: Gaelic:

probably 971x1005; probably ollamh ríge:

the exemplar of all subsequent medieval Scottish
texts of the Genealogy;

copy reaches Ireland by 1034.

See Chapter Six.

4. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'O'

Descendant of Version II: Gaelic:

probably 1124; probably ollamh ríge:

copy to (?) Scone (text P);

and to ? St. Andrews (text W);

and to Leinster, where it was used by Áed Ua
Crimthainn in LL.

See Chapter Five.

5. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'P'

Copy of text O: Gaelic:

1124x53; either a member of the retinue of the

ollamh ríge, but probably a member of Scone Priory:

it was included in the 'Poppleton Compilation',

probably at Scone.

See Chapter Five.

6. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'W'

Copy of text O, with occasional additional
historiographical gloss: Gaelic (?):

1124x53, possibly 1125; either a member of the
retinue of the ollamh ríghe, but (probably)
a St. Andrews cleric:

copied into 'W' recension of origin-legend
material.

See Chapter Five.

7. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'D'

Copy of text W: mixture of Anglo-Norman/Latin and
Gaelic orthography (possibly designed for an Anglo-
Norman readership):

copied by text D (Diceto);
and text D (Wardlaw).

See Chapter Five.

8. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'D (Diceto)'

Copy of text D:

possibly 1149; perhaps a copy taken by/ given
to Henry fitzEmpress' entourage when he was
knighted by David I:

copied by Diceto;
and by Fordun (probably in London).

See Chapter Five.

9. Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, text 'D (Wardlaw)'

Copy of text D, except more Latinate:

possibly 1149x53; perhaps a cleric in the royal administration:

Walter of Wardlaw's text of David I's genealogy derived from it;

the text of the Genealogy used by the origin-legend synthesist also derived from it.

See Chapter Five and pp. 59-69.

10. The Poppleton Compilation

Includes a text of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots, as well as allusions to legend in De Situ Albannie and De Origine Antiquorum Pictorum: Latin:

probably 1165x84; probably Scone

transcribed by Roger of Poppleton in mid 14th. century.

See Anderson, KKES, 236,

Molly Miller, 'Matriline by Treaty: the Pictish

Foundation-legend', in Ireland in the Early Medieval Europe, ed. D. Whitelock et al. (1982), at 138-42,

and E.J. Cowan, 'The Scottish Chronicle in the Poppleton Manuscript', Innes Review, xxxii (1981), 3-21, at 3f.

11. A Life of St. Brandán

Contains the Gáedel/Éber legend (probably originally as an interpolation), which features Gáedel from Athens to Egypt (marries Scota), and then to Spain;

and then features Éber from Spain to Ireland:
probably, therefore, only an account of the legend
as far as Ireland: Latin:

x 12th cent.; probably a Gaelic scriptorium
in East Scotland (?St. Andrews):
the Gáedel/Éber legend taken from this
MS by Z¹.

See Chapter Three.

12. A Life of St. Congal

Contains the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend,
featuring Símon Breac from Spain to Ireland, Fergus
mac Ferchair from Ireland to Scotland, and the Stone
of Scone: Latin:

x12th cent.; probably a Gaelic scriptorium in the
East of Scotland (? St. Andrews):

the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend
taken from this MS by Z¹.

See Chapter Three.

13. 'Partholón' recension

(At least) an account of the Gaelic origin-legend
based on an interpolated text (of the 'Nennian'
recension?) of the Historia Brittonum, and Geoffrey
of Monmouth, featuring Gáedel to Egypt (marries
Scota), and then to Spain, and then featuring
Partholón from Spain to Ireland, which Partholón
obtains as a 'perpetual possession': Latin:

probably late 12th. cent.; probably a member of
a new Order (possibly at Scone):

used in the synthetic origin-legend text.

See Chapter Two.

14. 'Sons of Mil' recension

At least an account of the Gaelic origin-legend,
featuring Gáedel to Egypt (marries Scota), and
then to Spain, and then (at least) Éremón and
Éber sons of Mil Espáine from Spain to Ireland:
possibly Latin:

x mid 13th. cent.; Scottish:

used in the synthetic origin-legend text.

See Chapter Two.

15. '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum'

A poem consisting of a list of kings of Scots from
Fergus mac Eirc to Cináed mac Alpin, preceded by
an account of the Gaelic origin-legend based on
the Historia Brittonum (Ch.XV), with the addition
of Gáedel and Mil and a Scottish section
featuring Loarn: Latin:

probably soon after 1214; possibly ollamh ríge:

made the basis of the 1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum.

See Chapter Four.

16. 'Z¹'

The original of the 'Z' recension, i.e. a compilation of the Gáedel/Éber legend from a Life of St. Brandán, the Símon Breac/Fergus mac Ferchair legend from a Life of St. Congal, and a king-list of the X group (probably from St. Andrews?): Latin:

1214x, possibly 1220/1; probably at St. Andrews:
 used in the synthetic origin-legend text;
 probable source of the 'Éber' recension;
 Z² largely a copy of it.

See Chapter Three.

17. 'Éber' recension

A considerably 'improved' version of (at least) the origin-legend material in Z¹: makes Ireland uninhabited before the 'divinely-willed' settlement of the Scoti: Latin:

x mid 13th. cent.; possibly a member of the royal administration:

used in the synthetic origin-legend text.

See Chapters Two and Three.

18. 'The Synthetic Origin-legend text'

A synthesis of the 'Éber' recension, the 'Sons of Mil' recension, the 'Partholón' recension, and the origin-legend material of Z¹, based on a MS of text D (Wardlaw) of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots; and including (at least) Z¹'s king-list, possibly

collated with a list of the Y group: its methodology is characteristic of Gaelic historiography: Latin: probably mid 13th. cent.; probably the ollamh ríghhe: the source of almost all Fordun's account of Scottish origins and much of his king-list material, and of some key features of his chronology.

See Chapters Two and Three.

19. 'Z²'

The 'Z' recension: a copy of Z¹, except the introduction of the idea that the kings of Scots from Fergus mac Eirc to Alpin preceded the list of Pictish kings, so that all the kings in the list formed a single line of succession: Latin:

x1304, probably mid/late 13th. cent.; probably St. Andrews:

the source of the 'W' recension;
and of the 'Edinburgh' recension.

See Chapter Three.

20. 'Edinburgh' recension

A considerably 'improved' version of Z²: identified Fergus mac Eirc with Fergus mac Ferchair: Latin:

1292x1304 (?1301/2); probably someone connected with St. Andrews and the government (? Nicholas of Balmyle):

found in Edinburgh Castle by Sir Thomas Gray,

who copied it into the Scalacronica:
 (its king-list referred to as list K).

See Chapter Three.

21. 'W¹'

The original of the 'W' recension, i.e. Z²'s
 origin-legend plus king-list text plus a copy
 of text W of the Genealogy of the Kings of Scots:
 identified Fergus mac Ferchair with Fergus mac Eirc:

Latin:

xl306, probably late 13th. cent.; probably
 St. Andrews:

a source of the 1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum;
 king-list N;

W² largely a copy of it.

See Chapters Three and Four.

22. 'Grosseteste'

A brief account of how Scota and Gáedel went from
 Egypt to Ulster, probably based on "common
 knowledge" of the Scots/Scotia being derived from
 Gáedel and Scota: probably attributed to Bishop
 Grosseteste of Lincoln: Latin:

probably late 13th. cent.; possibly Moray:
 probably added (as a gloss) to synthetic
 origin-legend text before it reached Fordun.

See Chapter Four.

23. "Erk"/"Gael" text

Stated that Argyll was called after 'Erc', son of Scota, and 'Gáedel', her husband: probably took its information from a king-list and from "common knowledge" of Scots/Scotia being derived from Gáedel and Scota:

probably late 13th. cent.; a cleric familiar with Scots:

a source of the Instructiones

See Chapter Four.

24. Instructiones

Contains a simple statement of the legend, probably derived mainly from the "Erk"/"Gáedel" text and Giraldus Cambrensis: Latin:

1301; Nicholas of Balmyle (and others):

the raw material of the Processus

See Chapter Four.

25. Processus

Includes a brief statement of the legend, which portrays the Stone of Scone from Egypt to Scotland, via Ireland: Latin:

1301; Scottish proctors at papal curia:

apparent source of 'Piere D'Escoce' legend.

See Chapter Four.

26. The 'Piere D'Escoce' legend

Probably a song derived from the origin-legend material in the Processus, with the addition of the 'prophecy' concerning the Stone of Scone: (probably not a written text as such):

1301x6; Scotland:

a source of the 1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum;

found as the Anglo-French song La Piere D'Escoce.

See Chapter Four.

27. '1306 Chronicon Rhythmicum'

A poem consisting of the '1214 Chronicon Rhythmicum' expanded with material from W¹ and from the 'Piere D'Escoce' legend, as well as material related to the 'Huntingdon Chronicle': Latin:

probably 1306; probably St. Andrews:

used by Fordun;

expanded by Bower.

See Chapter Four.

28. 'W²'

The 'W' recension: a copy of W¹: Latin (and Scots?):

probably 14th. cent.; St. Andrews:

a source of Wyntoun;

and of king-list D and its preceding text

of the Genealogy of the kings of Scots.

See Chapters Four and Five.

29. The Declaration of Arbroath

Includes a brief account of the legend derived from a (probably) St. Andrews text of the Historia Anglorum; a statement of the Scots deriving from Greece (1st. draft) / from Greater Scythia; and '113 kings' of Scots derived from a king-list, apparently descended from Z^2 (i.e. W^1):

1320; probably Alexander of Kinninmonth:

See Barrow, Bruce, esp. 308

Sir James Fergusson, The Declaration of Arbroath (1970)

Grant G. Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath

Revitalised', SHR, lvi (1977), 11-33, at 12-6, and above, pp. 144-5, and 420.

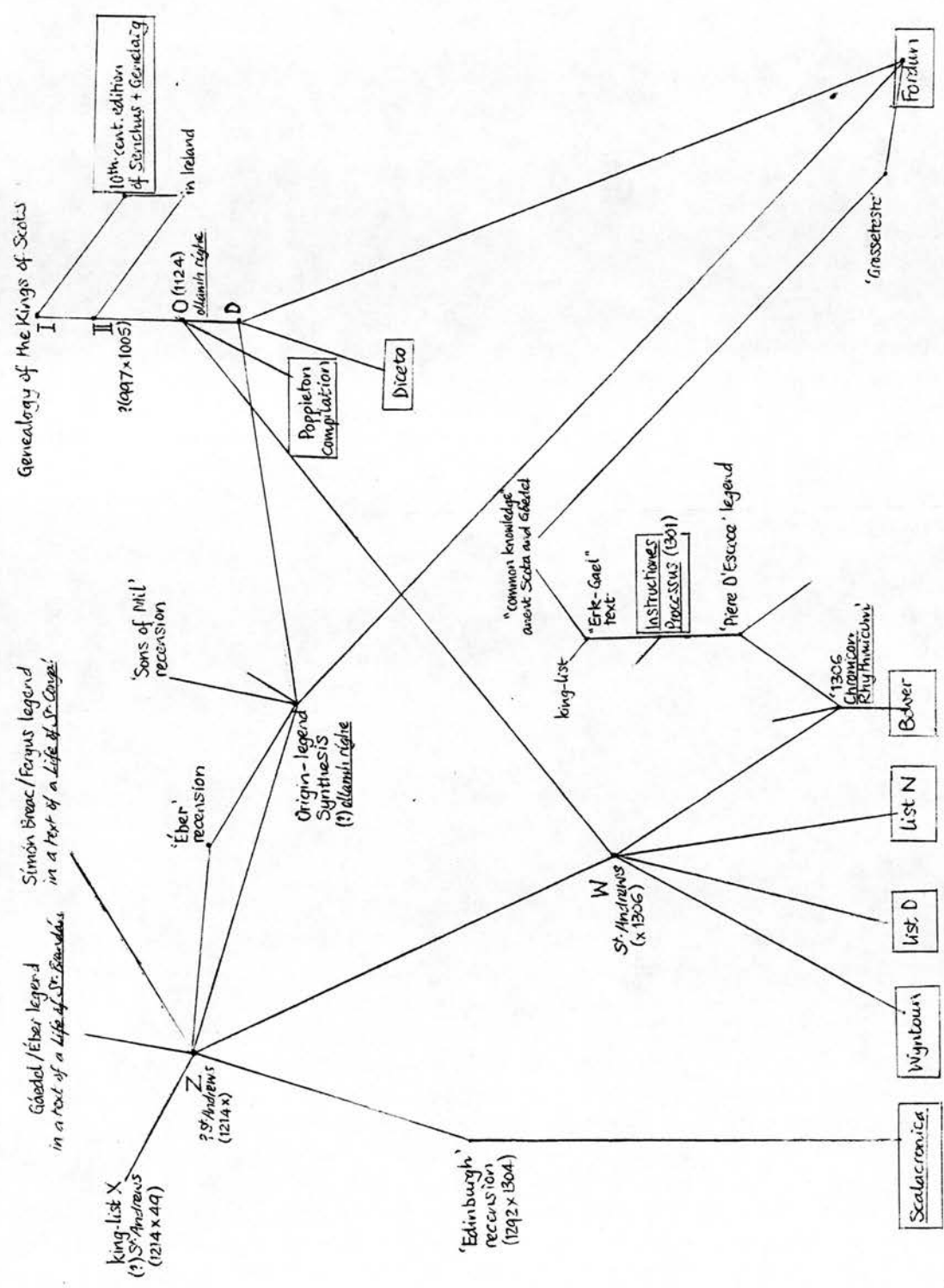
30. The lost Register of St. Andrews

Included a brief account of the legend, probably derived from a St. Andrews text of the Historia Anglorum:

probably 1331x ; St. Andrews.

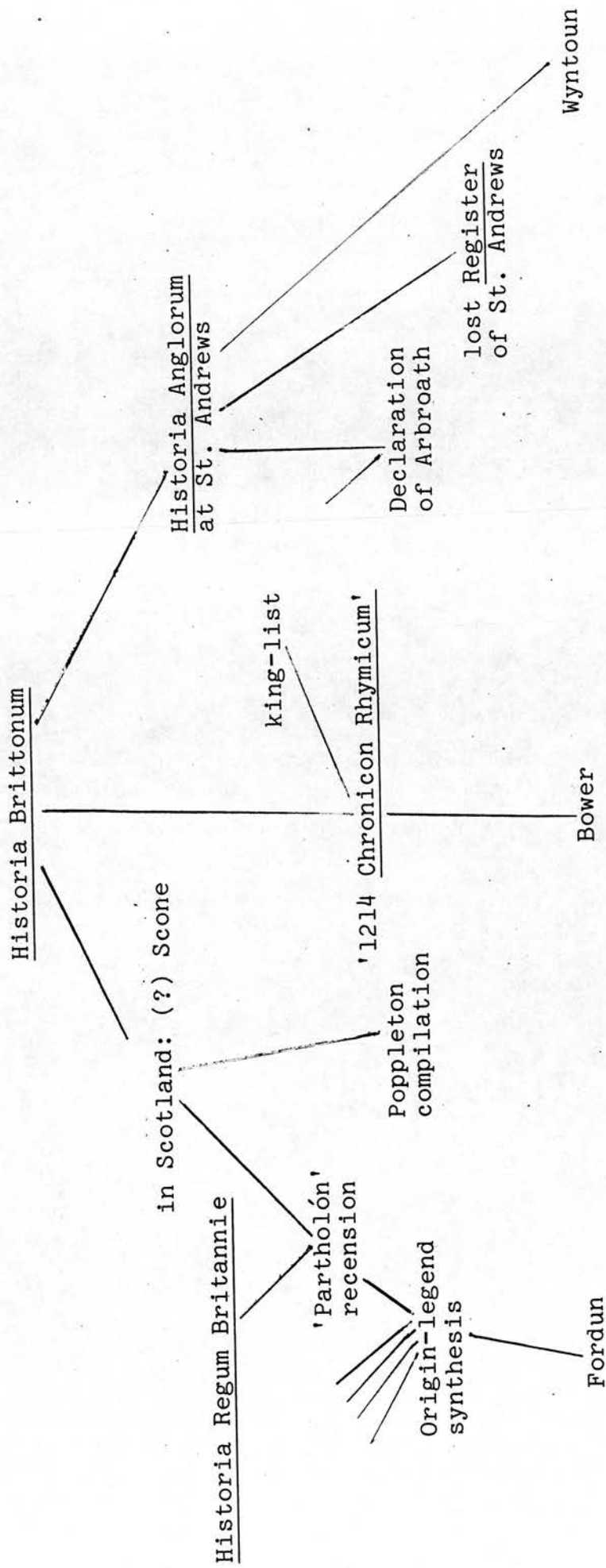
See pp. 141-5.

APPENDIX II SUMMARY OF STAGES IN TEXT-HISTORY : I



Boxes denote surviving texts

SUMMARY OF STAGES IN TEXT-HISTORY: II



APPENDIX: THE GAELIC ORIGIN-LEGEND

A skeletal outline of the two principal versions of the Gaelic origin-legend in the Lebor Gabála (see pp. 25-6, above)

First Redaction

Noah
 ↓
 Iafeth
 ↓
 Fóenius Farsaid (k. Scythia)
 ↓
 Néil (goes to Egypt; m. Scota
 dau. Pharaoh)
 ↓
 Gáedel Glas
 ↓
 Esru
 ↓
 Sru (expelled from Egypt:
 goes to Scythia)
 ↓
 Éber Scot (k. Scythia)
 ↓
 Boamain (rivalry for Scythian
 kingship with progeny
 of Nenual son of Fóenius)
 ↓
 Ogamain
 ↓
 Tat
 ↓
 Agnomain (kills Refloir; expelled
 from Scythia, with the
Gáedil)
 ↓
 Lamfind
 ↓
 Éber Glunfind
 ↓
 Agni Find
 ↓
 Febri Glas
 ↓
 Nenual
 ↓
 Nuadu
 ↓
 Allot
 ↓
 Ercha
 ↓
 Deáth
 ↓
 Brath (reaches Spain, which he
 conquers)
 ↓
 Breogan (founds Brigancia)
 ↓
 Íth (sees Ireland first from
 Brigancia)
 ↓
 (The sons of Mil take Ireland)

Second Redaction

Noah
 ↓
 Iafeth
 ↓
 Fóenius Farsaid (k. Scythia)
 ↓
 Néil (goes to Egypt; m. Scota
 dau. Pharaoh Cincris)
 ↓
 Gáedel Glas
 ↓
 Esru
 ↓
 Sru (expelled from Egypt: goes
 to Scythia)
 ↓
 (rivalry for Scythian kingship
 between progeny of Sru and progeny
 of Nenual son of Fóenius)
 ↓
 Bile
 ↓
 Mil (kills Refloir; expelled from
 Scythia, with the Gáedil.
 Goes to Egypt; m. Scota dau.
 Pharaoh Nectanibus; leaves
 Egypt; reaches Spain, which
 he conquers)
 ↓
 Breogan (founds Brigancia)
 ↓
 Íth (sees Ireland first from
 Brigancia)
 ↓
 (The sons of Mil take Ireland)

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