Annals

OF THE

CALEDONIANS, PICTS, AND SCOTS;

AND OF

STRATHCLYDE, CUMBERLAND, GALLOWAY,

AND MURRAY.

BY

JOSEPH RITSON, ESQ.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Antiquam exquirite matrem.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR W. AND D. LAING;
AND PAYNE AND FOSS, PALL-MALL, LONDON.

1828.
EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,
PAUL'S WORK, CANONGATE.
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INTRODUCTION.

The Scots are mentioned by no historian earlier than Ammianus Marcellinus, under the year 360. It has, indeed, been frequently asserted that Porphyry, a celebrated pagan philosopher, about the year 267, in a work against the Christian religion, now lost, declared that "neither Britain, a province fertile of tyrants, and the Scotch nations (Scotticae gentes), and all the barbarous nations thereabout as far as the ocean, had known Moses and the prophets:" but, as some copies of saint Jeromes epistle to Ctesiphon against Pelagius, in which the passage is preserved, read (not Scotticae, but) Scythicae gentes, which seems most likely to be Porphyry's genuine expression, this instance cannot be relied

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on. In the panegyric of Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, addressed in Rome, to the emperor Theodosius the elder, in the year 361, they are again noticed: “Redactum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar?” (Shall I speak of the Scot driven to his marshes?) The name, likewise, occurs in the poet Claudian, about the year 400, where, speaking of the count Theodosius, he says,

“ Ille leves Mauros, nec falsa nomine Pictos
Edomuit; Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remus audacibus undas.”

Again:

“Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

*Hieronymus adversus Pelagium ad Ctesiphontem (Opera, Parisiis, 1534, to. 2, fo. 91, 6). Innes, however, maintains the passage not to be of Porphyry, but of saint Jerome himself; which seems a mistake: but, clearly, had Porphyry intended the Scots of Ireland or Britain, he would have written Scotica gens; whereas there were many Scythian nations, with which the Greeks had been acquainted even from the time of Herodotus; but it is highly improbable they should ever have heard of so obscure and comparatively modern a people as the Scots; and, in fact, no synonimous term for either Scotus or Scotia is to be found in the Greek. The word Scythicas, in the verses of Florus, upon the emperor Hadrian, preserved by Spartan, and before quoted, has, likewise, been conjectured to mean Scoticas; though it apparently means no more than Borealis.
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Again:

"Venit et extremis legio praetenta Britannis;
Quae Scoti dat pæna truci——"

Again:

"—— totam quum Scotus Ærmen
Movit et infesto spumavit remigie Tethys."

St Jerome, in his 83d epistle, says, "Scottorum et Atticorum [r. Atticotorum] ritu, ac de republica Platonis, promiscuas uxoribus, communes liberis habiebat;" and, in his second book against Jovian, asserts that, when a youth, in Gaul, he had himself seen the Scots, a British nation, eat human flesh: "Quid loquir de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliæ viderim Scotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus?"* These Scots appear to have settled, or established themselves, during the third century, in Hibernia, or Ireland, to which, in process of time, they gave the new name of Scotia, or Scotland.† This country, it ap—

* Leland appears to have seen "a picture upon glass, which was in the cloister of Strenshall [abbey, a little above Whitby], shewed the Scots who inhabited near the confines of the Engles, to have been, even to the times of William the bastard, and this barbarity to have been punished by the Williamites." (Collectanea, III, 40.)

† It is called Irenis, by Orpheus of Crotona, in his Argo-
nauticks, 526 years before Christ; Ierne, by Aristotle, Strabo,
pears, was already inhabited by the Hiberni, or Hiberniones, of whose origin, any more than that of the Scots, nothing is known, but by conjecture, that the former were a colony from Britain.* The distinct-

Stephen of Byzantium, and Claudian; Iris, by Diodorus Siculus; Jouernia, by Ptolemy and Marcianus; Iuverna, by Mela, Juvenal, and Solinus; Hibernia, by Caesar, Pliny, Tacitus, Orosius, Bede, &c.; Hiberione or Hibernia, by saint Patrick, and in the itinerary of Antoninus; Iren, by the biographer of saint Gildas; and Scotia, or insula Scotorum, by Isidore, Ceolfrid, Bede, Eginhard, &c. &c. The inhabitants, apparently from the name of the island, have been called by ancient writers, Hiberni, Hiberniones, Iri, Irenses, and Scotti or Scoti.

The name of Scotia, however, seems not to be peculiarly appropriated either to Ireland or to the north of Britain: "Anno DCC.XIII, Pipinus moritur. Franci vero denuo in Scotia silva, in Theobaldum et Austrios inuerunt; et post multam hinc inde stragm, Theobaldus vix fugae consilio evasit." (Gervase of Tilbury, Otia imperialia.) (Leibnitz, Scrip. Bruns. I.) (De regno Francorum, &c.) King Alfred, likewise, in his translation of Orosius, has a Scotland in the Mediterranea, to the westward; but without any countenance from his original. See B. 1, c. 1.

* Propertius, who died some years before the birth of Christ, has,

"Hibernique Getae, pictoque Britannia curru;"

which Ware, or Harris, takes to allude to the Hiberni of Ireland. It is, however, nothing more than an epithet (wintry) to the Getae or Goths, who lived in northern regions. Gildas calls the Scots "Hiberni grassatores;" and even Eumenius, in 296, where he joins the Hiberni with the Picti, seems to mean the same people.
tion between these two nations is manifested in an ancient treatise, supposed to have been written by saint Patrick, and entitled his *Confession* or *Apology*, in which the *Scotti*, as being the conquerors, masters, and military men, appear as the nobility, or gentry; *filii Scottorum et filiæ regulorum*; which he repeats, joining, in both places, the *Scotti* and *reguli*, as being synonymous equivalent terms; and adding, generally, to the name *Scottus*, that of *regulus* or *nobilis*; whereas he never calls the native Irish any thing but *Hiberniae*, as being the commons and ordinary people.* This new race of the Scots is brought, as usual, from *Scythia*, or *Scandinavia*, the officina gentium, or manufactory of nations.† In support of this hypothesis, it is pretend-

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* Innes, p. 517.

† Nennius, from the information of the most learned Scots (*peritissimi Scottorum*), relates, that, when the Egyptians, pursuing the children of Israel, were drowned in the red sea, there was, in those days, a nobleman of *Scythia* among the Egyptians, expelled from his kingdom, who would not go in pursuit of the people of god. Being, therefore, banished, and wandering through various countries, he arrived at length in Spain, whence, after inhabiting there for many years, he came to *Hibernia*, 2000 years after the drowning of the Egyptians in the red sea. This noble *Scythian* was also son-in-law to Pharaoh, i.e. the husband of his daughter *Scota*, from whom, as was reported, *Scotia* (i.e. Ireland) was called. (C. 9.) As Bede
ed, that the names *Scotus* and *Scytha* are not only synonymous, but that the former is a mere corruption of the latter!

"Dicitur à Githia Geticus, seu Gothia Gothi;
Dicitur à Sithia Sithicus, sic Scotia Scoti."*

Ralph de Diceto, about the year 1210, accounts for this perversion in the manner of a modern etymo-
does not say that the Scots came from Scythia, the notion seems to have no better foundation than this ridiculous Irish fable of Nennius. He has already, in another, equally absurd, brought them from Spain: "*Novissimè,*" he says, "*Last of all came the Scots from the parts of Spain to Ireland (cc. 6 and 7)*" He brings them, however, from time to time, and then says, "*Last of all* (*Novissimè*) *came Clamhocter,* and there inhabited, with all his nation, unto this day;" though, after all, he, or his interpolator, allows that "*no certain history of the origin of the Scots is to be found."* (C. 8.) "*The Britons,*" he says, "*came in the third age of the world to Britain, and the Scythians, that is, the Scots (Scythæ autem, i. c. Scoti) in the fourth age of the world obtained Ireland." His third age is from Abraham to David; his fourth from David to Daniel. See also *Polychronicon*, B. 1, p. 185. Bertram says, that a MS. Herodotus reads *ξυλοφύσιδας*. What Herodotus is that? "*The Irish writers,*" according to Mr. Pinkerton, "*uniformly say that the Scots were Scythians, and so Nennius tells us expressly . . . . If we deny,*" he adds, "*the Scots to have been Scythians, we must reject all the Irish accounts, ancient and modern."* (Enquiry, II, 46.) There is, however, no Irish

* Chro. rythmicum (Innes.)

writer of any antiquity or repute, who maintains this opinion; and with respect to Nennius, who seems to be the father of it, his work is justly characterized by Mr. Pinkerton himself “as the weakest that ever bore the name of history: Its fables” being “so childish and grotesque as to disgrace the human mind.” (II, 288.) He calls the Scots Scythea, and brings them from Egypt and Spain! The remark of Reinerus Rinectius, “that at this day the name of the Scythians survives in that of the Scots,” is a false and absurd conceit. Mr. Pinkerton, who says that “in person the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow, and red hair, and blue eyes: the grand features of the Goths [as all, or most of them, are likewise of the Celts], in all ancient writers,” adds, that “The Highlanders are generally diminutive, with brown complexions, and almost always with black curled hair and dark eyes.” (Enquiry, II., 340). These Highlanders, or Irish Scots, cannot, therefore, upon his own hypothesis, be a race of Scythians, as he elsewhere asserts, and pretends to prove, that the Scythea and Scoti, and the Scythea and Gothi, are one and the same people: consequently, if such an absurd system could have been supported, there would be no Celts in either Britain or Ireland.
the Scots from Spain, uses promiscuously the names of Scythæ and Scoti for the same people: but it is by no means clear that Gildas calls the passage, through which the Scots used to invade the provincial Britons, Scythica vallis; the word Scythica being, in fact, to be found in no ancient MSS.: all which, on the contrary, read Styticam, and Tithicam; for which Gale and Bertram propose Thetiacam; but the true emendation is undoubtedly Tethicam: the word Tethys being repeatedly used by Claudian (an author very likely to be consulted by Gildas) for the British sea:

"—— totam quum Scotus Færen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

Again:

"—— Domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto."

It is, at the same time, utterly improbable that Ammianus Marcellinus, and the other writers of his age, had they meant to call this people Scythæ, would have written it Scoti: for why should they call one branch of the Scythæ Scoti, and not the whole? Orosius, too, who wrote in the 5th century, has much about the ancient Scythæ, but calls the inhabitants of Hibernia and Menevia Scotorum gen-
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It is, therefore, a solemn and notorious fact, that no ancient or respectable writer ever calls the Scots of Ireland *Scythae*, or the Scythians themselves *Scoti*.

Richard of Cirencester, in opposition to Bede, who affirms the Scots to be strangers, supposes them to have had their origin from Britain; and says, most certain it is that the Damnii, Voluntii, Brigantes, Cangi, and other nations [of Ireland] were of British origin, which passed over thither after either Devitiacus, or Claudius, or Ostorius, or other successful commanders, had disturbed them at home; alleging, by way of further argument, their ancient tongue, which, he says, agrees not a little with that of Britain and Gaul. This reasoning, however, will apply better to the Hiberni than the Scoti. He enumerates, among the inhabitants, the Ibernii, the Brigantes, the Menapii, the Cauci (both of Teutonick origin), the Eblianae, the Voluntii, the Damnii, the Coriondi, and the Scoti; but of what age his materials were cannot be precisely ascertained. Ptolemy, indeed, names the Auteri,

* King Alfred, in his translation of this author, has *Scotitas* (not *Scyttas*) and Scotland (i.e. Ireland). He calls the Scythians *Sciththison*. In his translation of Bede he has *Scottas*, *Scotta*, *Scottum*. It is not, therefore, true, as Mr. Pinkerton pretends, that he ever writes *Scytise* for *Scottise*. 
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Brigantes, Cauci, Coriondi, Darnii, or Darini, Eblani, or Blanii, Erdini, Gargani, Menapii, Magnatæ, or Magnati, Robogdii, Udiae, or Vodiae, Uterni, Vellubri, or Velliberi, Vennicii, and Voluntii, or Usuntii: to which Orosius adds the Luceni; and Richard, the Ibernii, and Scotti. But why these Roman names should be given to people whom the Romans never conquered, nor even visited, or what authority Ptolemy had for the geography of the country, one is at a loss to conceive.

That the Scots, Scoti, or Scotti, were a Celtic race,* is proved by their language, which, from the names, words, fragments, and even entire works, of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, centuries still preserved,† appears to be not only radically, but

* They called themselves Gaël, Gaitheli: "Anegathel dictur quasi margo Scottorum seu Hybernium: quia omnes Hybernenses & Scotti generaliter Gaitheli dicuntur, a quodam eorum primo duce Gaetheglas vocato." Desitii Albanæ (Innes.)

† Usher, from an ancient life of St Albe, quotes a couplet in Scotish or Irish rime, by saint Patrick. See, also, Wares Irish writers, as improved by Harris. They cannot indeed produce original MSS. any more than other people, neither is their production necessary to establish the fact. An excellent Irish scholar, Theophilus O'Flanagan, in 1785, discovered and deciphered an inscription in the Irish language, and the Ogham character, upon the sepulchral stone of Conan, a warrior, who was slain the year preceding the battle of Gabhra in 296, and
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identically, the same with that of the native Irish of the present day, which is universally acknowledged to be a dialect of the ancient Celtic. Ireland, after its conversion to Christianity, in the 5th century* was the seat of religion, literature, and science; inviting the studious from all quarters, and supplying the neighbouring nations, even England itself, with learned priests.

Little more need be said about the Scots. They are never mentioned, at least under that name, by either Ptolemy, Dio, or Herodian, much less by Tacitus; and the SCOTTI, which appear, in large characters, in Richards Roman map of Ireland, as a people occupying a considerable extent of country, may be fairly presumed to have been introduced on his own authority. A colony of these Scots, under the con-

which was expressly referred to in an ancient Irish poem on that battle. This inscription could be read five different ways, as this very ingenious gentleman has satisfactorily proved. See The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Volume I. Mr. Pinkerton, it is true, "from perusal of the Annals of Ulster," is "fully convinced that the names of not only the Irish monarchs but of most of the provincial kinglets, are Gothic." (Enquiry, II. 47). An opinion, to make use of his own words, "absolutely false, ignorant, and childish." (I. 163.)

* St Palladius, according to Bede, was first sent by pope Celestin, in 431, to the Scots that believed in Christ. (B. I. c. 13.) He never mentions saint Patrick, who is supposed to have arrived thither in the same year.
duct of Riada, or Reuda, is supposed, by Bede and others, to have settled in the west part of Albany, or modern Scotland, at some uncertain period, probably in the 4th or 5th century;* but being, it is

* Mr Pinkerton has placed the Scots in Britain A. C. 258, a fact for which he quotes Beda, L. 1, c. 6, and O’Conor. Bede, however, says nothing, from which a settlement of that, or, indeed, any other specific period, can be inferred; and O’Conor is a weak and credulous writer, of no authority, in a matter of ancient history, nor is either Kennedy, or Toland, a whit better; for, although Mr. Pinkerton pretends of the former that "he generally quotes MS. page and column," the only one he actually cites is the book of Lecan, taken, it seems, out of the Psalter of Cashel, a fabulous compilation of no antiquity. In every other respect he is perfectly ignorant and contemptible, following the romantic lies of Bois and Buchanan with the most implicit servility. Even Mr. Pinkerton himself, who has recourse to the evidence of these incredible witnesses, allows they may be thought "but poor supports of Beda’s authority." In fact, they are no support at all, any more than Geoffrey of Monmouth, or Geoffrey Keating, and do not deserve to be quoted, or even read. No such expedition, nor even such a person as Riada or Reuda, is ever noticed by Tigernac, or Flannus à monasterio (or Flan of Bute), as quoted by Usher and O’Flaherty, or in the Ulster Annals, or any other ancient, in short, or authentic monument: it remains, therefore, on the sole authority of Bede. There are, at the same time, many passages in no modern writers to countenance a settlement of the Scots in Britain, anterior to that of Fergus MacErc, in 496, 498, or 503. "In Britain also," as we are told by Nennius, "Historeth the son of Istorinus held Dalrieta with his people" (c. 8). "The Scots from
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conjectured, not long after, driven out by the Picts, another still more formidable and populous, under

Ireland," according to an ancient but anonymous life of saint Patrick, cited by Usher (p. 306), "under their king Neill Neigiallach [whose reign O'Flaherty makes to commence 379] wasted much divers provinces of Britain against the Roman empire, in the reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine: beginning to waste the north part of Britain: and, afterward, by battles and fleets, the Hibernians expelled the inhabitants of that land; and inhabited these themselves. Saint Patrick, therefore," it adds, "was led captive to Ireland in the first year of the reign of the emperor Julian the apostate, who reigned after Constantinus [A. C. 361]; and in the ninth year of the reign of Neill Neigiallach, king of Ireland, who reigned powerfully 27 years, and who much wasted Britain and England, as far as the sea which is between Gaul and England, and there fell in battle." This Neil [Nellus magnus] possessing the monarchy of Ireland, the six sons of Mured king of Ulster, as we learn from Girdaldui Cambrensis, "in no small fleet, occupied the northern parts of Britain, whence, also, a nation by them propagated, and called by a specific word Scotish, inhabit that corner to this day." (Topo. Hiber. Distinct. 3, c. 16.) This, however, seems to allude to the establishment, in 496 or 503, by three of the six (or twelve) sons of Erc, of the royal family of Ireland, and chief of the Dalriads in the north of that island. See O'Flaherty's Ogygia, p. 465. It may be proved, at the same time, by both Gildas and Bede, that the Scots were settled in the north-west of Britain before the year 450; and, from Ammianus Marcellinus, and others, that they had even infested those parts from the middle of the preceding century: but, it must be confessed, they are altogether unnoticed by Tacitus, Ptolemy, Dio, Herodian, and Eutropius, as well as in the Roman topography of Richard of Cirencester.
the command of Fergus, or of himself and his two brothers Loarn and Angus, three of the sons of Erc, a petty king or lord of Ireland, arrived in the year 496, or, according to some, in 498, and, to others, in 503. These Scots possessed, under the name of Dalriada, or Dalrieta (that of their ancient seat), the whole of Argyle, a province of much greater extent, at that period, than the present sheriffdom,* together, it is probable, with the Hebrides, or western isles; and had their proper sovereigns till the year 843; when Kenneth MacAlpin, by whatever means, obtained the Pictish crown, and left the united kingdoms to his successors.†

The ancient history of the Irish, as well as that of the British Scots, is obscured and polluted by a number of the most extravagant and absurd fables,

* See Macphersons *Geographical illustrations. "The kingdom of the Scots in Britain, called sometimes Regnum Dalrietae, or Dalredæ, according to Innes, "included in those times all the western islands, together with the countries of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdayl, Cowell, Kentyre, Lochabyr, and a part of Braid-Albayn." *Critical Essay*, p. 87. They and their territory were divided from the Pictish dominions by two branches of the Grampian hills, or Drum-Alban; the one to the north, from Athole to Knoydart, or Aresaick; and the other to the south-east, from Athole, through Braid-Albayn, by Loch-Lomond, toward the mouth of Clyde. *Ibid.*

* See the "Introduction" to *The Annals of the Picts*. 
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in which even their best modern writers, with an exception of Ware and Usher, seem to place implicit belief; and which, though, in all probability, of very recent date, they cite as of immense and impossible antiquity. The only genuine documents they have are certain ancient annals; those of Tigernac, for instance, who died in 1080, of Ulster, and of Innisol- len; the Chronicon Scotorum, and the synchronisms of Flannus à monasterio, or Flan of Bute, who died in 1056; together with a few passages in the ear- liest lives of some of their saints; all which, as they afford no countenance to the lying legends, and an- tediluvian peregrinations of this ignorant, bigotted, and barbarous people, are neglected and despised.*

* Even the latest writer upon the antiquities of Ireland, and, undoubtedly, an Irishman himself, though so sceptical as to dispute the very existence of saint Patrick, takes, like mr. Pinkerton, the Fins, Firbolgs, and Tuath-de-Danans, of Irish romance, for real and authentic history: which, in the words of the evangelist, is to “strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.”

General Vallancey, in his “Critico-historical dissertation concerning the laws of the ancient Irish,” (being Number IV. of the “Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis,”) says, “I hope I need not make [those who interest themselves in Irish anti- quities] any apology, for delivering into their hands, in its original simplicity, what I have found in the Codex Momom- miensis, concerning the kings of Dal-cassian race, from the IIId century to the beginning of the IX. : after which I shall pur-
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The name of Scotia, or Scotland, as elsewhere observed, was never attributed to the country now so called, before the eleventh century, when the Scots, being in the full and peaceable possession of the whole, thought proper to substitute that appellation in lieu of its more ancient name of Albania, or Albany; their primitive dialect continuing in use, with both prince and people, till the reign of Malcolm III. surnamed Can-more, in 1057;* from sue their history, connected with that of the Eugenian princes, and other kings of the different provinces of Ireland, according to the authority of THE BEST ANNALS, particularly those of Inisfallen, Tighernach, and his continuator, with those of Magradan, the Chronicon Scotorum, and of Clonmacnoises, OF ALL WHICH I HAVE OLD AND WELL AUTHENTICATED COPIES.” (P. 425.) How far the veracity of this Phenico-Chaldaic-Anglo-Hibernian antiquary may be relied on, is manifest from his private letter to a friend at Dublin, dated some day in October, or November, 1798, (as appeared by a transmitted extract,) in which he said, “I have NEVER SEEN the Chron. Scot., and what EXTRACTS I have given were FROM OTHER BOOKS:” so that all this pretended history is mere fable and romance. A copy, however, of the Chronicon Sco-torum was in the collection of Charles O’Conor esquire, which is said to have been purchased by the marquis of Buckingham. See also p. 479.

* That the proper tongue of this monarch was the Scotish or Irish Gaelic is proved by the testimony of a contemporary historian, Turgotus, that is, or Theodoricus, author of the life of saint Margaret, his wife, who, speaking of certain ecclesiastical
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which time the Saxon or English, from a variety of causes, seems to have gradually usurped its place; so far, at least, that it is, at present, confined to part only of the north and west highlands, and to the Hebrides, or Western-isles.

councils, in which the queen presided, adds, "Sed in hoc conflctu rex ipse adjutor et præcipuus residebat; quodcumque in hac causa jussisset, dicere paratissimus et facere. Qut, quoniam perfecte Anglorum linguan, æque ut propriam, novetat, vigilantissimus in hoc concilio, utriusque partis interfres extiteret:" that is, king Malcolm explained the queens English, or Saxon, to the Scottish clergy, and the Gaëlic jargon of the latter, to the queen. The names of many Irish nobles or bishops occur in the charters of this king, and his two or three immediate successors, who seem, from their situation as witnesses, to have been about the court: as, for instance, Macduff and earl Duncan, under Malcolm; Beth and Dufagan, under Alexander I.; Cormac, Macbeth, Malise, Maldoweni, Maccbeth, Gillepatic, Macimpethin, Alwyn Maclerkyl, under David; Duncan, the son of Amaledy, Malcolm, Gylymychel, Machedolf, Duncan, the son of Gilchrist, Newyn Mackession, Maldoven, Maocdawy, Hector Macsvukyn, under Alexander III. (Additional case of E. countess of Sutherland, p. 6.)

Irish patronymics, in fact, appear, at that period, to have been so common, that they were sometimes applied by way of distinction of the old Scottish peerage. "A.D. 1139 [David] rex Scotie et Henricus filius ejus, cum omnibus suis, extunc quamdiu viverent, Stephano regi Anglie per omnia pacifici, et fidelissimi deebant: et ut fidelitate eorum secirior esset, filium Cospatrici, comitis, et filium Hugonis de Morvilla, et filium
INTRODUCTION.

The Scots, whether of Ireland or North-Britain, appear to have been held in great contempt by the ancient English. The old capitulist of Gildas, about the twelfth century, calls them "gens scabra Scotorum"; William of Malmesbury speaks of the "rubiginem Scotticē barbariei" (158); and says, "tunc Scottus familiariatem pulicum . . . reliquit" (133). Henry of Huntingdon, archdeacon of that bishopric, and a learned historian of the same age, speaking of this people, adds, "quos [Angli] vilissimos habebant" (359). Gervase of Tilbury, likewise, not a much later writer, having observed that "Scotland was formerly inhabited by the Scots, men," he continues, "vilissimae conversationis" (otia imperialia, apud Scrip. Bruns. I, 917.) See, also, Bromton, co. 909.

Walter Espec, a great baron of Yorkshire, who had come over from Normandy with William the bastard, in his harangue delivered to the English army, previously to the battle of Cowtonmoor, having already described certain successful exploits of Fergusi comitis, et filium Mel, et filium Mac: scilicet, quinque comitum de Scotia, ei obsides dare debebant." (R. Hugustal de gestis Stephani, apud Decem scrip. co. 330.) Mel, a bishop, and disciple of saint Patrick, and Macca, the disciple of himself and bishop Melchu, are mentioned by Usher (from an old biographer), 336.
the Anglo-Normans in Scotland, goes on to ask, "who would not laugh, rather than fear, that, against such [men], the vile Scot, with half-naked buttocks, should come forward to fight?"

He says, likewise, "to our lances, to our swords, and our darts, they [the Scots] oppose their naked hide; using a calf-skin for a shield:" and mentions, also, "the too great length of those spears, which we," he says, "behold from high:" but "the wood," he adds, "is frail, the iron blunt; while it strikes, it perishes; while it is hit, it is broken, scarcely being sufficient for one blow. Receive it only with a stick, and the unarmèd Scot will stand still" (Ethelred, co. 340). Nevertheless it is said to have been ordained, by Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who died, at Rome, in 725, "that the English might take wives of the illustrious blood of the Britons, and the Britons, wives of the illustrious blood of the Engles. Some Engles received wives of the noble blood of the Scots." (Lelands Collectanea, I, 408.)

It has been asserted by the late George Steevens, esquire, that "the crown of Scotland was originally not hereditary. When a successor," he adds, "was declared in the lifetime of a king (as was often the case) the title of prince of Cumberland was immediately bestowed on him as the mark of his desig-
nation. *Cumberland,*" he says, "was, at that time, held by Scotland of the crown of England, as a sief" (*Note on Macbeth, Shak. VII, 368*).

But it is manifest that he knew nothing of the real history of that people, having contented himself, like most other readers, with the legends of Fordun, Bois, or Buchanan, retailed by Hollynshed or Speed. That the crown of Scotland descended regularly from father to son, appears clearly from the old authentic lists far anterior to Fordun; in which we find Malcolm III, in 1057, the lineal descendant of Fergus in 496.

In the case of the infancy of the heir, it seems to have been usual for the next brother of the deceased monarch to ascend the throne, which it is probable he might not be always ready to part with; and this monarchy, no doubt, like all others, was liable to usurpation and violent convulsions: but, nevertheless, in settled times, and when left to itself, it constantly descended from ancestor to heir, like those of France or England; and there is no instance of any interference, on the part of the people, either to elect a sovereign, or to change the succession.

He seems, however, to have had no authority for these assertions but the absurd fables of Hector Bois; by a quotation from whom, mr Malone sage-
ly observes, "mr Steevens's remark is supported."
"An extract or two from Hector Boethius," he says,
"will be sufficient relative to these points." There
is, however, no instance, in the genuine history of
Scotland, of a successor being designed in the life-
time of a reigning king: and that the title of prince
of Cumberland notified such designation is alto-
gether utterly false and groundless; nor could Cum-
berland possibly be a *fief* at the time it was in the
possession of the Scots; many years, that is, before
fiefs were known in these countries.
ANNALS OF THE SCOTS.
ANNALES SCOTORUM.

CCCCXCVI. Fergus filius Eric fuit primus qui de semine Chonare, suscepit regnum Albaniae, i.e. a monte Drualban usque ad mare Hiberniae et ad Inche-Gall. Iste regnavit tribus annis.*

*Cronica regum Scottorum, Innes's Critical Essay, Ap. Num. IV. and Pinkertons Enquiry, I. Ap. Num: IX. "Fergus filius Eric ipse fuit primus qui de semine Chonare suscepit regnum Albaniae, i.e. A monte Brunalsan usque ad mare Hiberniae & ad Incheagal." De situ Albaniae, Innes, Ap. Num. I. "Fergus filius Erth primus in Scotia regnavit tribus annis ultra Drualban usque Slaugh muner [L. Slaugh more] & usque ad Inchegal." Nomina regum Scot. et Pict. Innes, Ap. Num. V. "Feargus mós mac Earca (i.e. Fergusius magnus Erici filius) cum gente Dalraidá partem Britanniae tenuit; & ibi mortuus est." Tigernac, Ushers Britan. ecclesiarum antiquitates, 1687, fo. p. 320. This gens Dalraidá was the Dalreudini or Dalriads, Scotish or Irish subjects of Erc, king or lord of Dalrieda, in the province of Ulster (since called Reuta or Routa), a territory comprehending a good part of the county of Antrim; so that they seem to have brought the name, which they gave to their new settlement, along with them; and Bede, who derives it from Dal, a portion, and
ANNALS OF THE SCOTS.

CCCCXCVI. Fergus, son of Erc, was the first who, of the seed of Chonaré, assumed the govern-

Reuda, the leader of a prior colony, is, probably, mistaken in his etymology. "Clanna Eachach ghabsad Albain iar naidrighaidh. Clanna Chonaire an chaomh fhir Toghaide na tien Ghaodhil; Tri mic Eirc, mhic Eachach ait ... Ghabsad Albain ar d'ngus; Loarn, Fergus, is Aongus. Dech mbliadhnna Loarn le rì bladh I bhfaiteas iarthaire Albaire Tanes Loairn fheil go ngus Seach mbliadhnna a ficheat Fergus" (i.e. The children of Eochy possessed Albany after [the Picts] by their high power. The children of Chonaire the gentleman raised the strong Irish; three sons of Erc, the son of Eochy the great, possessed Albany the great likewise; Loarn, Fergus, and Angus. Ten years Loarn flourished in the government of West-Albany. After Loarn a space likewise seven and twenty years Fergus.) Duan (a Gaelic or Irish poem of the time of Malcolm III. 1057—1093), Pinkertons Enquiry, II. Ap. Num. II. Chonaire was chief king of Ireland about 215, and the father of Carbre-Biada, who is said to have established himself in the same district about 258. See Ushers Antiquitates, p. 320. "A. M. MMCCCXX [A. C. 320]. Ductu regis Fergusii in Brittaniam transeunt Scotti; ibiique sedem figurant. Ricar. Cori. l. 2, c. 1. Fergus, by the Irish account followed by Kennedy, died in 529 (p. 172); or, according to Walsh, who calls him, erroneously, brother to Mairechertach mor mhac Eerca (i.e. Muredach, or Murtoch, the great, the son of (his mother) Eerca, the daughter of Loarn: See Ware and O'Flaherty) monarch of Ireland, in 530 (Prospect, p. 20); and,
ment of Albany, that is, from the mount Drumalban unto the sea of Ireland, and to the western isles. He reigned three years.

with his two brothers, Loarn, and Eneagus, was interred in the island Yona. (Nomina regum.) Their father Erc, the son of Eochy Munrevar, died in 474 (Usher, p. 321); and Eochy himself before 439 (Kennedy, p. 140). The settlement of Fergus in Britain is placed by Tigernac under the pontificate of Symmachus, who ascended the papal throne in 498 (though Mr Pinkerton, who has examined Sir James Wares copy of this annalist, now in the Bodleian library, says that he "does not positively date the power of Fergus in the first year of Symmachus"); and the ancient Irish author of the synchronisms as well of the kings and provincial princes of Ireland as of the kings of Scotland (i. e. Flannus à monasterio, or Flan of Bute), reckons twenty years from the battle of Ochê, in which Ailill (or Oilill) Molt, king of Ireland, was slain, to the coming into Albany of the six sons of Erc, of whom, he says, two were called Angus, two, Loarn, and two, Fergus: a circumstance mentioned also by Joceline, in the life of St Patrick, who gave his blessing to Fergus, the youngest brother, and prophesied that he should be the father of kings, who should reign not only in their own country, but in a distant and foreign region. See Usher, p. 320. Kennedy, likewise, from the book of Lecan, observes that Erc left twelve sons, "most of them grown up before the fathers death." (P. 145.) The battle of Ochê appears, from the Ulster Annals, to have happened in 483; for which reason Usher (p. 320) places the arrival of Fergus and his brethren in 503; a computation in which he
CCCCXCIX. Domangrat filius ejus quinque annis [regnavit.]

has been followed by others, but which cannot, possibly, be reconciled to subsequent and well-authenticated events, from the Ulster Annals, which require either this expedition to be placed at an earlier period, or the acknowledgment of some error in the intermediate dates. Father Walsh says, the "Irish monuments fix on the year of Christ 498, the time of Fergus Mor (son to Ercho, nephew to Eochadh Muinreamhar), and of his five brothers with him, invading the north of Britain" (p. 367): and Lynch dates the battle of Ochæ in 478; which still preserves the old synchronists period of twenty years. O'Flaherty, with the assistance of Hector Bois, or Boethius, an ill-informed, inventive, and mendacious writer of the sixteenth century, makes the reign of Fergus to commence in 513, and to last 16 years; which, admitting two, and not 32 or 22, to be the period of Gavran, is utterly inconsistent with the 34 years of Comgal, and his death in 538. The supputation here adopted is, no doubt, erroneous, but cannot, it seems, be rectified without conjectural violence, and greater sacrifices. At any rate 503 cannot be right, nor will any date be found so consistent and unexceptionable as 496. That Gavran died in 560, after a reign of 22 years, and Comgal, in 538, after one of 34, are facts as well attested as any in Greek or Roman history; the Irish annals concurring with the two old Scottish lists; and that Domangart reigned 5 years, and Fergus no more than 3, is asserted by both the latter. The Duan, it is true, extends the reign of Fergus 27 years, after that of 10 allotted to Loarn, which is manifestly impossible and absurd; as it is not only most probable that the three brothers reigned, if at all, at the same time, in separate districts, but the term of 37 years would carry the expedition back to 466, when Fergus,
Domangart his son reigned five years.

DIV. Congel filius Domangrat triginta tribus [l. triginta quatuor] annis regnavit.*

the youngest of the 6, if not 12, sons of Erc, must, if actually born so soon, have been a mere child. That he died in 529 or 530 is no less false and impossible. If, indeed, it could be proved, or fairly inferred, that any two of these sovereigns, Congal and Gavran, for instance, had, like Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, reigned at the same time, the accession of Fergus in 503 might, doubtless, be easily reconciled with the death of the former in 538, or that of the latter in 560: but there is not, in fact, the least ground for such a supposition. It is much to be regretted that the shade of St Patrick, or St Columb-cilla, cannot be raised, by some witch of Endor, to decide this difficult question.

* Cro. regum Scot.—“Dovenghart fil. Fergus quinque ann. regnavit.” Nomina regum, &c. “Domhangart mac Fheargus ard Aireamh chuagh mbhadhau mbiothgharg (i.e. Domangart, son of Fergus the great, reckoned five years in troubles”). Duan. “Domangart Mac Nisse rex Scotiae obiit 507.” MSS. Sloane, Num. 479. He is again surnamed Mac Niesi, in No. 479. Nise might possibly be the name of his own mother, as Mise was of his fathers, or Nise and Mise may be the same name, and he called after his grandmother. The wife of this Domangard was Fedelmia the daughter of
DIV. Congal the son of Domangart reigned thirty-four years.

DXXXVIII. Mors Comgail Mac Domangairt (ri Alban) 35 anno regni.

DXXXVIII. The death of Congal, the son of Eochy Mogmedon king of Ireland. (O'Fla. p. 473.) Loarn, the elder brother of Fergus, appears, from O'Flaherty's account, to have left a numerous progeny, none of whom, however, is known to have reigned in Britain, unless it be Fercha-fada, or Farquhar the long, whom he makes the 8th in descent from that monarch. See Ogygia, p. 471, 479. He has left his name to a considerable territory in Argyle, which retains it to this day: but no further mention is made in any of the old Scottish documents of Angus, the third brother. O'Flaherty, on whatever authority, says that Ilay, Calaros, Rosfenan, Airdeas, Leicrin, Aircaifil, Kinel-naengusa, and Teallach-caillin, 430 families (this is the dimension of the lands) fell to the lot of the whole tribe or sept of this Angus (Cmelt nangusa); and that Muredach, or Murdoch, his son, was the first cultivator of Ilay, an island of the Hebrides. (P. 470.) The shire of Angus, however, could not well receive its name from this prince, being on the eastern coast, and continuing, apparently, in the possession of the Picts.
Domangart, king of Albany, in the 35th year of his reign.

Goveran frater Congel triginta [l. viginti duo] annis [regnavit].

Gavran, the brother of Congal, reigned twenty-two years.

DLX. Mors Gauvrani filii Domangardi.†
Conal filius Congel quatuordecim annis [regnavit].‡

DLX. The death of Gavran, the son of Domangard.

† Tigernac; O'Flaherty, p. 472; and An. Ul. ad an. 555. A modern hand in MS. Sloan, 1493, fo. 84, says 559.
‡ Cro. regum Scot. "Conal fil. Congal 14 an. regn." Nomina regum, &c. "Tri bliadhna fochuig, gan roimn, Barigh Conall mhic Comhghall," (i.e. Three years by five without division was king Conall the son of Comgall). Duan.
Conal; the son of Congal, reigned fourteen years.

DLXIII. Post bellum Culedrebene, duobus transactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus [S. Columba] de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit; quaedam die, hoc est, eadem hora qua in Scotia commissum est bellum quod Scottice dicitur Ondemone, idem homo dei, coram Conallo rege, filio Comgil, in Bryttania conversatus, per omnia enarravit, tam de bello commisso, quam etiam de illis regibus quibus dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit.*

DLXIII. Two years after the battle of Culedrebene, in which time the blessed man [St. Columba], being about to travel, first of all sailed from Scotland [i. e. Ireland]; on a certain day, that is, in the very same hour in which was fought in Scot-

* Adamnanus, *Vita S. Columba*, L. 1, c. 7. The battle of Cuildremne is placed by the Annals of Ulster in 559 [560]. The battle of Ondemone is supposed by Usher to be the same with that of Mimdore [or Mona Dair], noted, in those annals as the year 562 [563]. Both places were in Ireland. St. Columba, according to the Irish writers, was a relation of Conal; being the 4th in descent from Loarn. (O’Fla. p. 642.)
land the battle which in Scotish (i.e. Irish) is called
Ondemone, the same man of god, conversing, in
Britain, before king Conal, the son of Congal, re-
lated throughout, as well concerning the battle
fought, as also of those kings to whom the lord
granted victory over their enemies.

DLXXIV. Mors Conail Mac Comgail, anno regni
sui 16 [l. 15], qui obtulit Hy Columcille.*
Edan filius Goveran triginta quatuor annis [reg-
navit].†

* An. Ul. Bede, by mistake, makes Brudei king of the
Picts the benefactor of the saint on this occasion. Conal was
his relation.
† Cro. regum Scot. "Edhan fil. Gauran 34 an. reg." 
Nomina regum, &c. "Cethre bliadhna fisceat thall Ba righ
Aodhan," (i.e. Four years twenty over was king Aidan). Duan.
In 575 Aidan was present at the great council of Drumceat in
Ireland. See Adam. L. 1, c. 50. In 577 he appears, in com-
pany with Gwenddolau, or Gwendolavus, another prince, it is
supposed, of some part of modern Scotland, at the battle of
Arderyth (or Atterith), against Roderick the munificent (Rhys-
derch Hael), king of Cumbria, or Cambria, i.e. Strath-Clydd,
in which the latter obtained the victory. See Williams’s notes
on the Æræ Cambro Brit. at the end of Llwyds Britan. de-
scrip. Com. 1731, p. 142. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who, in
VOL. II.
DLXXIV. The death of Conal the son of Congal, in the fifteenth year of his reign, who gave Hy to Columbkil.

Aidan, the son of Gavran reigned thirty-four years.

DLXXXVI. Bellum de Loco in Kintire, in quo cecidit Duncath Mac Conail Mac Comgail; et alii multi de sociis filiorum Gawran ceciderunt.*

DLXXVI. The battle of Loco in Kentire, in which fell Duncan the son of Conal, the son of Congal; and many others of the allies of the sons of Gavran.

DLXXX. The battle? of Ouc with Aodan Mac Gavran.†

his metrical life of Merlin Caledonius, alludes to this battle, says of Guennolous,

"Scotie qui regna regebat;"

without mentioning Aidan.

* _An. Ul._ This seems to have been a war about the succession. O’Flaherty calls it the battle of _Dealgan._

† _An. Ul._ A blank is left by the copyist.
DLXXXII. Bellum Manan, in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac Gawran.*

* Ibi. This is, as usual, at 581: At 582 is, again, "Bellum Manan per Aodan. In tempore alio, hoc est, post multos à supra memorato bello [Caledebene sci. seu Ondemone] annorum transcursum, cum esset vir sanctus [Columba] in Hyona insula, subito ad suum dicit ministratorem, Cloccam pulsa: cujus sonitu fratres incitati, ad ecclesiam ipso sancto præsule præeunte ocius currunt, ad quos ibidem flexis genubis insit: Nunc intente pro hoc populo, et Aidano rege dominum oremus, hac enim hora ineunt bellum. Et post modicum intervallum egressus oratorium, respiciens in colum, inquit: Nunc barbari in fugam vertuntur: Aidano que quamlibet infelix, tamen concessa est victoria. Set et de numero de exercitu Aidani interfectorum, trecentorum et trium virorum, vir beatus prophetici narravit." Adom. L. 1, c. 8. This battle, called in the title of the chapter, bellum Miathorum, is nowhere else mentioned, unless it should be the bellum Manan of these annals, which O'Flaherty conjectures to be the battle of Lethrigh, 590. "Alio quoque in tempore, ante supradictum bellum sanctus Aidanum regem interrogat de regni successore. Illo respondente, se nescire quis esset de tribus filiis suis regnaturus: Arcirus, an Echodius Find, an Domingartus: Sanctus consequenter hoc profatur modo: Nullus ex his tribus erit regnator, nam in bellis cadent ab inimicis trucidandi. Sed nunc si aios juniores habeas ad me veniant, et quem ex eis elegerit dominus subitò super meum irruet gremium. Quibus accitis secundum verbum sancti, Echodius Buide adveniens, in sinu ejus recubuit, statimque eum osculatus benedixit, et ad patrem ait: Hic est superstes, et rex post te regnaturus, et filii ejus post eum regnabunt. Sic omnia post suis temporalibus plenè adimpleta sunt. Nam Arturius, et Echodius Find, non longo
DLXXXII. The battle of Manan, in which Aidan the son of Gavran was conqueror.

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DXC. The battle of Leithvedh [Q. Leithredh] by Aodan Mac Gauran.*

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DXCV. Mors Eogain Mac Gawran.†

DXCV. The death of Eochy the son of Gavran.


* An. Uλ

† Ibi. This was the brother of Aidan, whom Adomnan calls Iogenanus. It should be Eochoidh, Eochadh, or Eoganan, not Eogan, which is distinguished in Keating as a different name.
DXCVI. Jugulatio filiorum Aodhain, Brain et Doman.*

DXCVI. The jugulation of the sons of Aidan, Brain and Doman.

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DXCVIII. Domangard in Kirkinn prælio cecidisse, anno post S. Columbæ obitum, referunt codex Cluan, et cum eo Tigernachus.†

DXCVIII. That Domangard fell in the battle of Kirkinn, in the year after the death of St. Columba; the book of Cluan relates, and therewithall Tigernach.

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*Ibid. These names are, probably, errors for Arthur or Eochy-find, and Domangart, mentioned in the preceding note from Adomnan. According, however, to O'Flaherty, the book of Cluan and Tigernach report Domangart to have fallen in the battle of Kirkin (see at the year 598); and we find, in the latter, that Conad or Conagus, another son of king Aidan, was drowned in the sea (see, afterwards, A. 622).

† O'Flaherty, p. 475. He was one of the sons of Aidan.
ANNALS OF

DCI. Pansa Comgail.*

DCI. The death of Comgal.

DCIII. Histemporibus regno Nordanhymbrorum praefuit rex fortissimus, et gloriae cupidissimus Ædilfrid, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem vastavit Brittonum . . . . Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterrinatis vel subjugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitales fecit . . . Unde motus ejus prosectibus Ædan rex Scottorum qui Britanniam inhabitant, venit contra eum cum immenso ac forti exercitu; sed cum paucis aufugit victus. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degrastan, id est Degsastan, omnis pene ejus est caesus exercitus. In qua etiam pugna Theobald frater Ædilfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu peremptus est . . . Neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum in Britannia adversus gentem Anglorum usque ad hanc diem in praelium venire audebat.

† Beda, L. 1, c. 34. The place of action is unknown; bishop Gibson conjectures it to be Dalston near Carlisle; bishop Nicolson Dawston near Jedburgh.
DCIII. In these times presided over the kingdom of the Northumbrians a king most brave and most desirous of glory, Ethelfrid, who, more than all the chiefs of the English, harassed the nation of the Britons ... For no man among commanders, no man among kings, made more of their lands, the natives being exterminated or subjugated, either tributary or habitable to the nation of the English ... Whence, moved by his proceedings, Aidan, king of the Scots who inhabit Britain, came against him with an immense and strong army; but, being conquered, he fled with few. Forasmuch as, in the most famous place which is called Deganstone, almost all his army was cut to pieces: In which fight also Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, with all that army which he himself commanded, was killed: Nor from that time did any of the kings of the Scots dare to come to battle against the nation of the English in Britain unto this day.

DCVIII. Mors Aodhan MacGawran* Eo-

* An. Ul. ad. 605. According to O'Flaherty, he was 78 years of age, died in Kentire, and was interred in Kilcheran, anno 606. (P. 476.) The Welsh antiquaries assert that Aidan, whom they also call Aidanus perfidus (Æddan Tradawg), had
chid flavus filius Edan sexdecim annis [regnavit].

DCVIII. The death of Aidan the son of Gavran. Eochy-buide, or the yellow [the son of Aidan] reigned sixteen years.

DCXXXII. Conangus regis Aidani filius mari demersus.

a son named Gafran ap Æddan, who married Lleian, the daughter of Brychan, a nobleman of Irish extraction: but then they likewise assert that Aidan himself was the grand-nephew of Maximus the tyrant. See M. Williams's notes to the Ærae Cambro Brit. at the end of Llwyds Britan. descript. Com. (p. 143.) The proper English name for Aodhan is not known. Aodh (āidus) is Hugh; but not Aodhan (Aidanus).

* Cro. regum Scot. "Heoghed bude 16 an." Nomina regum, &c. "Dech mbliadhna fo sheact, . . . . Ibh flaitheas Eachach buidhe," (i. e. Ten years by seven reigned Eochy the yellow). Duan. The numbers of the annals are always preferred, with, at least, the slight addition of a unit, for the reason elsewhere given.

† Tigernach, as quoted by O'Flaherty, p. 475.
THE SCOTS. 41

DCXXII. Conad the son of king Aidan drowned in the sea.

DCXXIX. Mors Achaii flavi regis filii Aidani, postquam viginti annos [l.annis] regnasset.*

Kinat sinister filius Conal tribus mensibus [regnavit].†


† Cro. regum Scot. “Kinath [l. Conadh] ken fil. Conal 3 mens.” Nomina regum, &c. “Conchad cean raithe reil blath,” (i. e. Connad (not Kenneth) a quarter ruled happily). Duan. See O’Fla. p. 477, who says, upon the authority of Tigernach and others, that he was the eldest son of Eochy, or Achaius, who had 7 more, Donald Brec, Donald Don, Conall Crandhamhna, Conal Bregg, Falbe, Domangard, and motherless Kay (Caius sine matre). Falbe, he adds, from Tigernach, was slain in the battle of Trea-oín, along with Rigallan the son of Conad, both grandsons of king Aidan.

8
Connadius Ker Fiachnaum filium Demani Ulidia regem in prælio ad Ardcoram devictum interemit.*


Fercar filius Eu [MS. eu, i. e. ejus sci. Kinat sinistri seu Connadii-Ker] sexdecim annis regnavit.‡

Dovenald varias filius Eochid quatuordecim annis [regnavit].§

* Tigernach (O’Flaherty, p. 477).
‡ Cro. regum Scot. "Ferchar fil. Ewin 16 an' Nomina regum, &c. "Asedeg dia mhac Fearchar," (i.e. Sixteen after, the son of Farquhar). This Ewen may mean Eugain Mac Gaurain, who died in 595. It is, however, nothing more than a conjectural explanation of (en, i.e. enos), since we are positively assured by the Ulster annals, that Farquhar was the son of Conad-Ker. See at the year 694.
§ Cro. regum Scot. "Dovenald Brec fil. Heoghed bude 14 an.' Nomina regum, &c. "Tar-eis Fearchair, . . . Cethre bliadhna deg Domhnaill," (i.e. After Farquhar, four years ten Donald). Duan. Conad, and, after him, Farquhar, seems to have reigned at the same time, though, perhaps, over distinct territory, with Donald Brek. There are, however, other instances of two or more kings reigning at once, and apparently in the same kingdom: a practice which likewise prevailed in Ireland. See Wares Antiquitates, c. 4.
DCXXIX. The death of king Eochy-buide, the son of Aidan, after he had reigned twenty years.
   Connad-ker, i.e. left-handed [the son of Conal] reigned three months.
   Connad Ker slew Fiachna, the son of Deman, king of Ulster [whom he had] defeated in a battle at Ardcoran.
   The battle of Fea-Oin, in which Malachiah, the son of Skanlain, king of the Cruthens (i.e. Irish Picts), was victor: the Dalriads fell: Connad Ker, king of Dalriada, fell.
   Farquhar his son (i.e. of Connad Ker) reigned sixteen years.
   Donald-brec (i.e. speckled), the son of Eochy, reigned fourteen years.

DCXXXV. Rex Oswald ... denique omnes nationes et provincias Brittaniae quae in quatuor linguas, id est, Brittonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, et Anglorum, divisae sunt, in ditione accepit.*

DCXXXV. King Oswald ... finally received

* Beda, L. 3, C. 6.
in his rule all the nations of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that is, of the Britons, Picts, Scots, and English.

DCXXXVII. Bellum Rath, et bellum Saltire, in uno die facta sunt. Caol Mac Maolcova, socius Donaldi, victor erat de genere Eugain.*

* An. Ul. "Cummeneus Albus, in libro quem de virtutibus sancti Columbae scriptis, sic dixit:" "Quod sanctus Columba de Aidano, et de posteris ejus, et de regno suo prophetare cepit dicens: Indubitante credo, ò Aidane, quod nullus adversariorum tuorum tibi poterit resistere; donec prius fraudulentiam agas in me, et in posteros meos. Propterea ergo tu filiis commenda, ut et ipsi filiis, et nepotibus, et posteris suis commendent, ne per consilia mala eorum sceptrum regni hujus de manibus suis perdant. In quocumque enim tempore malum adversum me, aut adversus cognatos meos, qui sunt in Hibernia, fecerint, flagellum, quod causa tui ab angelo sustinui per manum dei super eos in magnum flagitium vertetur, et cor virorum auferetur ab eis, et inimici eorum vehementer super eos confortabuntur. Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est in bello Roth, Domnaldo Brecco nepote Aidani sine causa vastante provinciam Domnail nepotis Amureq. Et à die illa usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis; quod suspitia doloris pectori incitit." Adom. L. 3, C. 5. St. Columba, refusing to consecrate Aidan king (loving his brother better), was visited in the night by an angel who struck him with a whip or scourge; the mark of
DCXXXVII. The battle of Rath and the battle of Saltire were fought in one day. Caol Mac Maol-cova, the ally of Donald, was conquered of the sept of Ewen.

DCXXXVIII. Bellum Glime-Marison, in quo exercitus Domnaldi Brec in fugam versus, et Etain obsidetur.*

DCXXXVIII. The battle of Glen-Morison, in which the army of Donald Breck was put to flight, and Etain was besieged.

DCXLII. Mors Domnail Mac Aodha regis Hiberniæ, in fine Januarii. Postea Domnail [Brec] in bello Fraithe Cairvin [l. Straith-cair-maic], in which continued all his life. This flagellation brought the saint to reason, and in the act of consecration it was that he uttered this prophecy. See Cumimius; c. 5. St. Columba, as already observed, was a distant relation of Aidan; both being descended from Erc, the father of Loarn and Fergus.

* Tigernach (O'Fla. p. 478), An. Ul.
fine anni, m. Decembri, interfectus est [ab Hoan rege Brittonum]; et annis quindecim regnavit.*
Maldun filius Dovenald Durn [l. Duin] 16 annis [regnavit].†

DCXLII. The death of Donald Mac-Hugh, in the end of January. Afterward Donald [Breck] in the battle of Straith-cair-maic, in the end of the year, in the month of December, was killed [by Owen king of the Britons]; and reigned fifteen years.
Maldun the son of Donald-Duin reigned 16 years.

* An. Ul. Tigernach (u. s.) and Usher, p. 372. It is observable that, if Donald Breck reigned 14 years, he must have succeeded to Connd-ker, in 629; and, consequently, that Fergus, or Farquhar, Mac Ewen, (if genuine) was his rival, and, probably, possessed part of his territory.
† Nomina regum, &c. "Maolduin mhic Conaill ne gereal Aseach deg go dlightheach (i. e. Maolduin the son of Conal of the hostages seven ten—lawfully). Duan. O'Flaherty says that in 642 Conal Cranndhamhna, the son of Eochy-buidhe, and Dungal (of whom he knows nothing) succeeded to Donald Breck, reigning together, and that the former died in 660. (Ogy. p. 478.)
DCL. Mors Cathusaiddh Mac Domail Bricc.*

DCL. The death of Cathusaiddh the son of Donald Breck.

DCLXXIII. Jugulatio Domangairt Mac Danieill Bricc, regis Dalriada.†

DCLXXIII. The jugulation of Donald the son of Donald Breck, king of Dalriada.

DCLXXVI. Congal Mac Maol-duin et filii Scanvill et Arthaile jugulati sunt.‡
Fergus longus viginti duo [annis regnavit.]

* An. UL. Again at 688.
† Ibl. and Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 479).
‡ Ibl. Idem.
§ Cro. regum Scot. “Ferchar-foda 21 an.” Nomina regum, &c. Fearchair fada chaith bliadhain ar fichet” (i. e. Farquhar the long spent one year on twenty). Duan.
DCLXXVI. Congal the son of Mail-duin, and the sons of Scanvill and Aithaille have their throats cut.
Farquhar the long reigned twenty-two years.


DCLXXVIII. The slaughter of the sept of Loairn at Ferrin. The death of Drost the son of Donald. The battle at Calaros, in which Donald Breck was defeated.

DCLXXXIV. Sende Ecgferth here on Scottas & Briht his ealdor-man mid. & earmlice hi godes cyrican hyndan & bærndon.†

* An. Ul. This Donald Breck seems a different person from the one slain at Straith-cair-maic in 642.
† Chro. Sax.
DCLXXXIV. Egferth sent an army against the Scots, and Bright, his general, along with them; and they, miserably, wasted and burned the churches of god.

DCLXXXV. Man of-sloh Ecgferth cining be northan sæ. & mycelne here mid him on xiii kl. Junii.∗

DCLXXXV. Men slew Egferth the king, by the north sea, and a great army with him, on the 13th kalends [19th day] of June.

DCLXXXVI. Talorg Mac Acithen, and Daniel Breoo [l. Brecc] Mac Eacha mortui sunt.†

DCLXXXVI. Talorg the son of Acithen, and Donald Breck the son of Eochy died.

∗ Chron. Sax. † An. Ul.
DCXCIV. Mors Ferchair Mac Conaith Cirr.*

DCXCIV. The death of Farquhar the son of Connad Kerr.

DCXCIV. Comnat uxor Ferchair moritur.†

DCXCIV. Comnat the wife of Farquhar dies.

DCXCVI. Jugulatio Domnaill filii Conaill.‡

DCXCVI. The jugulation of Donald the son of Conall.

DCXCVII. Ferchar fada, i.e. longus, mortuus [est.]*§

* An. Ul. † Ibi. ‡ Ibi. § Ibi.
THE SCOTS.

Eochal habens curvum nasum filius Donegarth filii Dovenal varii, tribus an. [regnavit.]*

Arimchellac [l. Ainbkellach] filius Ferchar longi tredecim annis [regnavit.]†

DCXCVII. Farquhar-fada, that is, the long, died.

Eochy hook-(or wry)-nose, the son of Domangart, the son of Donald Breck, reigned three years.

Ainbchellach the son of Farquhar the long reigned thirteen years.

DCXCVIII. Bellum at Fermna, ubi cecidit Concuvar Macha Mac Maileduin, et high Hugh king of Dalaraidhe. Expulsio Ainscella filii Ferchair de regno; et vinctus ad Hiberniam vehitur.‡


† Ibi. "Armkelleth fil. Findan. 1. an." Nomina regum, &c. He and Eochal seem to have reigned together; at least there is no arranging the succession consistently with subsequent events.

‡ An. Ul.
DCXCVIII. A battle at Fermna, where fell Concuvar Macha the son of Maileduin, and high Hugh king of Dalriada. The expulsion of Ainfecella the son of Farquhar from the kingdom; and he is carried in chains to Ireland.


DCC. Fianamoil the grandson of Duncan king of Dalriada, and Flan Mac Cinfoala Mac Suivne, have their throats cut.

DCCI. The destruction of Dunonlai by Selvaich.†

* An. Ul.
† Ibi. The original MS. now in the Bodleian, reads, according to Pinkertons Advertisement, 1794, "Destructio Dunonlaig ap. Sealvac."
DCCXI. Congressio Britonum et Dalriada apud Longeoleth, ubi Britones devicti.*

DCCXI. An engagement of the Britons and Dalriads at Longeoleth, where the Britons were defeated.

DCCXII. Obsessio Abente apud Selvacum.†

DCCXII. The siege of Abente by Selvach.

DCCXVII. Congressio Dalriada et Britonum, in lapide qui vocatur Mininro, et Britones devicti sunt.‡

DCCXVII. An engagement of Dalriads and Britons.

† Ibi. So, at 713, "Dun Olla constructur apud Selvaon [i.e., Selvach], and destroyed by his daughter Alena." See also the preceding note. O'Flaherty makes Selvach the other son of Fenhar-fada, and says he succeeded his brother (Anbkellach) in 719. (P. 479.)
‡ Ibi.
Britons at the stone which is called Mininro, and the Britons are defeated.

DCCXIX. Bellum Fingline inter duos filios Ferchair Fada; in quo Anscellach jugulatus est. 5. feria idus Septembris. Maritimum Ardanesse inter Duncha Beg, cum genere Loairn; et versum est contra Selvacum, pridie nonas Septembr. die 6. feria: in quo quidam comites cornnerunt [l. corrue-runt].*

Ewen filius Ferchare longi tredecim annis [regnavit].†

DCCXIX. A battle at Fingline, between the

* An. Ul. The ides (or 13th) of September fell upon the 5 feria, or thursday, in 725; as the pridie nonas (or 4th) of the same month did on the 6 feria, or friday. Neither date, of course, will suit 719, nor any intermediate year. Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 479) says this naval action happened “quinto nonas Octobris Die tertia feriae,” i. e. on tuesday the 3d of October. At 722, as Mr Pinkerton pretends, the MS. of the Ulster annals has Clericatu Selvaich: which is false. The whole passage runs thus: “Jurestach Mac Muirca rex Conaght mortuus clericatu Selvaich Sinach Failten moritur:” so that clericatu manifestly belongs to Jurestach.

two sons of Farquhar the long; in which Anscel-lach had his throat cut, on thursday the ides of September. A sea-fight at Ardanesse between Duncan the little and the sept of Loarn; and it turns against Selvach, the day before the nones of September, or friday: in which certain earls fell.

Ewen the son of Farquhar the long reigned thirteen years.

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DCCXXI. Little Duncha king of Cintire moritur.*

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DCCXXXVII. Airgialla inter Selvacum et familiam Egchtagh nepotis Domnail.†

DCCXXXVII. [A battle in] Argyle, between Selvach and the sept of Egchtagh, the grandson of Donald.

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* An. Ul. † Ibi.
DCCXXX. Bran filius Eugain, et Selvach, mortui sunt.*

DCCXXX. Bran, the son of Ewen, and Selvach, died.

DCCXXXIII. Achaius filius Achaii rex Dalriadæ mortuus est.†
Murechat filius Arinchellac tribus annis [regnavit].‡
Dongal MacSelvaich dehonoravit Forai [l. Toraic] cum Brudonem ex ea traxit; et eadem vice insulam [Culren] Rigi invasit.§

* An. Ul.
† Tigernach (O’Flaherty, p. 480). Mr Pinkerton makes the reign of this Eochy commence in 726, but without authority.
§ An. Ul. See Pinkertons Advertisment, 1794; also, Tigernach (O’Fla. p. 480) ubi Toragia (Torinis in Tircolnallia in Ultonia insula).
DCCXXXIII. Eochy, the son of Eochy king of Dalriada, died.
Murechat, the son of Arinchellac, reigned three years.
Dongal, the son of Selvach, dishonoured Toraic, when he drew Brudo thereout; and, at the same time, invaded the isle of [Culren] Rigi.

Ewen filius Murcedach tribus annis [regnavit].†

* An. Ul. "For Creio, read Creic... for Dongal et Ferach read Dongal, Fadach... for Twini Ouribre, read Cnuice Coirpre I calatros uc atq. lindu." Pinkertons Advertisement, 1794. It would seem that Murdoch was slain in that pursuit, having reigned 3 years; so that Ewen his son should succeed in 736.
† Cro. regum Scot. "Heoghan fil. Murdach 3 an." Nomina regum, &c. Either Ewen reigned more than 3 (say 13), or his immediate successor is lost; or Aodh-fin (i.e. Hugh the white), named as such, must have reigned upwards of 30 (i.e.
DCCXXXVI. Hungus, the son of Urgust, king of the Picts, wasted the country of Dalriada; and obtained Dunat, and burned Creic; and bound with chains the two sons of Selvach, viz. Dongal and Ferach. The battle of Twini-Ouribre (at Calaros) between Dalriada and Fortrin (i.e. the Scots and the Picts); and Talorgan, the son of Urgust, pursued Fergus, the son of Aimcellai, flying, with his army. In which engagement many noblemen fell.

Ewen the son of Murdach reigned three years.

DCCXLI. Bellum Droma Cathvaoil, inter Cruithne et Dalriada, a Jurechtach. Percussio Dalriada ab Eneas Mac Fergus.*

DCCXLI. The battle of Droma-Cathvaoil, between the Cruithens (or Picts) and Dalriads at

37) years, as the date of his death, in 778, cannot be disputed. O’Flaherty, from the book of synchronism, places here, instead of Ewen, Achatus II. or Eochy-anguidh, who was king at the death of Hugh-Ollan, king of Ireland in 743, and reigned 5 years to the commencement of his successor Hugh the white.

* An. Ul.
(or by) Jurechtaich. An invasion of Dalriada by Hungus the son of Urgust.

DCCXLVII. Mors Dunlaing Mac Dunchon, king of the cept of Argal.*

DCCXLVIII. Edalbus filius Eochal curvi nasi triginta [annis regnavit].†

DCCXLVIII. Ed-fin (i.e. Hugh the White) son of Eochy-Rinnavel (or Wry-nose) reigned 30 years.

DCCLXVIII. Battle at Fortren, between Aod and Cinoah (i.e. Hugh and Kenneth).‡

* An. Ul.
‡ An. Ul. Who this Kenneth was nowhere appears.
DCCLXXVIII. Aidus Finn rex Dalriadæ, eodem anno quo Niellus Frasach rex Hiberniæ obiit, ad finem pervenit.*
Fergus filius Edalbi tribus [annis regnavit].†

DCCLXXVIII. Ed-fin (i.e. White Hugh), king of Dalriada, in the same year in which Niell Frasach, king of Ireland, died, came to his end.
Fergus the son of White Hugh reigned three years.

* Codex Cluan (O’Flaherty, p. 480). “769. My author sayeth that king Neale Frassagh and Hugh Fynn, king of Dalriada or Redschainckes, died this year.” Mageoghanans History of Ireland, 1627 (Sloam MSS. Num. 4817). Neil, long before his death, had become a monk in the isle of Hy, or Iona. See O’Flaherty, p. 433. Why these Scots are called Redshanks (unless it be from their naked legs) is not clear; it is, however, a vulgar name for the highlanders, in the north of England, to this day. Twyne, the translator of Humphrey Llwyd, gives it to the Picts.

† Cro. regum Scot. “Fergus fil. Heth fin 3 an.” Nomina regum, &c. This monarch is not named in the Duan, which, in his stead, has Domhnall, or Donald, to whom it assigns 24 years: a reign totally incompatible with every other authority.
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DCCLXXXI. Fergus Mac Eachach king of Dalriada died.*

Dha Cliadhna Conaill.†

Two years Conal.

DCCLXXXIII. Ceathair Conaill ele.

DCCLXXXIII. Four another Conal.

DCCLXXXIX. Battle between the Pightes

* An. Ul. Mac Eachach seems an error of the transcriber for Mac Aoith filliam.

† Duan. These two kings occur in no other list; and it is evident, from the Ulster annals, if there actually were two, that the reign of one or other must be inaccurately numbered. It is impossible also, if they be rightly placed, that either should have been Conallic Cranndhaimhna, the son of Eochy-buidhe, whom O'Flaherty makes joint successor, with Dungall, to Donald Breck, in 642; and says he died in 660. (Ogy. p. 478, 479.)
[and Scots], where Conall Mac Ferge was vanquished, yet went away; and Constantin was conqueror.*

DCCXCII. Doncorcai king of Dalriada died.†

Naoi Mblaadhna Constantin chain.‡

* An. Ul. This is under 788. They add, "789. The battle of Conall and Constantin is written here [i.e. at this year] in other books." Conall Mac Ferge is printed by Mr. Pinkerton Donall Mc Teige; thereby increasing the obscurity and confusion under which he pretends this period to labour.

† Ibi. The name of this monarch occurs in no other authority. Mr Pinkerton, in contempt of authority, and without a reason, alters 791 to 782. (P. 127.)

‡ Duan. These names, likewise, occur in no other list; unless this Aodha, Ed, or Hugh, be confounded in the two chronicles published by Innes, with Edalbus, Aodh-fín, or Heth-fín (i.e. White Hugh), who died in 778. It is by no means improbable that different kings had the same epithet; as Philip and Charles, dukes of Burgundy, were both called the hardy; and as, even in the old Albanic Duan, there is a Domhnall duin, and a Dunghal, and Dubhoda, den (both brown), an Ainbecheallach and a Mureadhaigh, maith, or mhaith (good), and two, if not three, Constantines chain (eloquent).
Nine years Constantin the eloquent.

DCCC. Belliolum inter genus Laoire [l. Laoirn] et genus Ardgail, in quo cecidit Fiangularach Mac Dunlaing: Conal Mac Nell, et Congalach Mac Aongus victores erant.*

DCCC. The action between the sept of Lorn and the sept of Argyll, in which fell Fiangularach Mac Dunlaing: Conal Mac Nell, and Congalach Mac Angus were victors.

DCCCII. A nai Aonghus.

DCCCII. Nine Angus (or Æneas).

DCCCCVII. The killing of Conall Mac Aoain at Kintire.†

* An. Ul. It is not Laoire, but Loighaire, in the original MS. in the Bodleian.
† An. Ul.
DCCCX. Ceithre bliadhna Aodha ain.

DCCCX. Four years Hugh the musical.

DCCCXII. Aongus Mac Dunlaing, king of kindred Ardgail, died.*

DCCCXIV. Tre deg Eoganain.†

DCCCXIV. Thirteen Eochy-annuine (or the poisonous).

* Ibi.

† Duan. "Eochal venenosus fil. Edalbi XXX." Cro. regum Scot. "Heoghed annuine fil. Hethfin 30 an." Nomina regum, &c. "Echach f. Edasind." R. de Diceto, co. 627. "Ethacus filius Ethasind." Scotus montanus (Fordun, p. 759. Eoganain is, clearly, either a contraction or corruption of Eocholdh-anquibh (Eochal venenosus, or Heoghed annuine, or perhaps, nothing more than Eogan or Eochy. O’Flaherty (p. 474) calls Eochy-find, son of Aidan, Eogananus; and Adamnan, Eochy, or Eogain, MacGairan, Iogananus. All these Eochys, a favourite Irish name, were so called, after Eochy-Munrevar, the father of Erc). "Anno DCCC.XXIV. obiit Eokal [venenosus, ad. an. 804] rex Scottorum." Chro. de Mailros. O’Flaherty, likewise, gives the name of Alpin, in Irish, "Ailpin mac Eocoid." (Ogy. p. 481.)
DCCCXXVII. Seachtm bliadhna faith Dungal den.*

DCCCXXVII. Seven years the chief Dungal the brown.

DCCCXXXIV. Alpin filius Eochal Venenosi tribus [annis regnavit].†


† Cro. regum Scot. "Alpin fil. Heoghed annuine 3 an." Nomina regum, &c. "Ellip fr. Echah." R. de Diceto. "Alpinus filius Ethaci." Scotus montanus. "Alpinus filius Eokal." Chro. de Mailros. "The name of the father of Alpin, father of Kenneth," mr. Pinkerton "will venture to say, is lost beyond all recovery:"—"the genealogy of Kenneth," he exclaims, "is so utterly lost, that the name of his grand-father can never be ascertained:"—"the father of Alpin is totally unknown to every domestic monument of our history." (Enquiry, II. 132, 134.) "Aochy Rinneval," he says, "lived 703, and thus might be the father of Aod-Fin. But Aod-Fin reigned 743, so could not be the father of Achy annuine 726; nor could Achy annuine, 726, be father of Alpin, 837." (Ibid. 128.) This is true: but the confusion arises from his taking Achy-annuine (or Eogunan), 814, to be the Achy of 726, who, by the way, is never once surnamed Anguidh or annuine, by
ANNALS OF

DCCCXXXIV. Alpin, the son of Eochy-annuine (i. e. the poisonous), reigned three years.

DCCCXXXVII. Hic occisus est in Gallewathia, postquam eam penitus destruxit et devastavit. Et hinc translatum est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.*

DCCCXXXVII. He was slain in Galloway, after he had utterly destroyed and wasted it: and, hence, the kingdom of the Scots was transferred into the kingdom of the Picts.

any old Irish writer. To prove his consistency, however, he suspects "that this Eoganan was the father of Alpin, and that his name was from similar sound confounded with Echoid Annuine, as in Irish pronunciation the names can hardly be distinguished. If so," he adds, "Alpin was son of Eoganan, or Uven, king of the Piks, who was son of Ungust, king of the Piks, who was son of Vergust, called Fergus by the Celtic writers." (Ibi. 131.) This, however, is to amend obscurity by falsehood, and still worse to confound confusion. There was never a Eoganan king of the Picts, nor is that the same name with Uven, or anything like it. Eoganan (properly Echoidh-Anguibh) the father of Alpin, was, notoriously, king of the Scots.

* Nomina regum, &c. The chronicle of Mailros absurdly places the death of Elpinus in 843.
THE SCOTS.

DCCCXXXVII. Cinadius filius Alpin primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem à Pictis est nominata, quos* Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiae alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere: quia illi non solum deum, missam, ac preceptum, spreverunt, sed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt [*f. æqui parari voluerunt*].

Iste vero biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam Dalriæ regnum suscepit.† Septimo anno regni reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit:‡ et invasit sexies Saxoniam;§ et con-

* After quos is added ut diximus, but the fact is nowhere previously mentioned.
† If Alpin began to reign in 834, and reigned but 3 years, Kenneth must necessarily have succeeded in 837, and so been 4 years, instead of 2, before he became king of the Picts. But it is impossible to preserve the numbers and the chronology together. Another authority, however, supposes him to have reigned 7 years over the Scots alone. See Innes, p. 812.
‡ These relics seem to have been false and forged. In 828 (or 829), according to the Ulster annals, Diarmaid, abbot of Aoi, went into Scotland with Columcilles relics, with which he returned into Ireland, in 830 (or 831). They say, also, that, in 848 (or 849) "Jurastach, abbot of Aoi, came into Ireland with Colum-cilles oathes, or sanctified things." The king had, therefore, been imposed upon.
§ This Saxony is, most probably, Lothian, or the territory between the Tyne and the Forth, which was then part of the kingdom of Northumberland, but had formerly belonged to
cremavit Dunbarre, atque Malros usurpata [l. usurpavit].* Britanni autem concremaverunt Dul-blcan;† atque Danari vastaverunt Pictaviam ad 858. Cluanan et Duncalden. Mortuus est tandem tu-more ani id. Febr. feria tertia in palacio Fothuir-thabaicht.‡

the Picts, and was now, it would seem, claimed by Kenneth, as sovereign of that people.

* It appears from this passage that both Dunbar and Mailros were, before this expedition, in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. In 680 the former place (Dyunbaer), if not the whole of Lothian, was actually within the dominions of Egfrid king of Northumberland (see Eddius, Vita S. Wilfridi, c. 37); which extended from the Humber to the Forth. Lothian, however, viz. that part of the ancient kingdom of Northumberland between the Forth and the Tweed, which had formerly belonged to the Picts, being afterward given up to Kenneth IV. by king Edgar, about the year 970 (see J. de Wallingford, p. 545), we find, by Simeon of Durham, that Malcolm III. soon after 1072 gave "Dunbar, cum adjacentibus terris," to Cospatrick, late earl of Northumberland, who had sought refuge in his court.

† These Britanni, or Britons, were the inhabitants of Strath-Clyde, who had made a spirited inroad into Menteith.

‡ Cronica Pictorum. Upon the supposition that this ancient chronicle is accurate, in making the ides (or 13th) of February fall upon a Tuesday (which is the meaning of feria tertia), the death of Kenneth must necessarily be referred to the year 860; 854, in which it is placed by Fordun, and which bears the same sunday-letter, being much too early. No document, however, mentions 860 as the year of Kenneth's death; and little reliance, in fact, can be placed on the computation
THE SCOTS.


"Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kinedhus,
Filius Alpini, praelia multa gerens.
Expulsis Pictis regnaverat octo bis annis,
Atque Forteviet mortuus ille fuit."

Chronicon elegiacum.

The Chronicon elegiacum, now so called, of which this is the first specimen, was originally printed by dr. Gale, from the MS. Chronicle of Mailros. It is also preserved in some MSS. of Wyntown, and has been inserted in the printed copy. John abbot of Peterborough, speaking of king Edgar, who died in 975, refers, for a more full account of his times (among other authorities) to the liber "sancti Alredi abbatis, qui intitulatur Epitaphium regum Scotorum") meaning, as mr. D. Macpherson conjectures, this elegiac chronicle: in the fragments of which, however, now extant (supposing it not to be entire), we find nothing of Edgar, or any other Saxon or English king.
ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo in Fothiur-thabaicht.*

DCCCXXXVII. Kenneth the son of Alpin, first of the Scots, ruled happily Pictland for sixteen years. Now Pictarid is named from the Picts, whom Kenneth destroyed. For god, for the reward of their malice, designed to make them alien, and idle, in his inheritance: because they not only despised god, the mass, and the commandments, but also in the law of justice would not be equal with others. But he took the kingdom of Dalriada two years before he came to Pictland. In the seventh year of his reign he transported the relics of St Columba to the church which he built: and invaded Saxony (i.e. Lothian, or England) six times,

* "Forteviot near the river Ern, south of Perth, [was] the chief residence of the Pikish kings, after their recovery of Lothian in 684. Before that time, as appears by Adomnan, they resided near Inverness." Pinkertons Enquiry, II. 177. Malmaria (or Maolma), the [first] wife of Kenneth, was the daughter of Flan king of Ireland; by whom he had a daughter of the same name, married to Hugh Finnliath, king of that country. See O'Flaherty, p. 434, 435. The most amiable Gormlaith, therefore, must have been his second, and, apparently, also, the mother of Gormlaith, wife to Niel Glundubh king of Ireland, slain in 919, whom O'Flaherty, speaking of Ligacha, calls "e diverso toro soror." (P. 435.)
and burned Dunbar, and took possession of Mailros. Now the Britons burned Dunblane, and the Danes wasted Pictland to Cluanan and Dunkeld. He died of a fistula, on the ides of February, tuesday, in the palace of Forteviot.

Donald, his brother, held the same kingdom four years. In his time the Gael (i.e. Scots) with their king in Forteviot made (i.e. re-enacted) the rights and laws of the kingdom of Ed the son of Ecdach.

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DCCCLX. Gormlaih, daughter to Donogh, amenissima regina Scotorum, post penitentiam, obiit.*

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DCCCLXII. Obit [Duvenaldus] in palacio cum [i. suo] Belachoir, id. April.†

Constantinus filius Cinadi regnavitannis xvi. Primo ejus anno Mael Sechnaill, rex Hybernen-

* An. Ul.

DCCCCLXII. Donald died in his palace of Belachoir, on the ides of April.

Constantine, the son of Kenneth, reigned sixteen years. In his first year Maol Sechnaill king of the


"Rex Dovenaldus ei successit quatuor annis
In bello miles strenuus ille fuit.
Regis prædicti frater fuit ille Kinedi;
Qui Sconæ furtur subditus esse neci."

Chro. elegiacum.

The royal palace of Belachor (according to Innes) is mentioned in the life of St. Cadroe.

"Triotha bliachaindo Constantin," (i. e. Thirty years to Constantine). Duan.
Irish died, and Hugh the son of Niel held the kingdom; and, after two years, Anlaf with his gentiles wasted Pictavia, and those inhabiting it, from the kalends of January until the feast of St. Patrick. Again, in the third year, Anlaf, leading an army, was slain. A little after that battle, made in his fourteenth year in Dolair, between the Danes and the Scots, the Scots were slain in Coach-cocham. The Normans remained a whole year in Pictland.

DCCCCLXXXII. Interfectus à Norwigenibus in bello in Merdo-(alwerde)-fatha; sepultus in Iona insula.*

Edus tenuit idem uno anno. Eius autem brevitatis nil historiæ memoriae commendavit: sed in civitate Uturim [Ulurim] est occisus.†


"Fil Constantinus, post hunc, rex quinque ter annis,
Regis Kinedi filius ille fuit.
In bello pugnans Dacorum corruit armis;
Nomine Nigra Specus est ubi pugna fuit."

Chro. elegiacum.

DCCCLXXXII. Slain by the Norwegians, in the battle in Merdo-fatha; interred in the island Iona.

Hugh held the same one year: But the shortness [of his reign] has left nothing to memory: but he was slain in the city of Ulern.

DCCCLXXXIII. Eochodius autem, filius Kun regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regnavit annis undecim. Licet Ciricium filium alii dicunt hic regnasse, eo quod alumnus ordinatoreque

Nomina regum, &c. "Hec filius Kinet uno anno." Cro. regum, &c. "Da bliadhain Da brathari do Aodh sionus gothach," (i. e. Two years to his brother, to Hugh the fair-haired). Duan. "877. Aod Mac Cinaoth rex Pictorum a sociis suis occisis est." An. UL. The Chronicle of Mailros places the death of Hed, the brother of Constantine, in the same year (i. e. 878).

"Ejusdem frater regnaverat Albipes [i. Alipes] Edhus, Qui Grig Dofnalidæ sauciæ ense perit.
Hic postquam primum regni compleverat annum,
In Stratalum vitam vulnere finierat."

Chro. elegiacum.

Utrum, Sir James Dalrymple takes to be a place in the county of Murray, near Burgie or Kinlos. See Col. p. 99. It is remarkable, if this be the true reading, that Malcolm I. was slain at the same place.
Neil moritur;* ac, in nono anno, ipso die Cirici, 891. 
eclipsis solis facta est.† Eochodius cum alumno suo 
expulsus est nunc de regno.‡

* Edan VI. son of Neal, called Finliat, king of Temoria, 
died in 879. Ware.
† If die Cirici mean the feast of St. Cyriacus, which is the 
8th of August, there was certainly an eclipse of the sun on 
that day in the year 891: but if they mean that of St. Cyr, 
or Cyricus, which is the 16th of June, there was no eclipse on 
this day subsequent to 885; though there actually was one on 
the 17th of that month, 893. See L'art de verifier les dates, 
&c.
‡ Cro. Pic. Neither this Eochy, nor his father Kun, is 
mentioned anywhere else. The Nomina regum, instead of him, 
have "Grig MacDunegal [the Ciriicus, it would seem, of the 
Pictish chronicle] 12 an. Mortuus est in Dundum, et sepul- 
tus in Iona. Hic subjugavit sibi Hyberniam totam, et fere 
Angliam. Et hic primus dedit libertatem ecclesiae Scoticane, 
qua suo servitate erat illud tempus ex constitutione et more 
Pictorum." The Cronica regum has, also, "Grig fil. Dun-
gal xii.;" and the Chronicle of Mailros, at 897, "Obit Grig." 
He likewise appears in the Chronicon elegiacum; which evi-
dently follows the Nomina regum:

"Grig sua jura gerens annis deca rex fit et octo, 
In Dunduren probus morte retentus erat; 
Qui dedit ecclesiae libertates Scoticanæ, 
Quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit. 
Hujus ad imperium fuit Anglia tota peracta; 
Quod non leva dedit sors sibi bella terens."

This conqueror of almost all England is, however, totally un-
known to the old English historians.
DCCCLXXXIII. Eochy, now, the son of Kun, king of the Britons, [and] grandson of Kenneth, by his daughter, reigned eleven years. Although others say, that his son Grig reigned here, for that he was foster-father and manager to Eochy. In whose second year Hugh the son of Niel died: and, in his ninth year, on the very day of St. Cyrick (or Cyriack) there was an eclipse of the sun. Eochy, with his foster-father, was now expelled from the kingdom.

DCCCXC. Gens Scottorum, innumerabili exercitu coadunato, inter cætera suæ crudelitatis facinora, Lindisfarnense monasterium sæviens et rapiens invasit: contra quos dum rex Guthredus, per sanctum Cuthbertum confortatus, pugnatus staret, subito terra dehiscens hostes vivos omnes absorbuit, renovato ibi miraculo antiquo, quando aperta est terra et deglutivit Dathan, et operuit super congregationem Abiron. Qualiter autem gestum sit, alibi constat esse scriptum [Q. ubi ?]*

DCCCXC. The nation of the Scots, having gathered together an innumerable army, among the

* S. Dunel. (His. de Dunel. ec.) Co. 22.
rest of its deeds of cruelty, raging and plundering, invaded the monastery of Lindisfarne; against whom whilst king Guthred, encouraged by St. Cuthbert, was about to fight, of a sudden the earth opened absorbed all the enemies alive; the ancient miracle, when the earth was opened and swallowed Dathan, and closed upon the congregation of Abiron, being there renewed. But how it was done, appears to be written elsewhere.


DCCCXCIV. Donald, the son of Constantine, held the kingdom eleven years. The Normans then wasted Pictland. Now, in his reign, there was a battle in *Vifid-collan*, between the Danes and the Scots: the Scots had the victory. At the town of Fores he was slain by the gentiles.

DCCCCLI. Edwardus filius Alfredi ... Scottos, qui aquilonarem insulæ partem inhabitant ... bellis prosligatis, suæ ditioni subegit.*

DCCCCLI. Edward the son of Alfred ... brought under his dominion the Scots, who inhabit the north part of the island, [whom he had] routed in battles.

"899. Daniel Mac-Constantin, king of Scotland, died."

An. Ul.

"Post hunc in Scotia regnavit rex Dovenaldus, Hic Constantino filius ortus erat. In villa fertur rex iste perisse Forensi, Undecimo regni sole rotante sui."  

*W. Malmes. L. 2. c. 5.*

Chro. elegiacum.
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DCCCIV. Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum quadraginta annis: cujus tertio anno Nor-
manni prædaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Al-
baniam: in sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in 908.
Fraith [l. Sraith] heremi Normanni: ac in sexto
anno, Constantinus rex et Cellachus episcopus, leges
disciplinasque fidei, atque jura ecclesiarum evan-
geliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in colle credul-
itatis, prope regali civitate Scoan devoverunt cus-
toditur [l. custodiri]. Ab hoc die collis hoc me-
ruit nomen, i. e. collis credulitatis. Et in suo viii. 912.
anno cecidit excelsissimus rex Hybernensium, et
archiepiscopus apud Laignechos, i. e. Cormac filius
Culenan:* et mortui sunt, in tempore hujus, Do-
venaldus rex Britannorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ed
rex eligitur; et Flana filius Mael Sethnail,† et
Niall filius Ede qui regnavit tribus annis post
Flannu, &c.‡

DCCCIV. Constantine, the son of Hugh,

* O'Flaherty fixes the battle of Mugna, and the death of
Cormac the bishop, and the king of Munster, to the 16th of
August 608. Ogygia, p. 422.
† Flan, son of Melsechlin, king of Temoria, died 916.
Ware.
‡ Cro. Pic. The real name of these two British (i. e. Strath-
Clyde) kings was, probably, Dunwallo; Donald being a Scot-
ish or Irish, and not a Welsh name.
held the kingdom forty years; in whose third year the Normans plundered Dunkeld, and all Albany. In the following year also the Normans were killed in Strath heremi; and in the sixth year, Constantine and Cellach the bishop devoted the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and gospels, equally with the Scots, in the hill of credulity, near the royal city Scone, to be kept. From this day the hill merited this name, that is, the hill of credulity. And, in his eighth year, fell the most high king of the Irish; and the archbishop at Laignechos, that is, Cormac the son of Cullenan: and, in his time, died Donald king of the Britons, and Donald, the son of Ed, was elected king; and Flan the son of Mael-Sethnaill, and Nial, the son of Ede, who reigned three years after Flan.

DCCCCXIII. Maolmor Mac Lanirke, daughter to Cinaoh Mac Alpin, [died].*

* An. Ul. She was the wife of Flan, king of Ireland, and had by him a daughter, Ligacha, the mother of Congal. See O'Flaherty, p. 435. The original at Oxford reads Maclmrke.
DCCCCXVIII. The gentiles of Locheachaoch left Ireland, and went for Scotland. The men of Scotland, with the assistance of the north Saxons, prepared before them. The gentiles divided themselves into four battles, viz. One by Godfrey Oh Ivar; another by the two earls; the third by the young lords; and the fourth by Ranall Mac Bio-loch, that the Scots did not see. But the Scots overthrew the three they saw, and they had a great slaughter of them about Ottir and Gragava. But Ranall gave the onset behind the Scots, that he had the killing of many of them; only that neither king nor 'thane' was lost in the conflict. The night discharged the battle.*

DCCCCXX. 'Rex Scottorum cum tota gente sua, et Regnaldus rex Danorum, . . . . rex etiam Streddedunelorum [l. Stredcleduvalorum] cum suis, regem Eadwardum seniorem sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt, firmumque foedus cum eo pepigerunt.†

* An Ul. For Scotland the original reads Alban.
† S. Dunel.
DCCCXXX. The king of Scots, with all his nation, and Reynold king of the Danes, ... the king also of those of Strath-Clyde, with his people, chose king Edward the elder for their father and lord, and contracted with him a firm league.

DCCCXXXII. Bellum Tinemore factum est in decimo octavo anno [Constantini] inter Constantinum et Regnall, et Scotti habuerunt victoriam.*

DCCCXXXII. The battle of Tinemore was fought in the eighteenth year of Constantine, be-

* Cro. Pic. "Regenwaldus rex venit cum magna multitudine navium, occupavit terram Aldredi filii Eadulfi qui erat delectus regi Eadwardo ... Fugatus igitur Eldredus in Scotiam ivit, Constantini regis auxilium quaesivit, illum contra Regenwaldum regem apud Corobrigae in pralium adduxit. In quo praelio, nescio quo peccato agente, paganus rex vincit, Constantinum fugavit, Scottos fudit, Elfredum, et omnes meliores Anglos interfecit, prater Ealdredum, et fratem ejus Uhtred." S. Dunel. Co. 73. He gives no date, nor is such a battle mentioned by any other historian, but the anonymous continuator of Bede. Reynold, or Reginald, the son of Guthferth, or Guthred, was a Danish king of Northumberland, who took York in 923, was baptised in 942, and expelled by Edmund in 944. See Chro. Sax.
tween Constantine and Reynold, and the Scots had the victory.

DCCCCXXIV. Aethelstanus filius Edwardi, Ludwalem regem omnium Wallensium, et Constantinum regem Scottorum cedere regnis compulit. Quos tamen non molto post, miseratione infractus, in antiquum statum sub se regnaturos constituit, gloriosius esse pronuncians regem facere quam regem esse.*

DCCCCXXIV. Athelstan, the son of Edward, compelled Ludwal, king of all the Welsh, and Constantine, king of the Scots, to yield their kingdoms: whom, nevertheless, not long after, affected with commiseration, he appointed to reign under him, according to their ancient state, pronouncing it to be more glorious to make a king than to be a king.

DCCCCXXVI. Rex Ethelstanus... regem Scottorum Constantinum praelio vicit et fugavit.

DCCCCXXVI. King Athelstan... defeated and put to flight Constantine, king of the Scots.

DCCCCXXXIV. Strenuus rex Ethelstanus, quia rex Scottorum Constantinus fœdus quod cum eo pepigerat, dirupit, classica manu pervalida, et equestri exercitu non modico, ad Scotiam proficiscitur. Qui Scotiam usque Dunfoeder et Wertermorum terrestri exercitu vastavit, navali vero usque Catenes depopulatur. Unde vi compulsus rex Constantinus filium suum obsidem cum dignis muneribus illi dedit.*

DCCCCXXXIV. The brave king Ethelstan, because Constantine, king of the Scots, broke the league which he had made with him, with a very strong fleet, and no mean army of horse, went to

* S. Dunel. co. 154. See also co. 134; and Chro. Sax. ad annum.
Scotland; and wasted Scotland, with his land-army, as far as Dunfoeder and Wertermorum, but with his naval one, depopulated it as far as Caithness: whence, compelled by force, Constantine gave to him his son as a hostage, with suitable presents.


DCCCCXXXVII. The battle of Brunburg, in his thirty-fourth year; where fell the son of Constantine.

DCCCCXXXVIII. Mortuus est Dubican filius Indrechtaig mormair Oengusa.†

† Cro. Pic.
DCCCCXXXVIII. Dubican, the son of Indrechtaig, thane of Angus, died.

DCCCXL. Adelstan filius Aduar [l. Eadwardi] rig Saxan [f. Saxonum regis], et Eochaid filius Alpin mortui sunt.*

DCCCXL. Athelstan, the son of Edward, king of the Saxons, and Eochy, the son of Alpin, died.

DCCCCXLIII. In senectute decrepitus baculum cepit [R. Constantinus] et domino servivit; et regnum mandavit Mael [l. Maelcolm] filio Donmail.†

DCCCCXLIII. King Constantine, in a decre-

* Ibi. If this Eochaid, or Eochy, were a younger son of king Alpin, he must have been a hundred years old at the time of his death. The name of this son, at the same time, affords another proof that it was also that of Alpins father.
† Ibi.
pid old age, took the staff, and served the lord, and committed his kingdom to Malcolm, the son of Donald.

DCCCCXLIV. Maelcolaim filius Domnail xi.annis regnavit. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolaim perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach.*

DCCCCXLIV. Malcolm the son of Donald reigned eleven years. Malcolm, with his army, went into Murray, and slew Cellach.

DCCCCXLV. Magnificus rex Anglorum Ead- mundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est, illam- que regi Scottorum Malcolm eo tenore dedit, ut terra marique sibi fidelis existeret.†

DCCCCXLV. Edmund, the magnificent king of the English, depopulated the land of the Cum-

* Ibi.  † S. Dunel. co. 156.
brians, and gave it to Malcolm, king of the Scots, upon this condition that he should be faithful to him by land and sea.

DCCCCXLVI. Edredus tertius ex filiis Edwardi, regnum suscipientis, rexit annis 9 et dimidio. Ejus magnanimitas, à patre et fratribus non degenerans, hanc summam dedit, Northingbros et Scottos, facile ad sacramentum sue fidelitatis adactos, et mox fœdigragos; quodam Iricio rege super se statuto, pene ex hominibus delevit, tota provincia fame ferroque fœdata. *

DCCCCXLVI. Edred, the third of Edwards sons, receiving the kingdom, reigned nine years and a half. His magnanimity, not degenerating from

* W. Malmes. l. 2, c. 7. H. Hunting. l. 5, p. 355. In he life of St. Cadroe, he is conducted from the city Loida (apparently Carlisle) “ad regem Erichium in Euroacum [f. Eboracum] urbem: qui scilicet rex habebat conjugem ipsius domini Kaddroe propinquam.” This Ericius, or Ericus, was a Dane, or of Danish extraction, who, being made king of the Northumbrians in 947, was banished in the following year. See R. de Hoveden, p. 423.
his father and brethren, gave this opinion, that the
Northumbrians and Scots were easily brought to
their oath of fidelity, and presently broke it. A
certain king Iricius being set over them, he almost
destroyed it of men, the whole province being pol-
luted (or rent) with famine and the sword.

DCCCCLII. [Malcolm rex] in septimo anno
regni sui prædavit Anglos ad annem Thesis; et
multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta
pecorum; quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam
Albidosorum i. e. Nauudisi.* Aliii autem dicunt
Constantinum fecisse hanc prædam, quærens a rege,
i. e. Maelcolaim, regnum dari sibi ad tempus hebdo-
madis, ut visitaret Anglos. Veruntamen non Mael-
colaim fecit hanc prædam, sed instigavit eum Con-
stantinus, ut dixi.†

DCCCCLII. King Malcolm, in the seventh year
of his reign, made a prey upon the English at the
river Tees, and carried off a multitude of men, and
many herds of cattle; which prey the Scots called

* Inexplicable corruptions.  † Cro. Pic.
the prey of the Albudi, that is, Nauuidisi. Others, however, say that Constantine made this prey, seeking from the king, that is, Malcolm, the kingdom to be given to him for a week, that he might visit the English. Nevertheless Malcolm did not make this prey, but Constantine instigated him, as I have said.

DCCCCLIV. Mortuus est Constantinus in decimo ejus anno [sci. Malcolm] sub corona penitenti, in senectute bona.*

DCCCCLIV. Constantine died in his (Mal-


"Constantinus idem, cujus pater Hed fuit Albus,
Bis deca rex annis vixerat, atque decem :
Andreae sancti fuit hic quinquennis in urbe,
Religionis ubi jure fruens obiit."
Chro. elegiacum.
colms) tenth year, under the crown of repentance, in a good old age.

DCCCCLV. Occiderunt viri Na Moerne Malcolm in Fodresack, i. e. in Claideom. *

Indulfus tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacatum est, ac relictum est Scottis in hodiernum diem. Classi [f. classici] Somarlediorum occisi sunt in Bucham. †


"Huic rex Malcolmus successit in tribus annis, Regis Donaldi filius ille fuit.
Interfeecerunt in Unlun hunc Moravienses, Gentis apostaticæ fraude doloque cadit."

Chro. elegiacum.


† Cro. Pic. Perhaps it should be Classi [advenientes] Somarlediorum [numerii] occisi sunt. These Somarleda, or Summerlids, were Danish or Norwegian pirates, who may

† i. e. Constantine.
DCCCCLV. The men of Moerne slew Malcolm in Fodresack, that is, in Claideom.
Indulf held the kingdom eight years. In his time the town of Eden was vacated, and left to the Scots unto this day. The seamen of the Sumerleds were slain in Buchan.

DCCCCLXI. Indulph rex Albaniae mortuus est.*

only have made their appearance in summer (from liod Sax-
on). In the Saxon chronicle, an. 871, we read, "after thyssum gefeoht com micel sumor-lida to Readingum," (i. e. after this fight came much Summerlids to Reading); which bishop Gibson has improperly rendered "magna quies aestiva," though he might have found it correctly explained by Ethelwerd, "aestivus exercitus" (l. 4, c. 3). Sumerlede also was a common name among the Saxons or Danes. See S. Dunel. co. 82; Historia ecclesiæ Eliensis (apud Galei Scriptores xv.) l. 1, c. 15: J. Bromton, co. 809; R. de Hoveden, p. 493; and Torfæi Orcades, p. 66. As this, therefore, appears to have been a name assumed by themselves, it by no means, as mr. Pinkerton absurdly maintains, "shews that the Irish was never that of Scotland, being a Pishik or Gothic, and yet common appellation." (Enquiry, II, 186.)

THE SCOTS.

Niger filius Maelcolaim regnavit quinque annis.†
Fothach episcopus pausavit.‡

DCCCCLXI. Indulph king of Albany died.
Duf, the son of Malcolm, reigned five years.
Fothach the bishop died.

DCCCCLXIV. [Bellum] inter Iger [l. Niger,
i. e. Duff, et] Caniculum [l. e. Culen] super dor-

(O’Fla. p. 486.) "Anno DCCCCLXI. Rex Scottorum Indulfus occiditur." Chro. de Mailros.

"Post hunc Indulfus totidem regnaverat annis,
Ens Constantini filius Edsayde.
In bello pugnans, ad fluminis ostia Collin,
Dacorum gladiis protinus occubuit."

Chro. elegiacum.

† Cro. Pic. "Duff Mac Malcolm 4 ann. et 6 mens."
Cro. regum, &c. "Seach mbliadhua Dubhoda den (i. e.
seven years Duff the brown). Duan. Mr. Pinkerton calls this
monarch Odo Duff, because Fordun says he succeeded in the
24th year of the emperor Otho.

‡ Ibi. This is the prelate, of whom Fordun says he found,
in the circumference of the silver cover of the gospels, pre-
served in St. Andrews, this engraving :

"Hanc evangeli thecam construxit Avilus
Fothad, qui primus Scotis episcopus est." (P. 551.)

* Malcolmum.

DCCCCLXIV. A battle, between Duff and Cullen, upon Drum-Crup, in which Duff had the victory; where fell Duncan, abbot of Dunkeld, and Dubdou, thane of Athol. Duff was expelled from the kingdom, and Cullen held it a short time. Donald the son of Canil died.


† i. e. S. Andreeæ, dictus et Malisiur. Innes.
‡ i. e. rexit, sive gubernavit, loco sci. Malisiur sive Maelbrigid. Idem.
|| Cro. Pic. "Culin Mac-Induff 4 an. et 6 mens. Inter-
THE SCOTS.

DCCCCLXV. Culen-rig reigned five years. Marcan, the son of Bremdalaig, was killed in the church of St. Michael. Leot and Sluagadach went to Rome. Maolbrigd, the bishop, died. Cellach, the son of Ferdulaig, governed [in his stead]. Culen, and his brother Eochy, were slain by the Britons.

DCCCCLXVII. Duff Mac Maolcolum, king of Scotland, killed by Scots men themselves.*


“Filius Indulf totidem quoque rex fuit annis,
Nomine Culenus vir fuit insipiens.
Fertur apud Lovias illum truncasse Radhardas,
Pro rapta nata quam sibi rex rapuit.”

Chro. elegiacum.


“Quatuor et semis rex Duf regnavit arisistis,
Malcolmus natus regia jura gerens.
Hunc interfecit gens perhida Moraviensis,
Cujus erat gladiis casus in urbe Foros.
Sol abdit radios, ipso sub ponte latente,
Quo fuit absconsus, quoque repertus erat.”

Chro. elegiacum.

* Saxonia is England. Stanmore is in Westmoreland.
† Cro. Pic. “Kinath Mac-Malcolm 24 an. et 2 mens.” Nomina regum, &c. “Kinet fil. Malcolm xxii an. et ii mens.” Cro. regum, &c. “A seacht fith cheat os gach-cloinn, Do Chionaoth mhic Maoilcholuim” (i. e. Seven and twenty, over each clan, to Kenneth the son of Malcolm). Duan. Here ends the Cronica Pictorum, which appears, from that circumstance, and the phraseology “Hic est qui, &c.” to have been written in the lifetime of Kenneth.
THE SCOTS.

DCCCCLXX. Kenneth the son of Malcolm reigned 24 years. Forthwith he harried Britain (i.e. Strath-Clyde), and on the side of Kenneth his foot-soldiers were slain in a very great slaughter in Monivacornar. The Scots harried Saxony to Statemake, and at Cluyd, and the lake of Derram? Now Kenneth walled the banks of the fords of Forth. In the next year he went and harried Saxony (i.e. England, or Lothian), and carried off the son of the king of the Saxons. This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the lord.

DCCCCLXXI. Rex Eadgarus* barones Northumbrenses in consilium convocans apud Eboracum, capitula multa ad regni negotia spectantia bene ordinavit. Inter quae etiam Osulfi comitatum, quem avunculus ejus Eadredus toti Northumbriæ sub nomine comitis praebecerat, in duos divisit comitatus. Ipso Osulfo jam mortuo, noluit sub nomine hereditatis rex eam partem terræ alicui provenire soli, ne ad antiquam libertatem aspirantes† North-

* Edgar succeeded his brother Edwig, as king of all England, in 959 and died in 975.
† Here is a considerable defect, occasioned, it would seem, by the recurrence of the word Northumbria. The sense of the entire passage must have been, that, lest the Northum-
imbræ, hoc est, ab Humbria usque ad Theisam, Oslach, et comitis gladio eum cinxit. A Theisa vero usque ad Mireforth* sub nomine etiam comitatus, partem videlicet maritimam Deiræ, dedit Eadulf cognomento Ewelthild. Sicque duo regna ad duos comitatus devenerunt, permanseruntque omni tempore regum Anglorum sub ditione et donatione eorundem. Louthion vero semper patuit excursibus Scotorum et Pictorum, et idcirco parum curæ fuit regibus hæc pars terræ. Porro rex Scotorum Kineth audiens ex fama et commendatione duorum comitum Oslach et Eadulf, et episcopi Dunelmi Elfisi,† Eadgari regis magnificentiam, desiderio videndi petivit conductum veniendi Londiniam, ut cum eodem colloqueretur, et impetravit: Conduxeruntque eum ex precepto regis duo comites predicti et episcopus. Venit Londonias Kineth rex Scotorum, ubi à rege Eadgaro honorificè susceptus est, et honori habitus; cumque amicè familiariter et jocunde colloquerentur; suggestis rex Kineth regi Eadgaro Louthion ad suum jus debere

brians, aspiring after their ancient liberty, should endeavour to restore their monarchy, he gave the southern part of Northumberland, that is, from the Humber to the Tees, to Oslach.

* i. e. the water or sirth of Forth.
† Elfsig, or Alfsi, bishop of Chester on the street, from 968 to 990.
pertinere, et hæreditariè à regibus Scotorum pos-
sideri.* Rex nolens aliquid abruptè facere, ne
post factum pœniteret, regis Kineth causam curiæ
suæ intimavit. Proceres vero qui à progenitoribus
erant eruditi, nisi sub nomine homagii regi Anglo-
rum à rege Scotorum inexpensi,† et præcipue quia
ad tuendum terram illam difficilis est accessus, et
harum proficua ejus dominatio, assensit autem
assertioni huic Kineth, et sub nomine homagii eam
petit et accepit, fecitque regi Eadgaro homagium
sub cautione multa promittens, quod populo par-
tis illius antiquas consuetudines non negaret, et
sub nomine et lingua Anglicana permanerent.
Quod usque hodie firmum manet.‡ Sicque deter-
minata est vetus querela de Louthion, et adhuc
nova sepe intentatur. Subjectus est ergo Eadgaro
rex prædictus prædicta causa, sed et rex Cum-
borum Malcolm, et Oricus [Maccus] plurimarum

* Lothian had undoubtedly been part of the Pictish terri-
tory, conquered by the Northumbrian kings, but never posses-
sed by a Scotish monarch. Kenneth, no doubt, pretended to
be representative of the Picts.

† These passages seem to have been rendered imperfect by
the transcriber.

‡ Not in the writers time, but in that of the more ancient
author whose words he uses.

DCCCCLXXI. King Edgar, convoking the Northumbrian barons to a council at York, wisely ordained many laws touching the affairs of his kingdom: among which also the county of Osulf, whom his uncle Edred had, under the name of earl, set over all Northumberland, he divided into two counties. This Osulf being now dead, the king was unwilling that this part of the land should come to any one under the name of inheritance, lest, aspiring to ancient liberty, . . . of Northumberland, that is, from Humber as far as Tees [he gave to] Osloch, and girded him with the sword of earl. But, from Tees as far as Mireforth, under the name also of a county, to wit, the mari-

* J. de Wallingford, p. 545. "Demum sub Eadgaro rege Oslac preficitur comes Eboraco et locis pertinentibus, et Eadulf cognamento Wcleild a Teisa usque Myreforth preponitur Northymbris. Istit duo comites cum Elfsio qui apud sanctum Cuthbertum episcopus fuerat perduxerunt Kyneth regem Scottorum ad regem Eadgarum. Qui cum illi fecisset hominium dedit ei rex Eadgarus Lodeoneium et multo cum honore remisit ad propria."—Chronicon vetus Simeoni Dunelmensis adscriptum, Caligula, A. VIII. See also M. West, ad an. 975, and afterward under 1018.
time part of Deira, he gave to Eadulf surnamed Ewelthild: and so two kingdoms came down to two counties, and remained, in all the time of the kings of the English, under their dition and donation. But Lothian always lay open to the excursions of the Scots and Picts, and therefore little of care was this part of the land to the kings. Moreover the king of Scots, Kenneth, hearing from the report and commendation of the two earls, Oslach and Eadulf, and of the bishop of Durham Elfsi, the magnificence of king Edgar, with the desire of seeing him, requested a conduct of coming to London, that he might converse with him, and obtained it: and the two earls and bishop aforesaid conducted him by the kings command. Kenneth, king of the Scots, came to London, where he was honorably received by king Edgar, and treated with honour; and as they conversed in a friendly, familiar, and jocund, manner, king Kenneth suggested to king Edgar that Lothian ought to belong to his right, and to be possessed hereditarily, by the kings of the Scots. The king, unwilling to do any thing abruptly, lest he should after repent the deed, intimated the cause of king Kenneth to his court. But the nobles, who were instructed by their progenitors, unless under the name of homage done to the king of the English by the king of the Scots,
and, especially, because the approach was difficult to defend that country, and its dominion of little profit, Kenneth, however, assented to this assertion, and, under the name of homage, asked and accepted it, and did homage to king Edgar under caution, promising many things, that he would not deny to the people of that part their ancient customs, and that they should remain under the English name and language: which remains firm until this day: and so was determined the old quarrel concerning Lothian, and yet a new one is often threatened. The aforesaid king was, therefore, subject to Edgar, for the cause aforesaid, but also the king of the Cumbrians Malcolm, and Maccus king of a great many isles, and the different kings of the Orkneys: who were all bound to Edgar in the name of homage.

DCCCCLXXIII. [Eadgarus rex Anglie] regem Scottorum Kunadium, archipiratam Maccusium, omnesque reges Wallensium,...ad curiam co-actos, uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligavit.*

* W. Malmes, p. 56. See also Chron. Sax. which speaks of six kings, but mentions none by name. "Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus ... cum ingenti classe, Britannia circum-
DCCCCLXXIII. Edgar, king of England, bound to himself Kenneth,—king of the Scots, the archpirate Maccus, and all the kings of the Welsh, ...assembled at his court, in one and a perpetual oath.

navigata, ad Legionum civitatem [hodie Chester] appulit. Cui subreguli ejus octo, Kynath, scilicet, rex Scottorum, Malcolm rex Cumborum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii V. Dufnald, Siferth, Huval, Jacob, Nichil [Ju-chil or Inchil], ut mandaverat, occurrerunt, et quod sibi fideles et terra et mari cooperatores se vellent juraverunt. Cum quibus die quadam scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis De perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procurum simili navigio comitante, à palatio ad monasterium sancti Johannis Baptistæ navigavit." S. Dunel. co. 159. See also Flo. Wigor. J. Bromton, et Chro. de Mailros, ad annum. It appears, from this passage, and several others, as well in these annals, as at later periods, that the Scottish monarchs did occasional homage to the Saxon kings, if not for their whole kingdom, at least for Lothian, which, though it had been formerly possessed by the Picts, was certainly, for several centuries a part of the kingdom of Northumberland, and, consequently, after the termination of that monarchy, within the kingdom of England. William king of Scotland did fealty and homage to king Henry II. in 1175, for all his possessions, and particularly for Scotland and Galloway (Benedictus, 113); and, though the Scotch monarch did, afterward, for a valuable consideration, obtain a release of some unusual conditions from Richard I. still it was with an express reservation of what Malcolm, his brother, had of right done, and ought to do, to that kings ancestors (Idem, 581.)
DCCCCLXXVII. Amlaus, filius Indulphi regis Albanæ, à Kinetho filio Malcolm capite plec-
titur.*

DCCCCLXXVII. Anlaf, son of Indulph king of Albany, is beheaded by Kenneth, the son of Mal-
colm.

DCCCCXCIV. Interfectus in Fotherkern à suis, per perfidiam Finellæ filiæ Cunechat comitis de Angus, cujus Finellæ filium unicum praedictus Kinath interfecit apud Dunfinoen.†

*Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 487). "Aulaiv MacAlaiv, king of Scotland [r. Gentilium] killed by Cinaoh MacDonell [r. MacMalcolm]." An. Ul. This Anlaf, Aulaf, or Olave, was king of the Dubh-gall, or pagan Danes, who had possessed himself, it would seem, of some part of Scotland.


"Inclitus in Scotia tertur regnasse Kinedus,
Malcolmni natus, quatuor et decæ bis.
Iste Fortherkernæ telis fit et arte peremptus,
Nate Cuncari Fimberhele fraude cadens."

Chro. eleg.
Constantin MacCulin uno anno et sex mensibus [regnavit].*

DCCCCXCIV. Slain in Fotherkern, by his own people, through the perfidy of Finella, daughter of Cunechat, earl of Angus, the only son of which Finella the aforesaid Kenneth slew at Dunfinoen.

Constantin, the son of Culin, reigned one year and six months.

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DCCCCXCVI. Interfectus a Kinat filio Malcolmi [i. Malcolmo filio Kinat] in Rathveramoen, et sepultus in Iona.†

* Nomina regum, &c. “Constantin fil. Culen uno an. et dimid.” Cro. regum Scot. “Seaght mbladhna constantin” (i. e. seven years Constantin). Duan.


“Rex Constantinus, Culeno filius ortus,
    Ad caput annis Aven ense peremptus erat,
In Tegalere; regens uno rex et semis annis,
  Ipsum Kinedus Malcolonida ferit.”

Chro. cle.
Girgh Mac-Kinat Mac-Duff octo annis [regnavit].

DCCCCXCVI. Killed by Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, in Rathveramoen, and interred in Iona.

Grig, the son of Kenneth, the son of Duf, reigned 8 years.

As Kenneth Mac Malcolm died 18 months before the death of Constantine his name seems to be put by mistake, both in the text and the elegiac Chronicle, for that of Malcolm Mac Kenneth. See under 1004.


"Annorum spatio rex Grim regnaverat octo,
Kinedi natus qui genitus Duf erat.
Quo truncatus erat Bardorum campus habetur,
A nato Kined nomine Malcolmii."

Chro. elegi.

It appears, likewise, from O'Flaherty (p. 488), that the proper name of Grim, or Macduff, was Kenneth.
THE SCOTS.

MIV. Interfectus a filio Kinet in Moghananard. Sepultus in Iona insula.
Malcolm Mac-Kinath, rex victoriosissimus, triginta annis [regnavit].*

MIV. Killed, by the son of Kenneth, in Moghananard. Interred in the island Iona.
Malcolm the son of Kenneth, a most victorious king, reigned 30 years.

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MV. Battle between Scotsmen and Saxons, where Scotsmen were discomfitted, with a great slaughter of their good men.

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MXVIII. Ingens bellum apud Carrum gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymbbrorum, et Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottorum. Cum quo fuit

* Nomina regum, &c. "Malcolm fil. Kinet XXX." Cro. regum, &c. "Triocha bliadhain Ba righ Maolcholaim" (i.e. thirty years was king Malcolm). Duan.
in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Lutinensium [1. Lutinensium].*

* Simeon Dunel. co. 177. "Hic [Malcolm] magnum bel-lum fecit apud Carrum.† Ipse etiam multas oblationes tam ecclesiis quam ilio ea die distribuit." Cro. regum. It ap-pears from the Saxon chronicle that Uchtred was killed in 1016. "Anno ab incarnatione domini DCCC. lxix. reg-nante rege Anglorum Ethelredo, Malcolmus rex Scottorum filius Kynedi regis congregato totius Scotiae exercitu provin-ciam Northanimbrorum caedibus et incendibus devastans, Dunelmum obsidione circumdedit. Quo tempore Aldun episcopatum ibidem regente, Waltheof qui comes fuerat Nor-thanimbrorum sese in Bebbenbuc inculserat ... Cujus filio, scilicet Ucthredo, magna strenuitatis juveni et militi aptissi-mo filiam suam nomine Ecgridan Aldunus episcopus dederat uxorem ... Videns juvenis praefatus terorem ab hostibus de-vastatam, et Dunelmum obsidione circumdatam, et contra hoc patrem suum nihil agere, adunato exercitu Northanimbrorum et Eboracensium non parva manu, Scottorum multitudinem pene totam interfecit ipso rege vix perfugam cum paucis eva-dente. Interfectorum vero capita elegantiora crinibus, sicut tunc temporis mos erat, perplexis fecit Dunelmum transportari, eaque à quattuor mulieribus perlata per circuitum muro-rum in stipitibus praefigis mulieribus autem quae ea laverant mercedem dederant vaccas singulis singulas. His auditis, rex Ethelredus vocato ad se juvene praefato, vivente adhuc patre Waltheof, pro merito sua strenuitatis et bello quod tam viri-liter peregerat, dedit ei comitatum patris sui, adjungens etiam Eboracensium comitatum." S. Dunel. co. 80. If there be a word of truth in this relation, certainly the date is not merely

† "Carrum hodie Werk." It is not Wark, but to the west of it.
Quo [Ucthredo] occiso [per regem Cnut], frater ipsius Eadulf cognomento Cudel, ignavus valde et timidus, ei successit in comitatum. Timens autem ne Scotti mortem suorum quos frater ejus, ut supradictum est, occiderat, in se vindicarent totum Lodoneium, ob satisfactionem et firmam concordiam eis donavit. Hoc modo Lodoneium adjetum est regno Scottorum.*

MXVIII. A great battle was fought, at Carham, between the Scots and the English, between the son of Waltheof earl of the Northumbrians, and Malcolm the son of Kenneth, king of the Scots: with whom in battle was Owen the bald of the Clutinians (i.e. Strath-Clyde-Britons?)

Which Uchtenred being slain by king Cnut, his brother Eadulf surnamed Cudel, very slothful and timid, succeeded him in the county. But, fearing lest the Scots should revenge upon him the death of those whom his brother, as is above said, had slain, gave all Lothian, for satisfaction and firm

false but absolutely impossible, as Etheldred did not ascend the throne before 978, nor Malcolm before 1001. These particulars also are mentioned by no other writer.

* S. Dunel, co. 81. See before under 970.
concord. In this manner was Lothian added to the kingdom of the Scots.

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MXX. Finlogh Mac Roary, king of Scotland, a suis occisus.*

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MXXXII. Cnuto decimo quinto anno regni sui Romam prefectus est. Ibi aliquantis diebus commoratus, navigio Angliam redivit. Et mox Scotiam rebellantem, regemque Malcolmum, expeditione il-luc ducta, parvo subegit negotio.†

* An. Ul. This Finlogh, or Fir.leg, was the father of Mac-beth. "King of Scotland," can only mean prince or ruler of some part of it: probably Murray. Torfaeus, from an old saga, calls him Scottorum comes Finnuleicus. (Orcades, p. 27.) Roary is a contraction or diminutive of Roderick. He is called in the original MS. at Oxford, "Finloec Mac Ruai-dri, ri Alban."

† W. Malmes. L. 2, c. 11. "An. MXXXI. Her for Cnut cyng to Rome. & thy ylcan geare tha hi ham com he for to Scotlande. & Scotta cyng him to beah Mæcolm. & twegen othre cyningas. Mælbæthe & Iehmarc." (i. e. In this year Cnut the king went to Rome; and in the same year, in which he came home, he went to Scotland, and the Scottish king
MXXXII. Cnut, in the fifteenth year of his reign, went to Rome. Having stayed there some days, he returned in a ship to England: and presently, with little trouble, subdued Scotland, being in rebellion, and its king Malcolm, in an expedition conducted thither.

Gilcomgan MacMaolbryde, murmor of Murebe, burnt with 50 men about him.*

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MXXXIII. The son of Mac Boete Mac Cinaoh killed by Maolcolm Mac Cinaoh.†

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MXXXIV. Malcolm rex Scottorum obiit.‡

Malcolm, was subject to him, and two other kings Maolbeth and Jehmarc. Chro. Sax. This Melbaethe, or Maolbeth, was, in all probability, the famous usurper Macbeth, whose father Finloogh was slain in 1020. Caradoc, however, says they were kings of the Orkneys and Ewist.

* An. Ul. Mr. Pinkerton, by either negligence or design, omits the words Gilcomgan Mac.

† An. Ul. Unless this be a repetition, or different statement, of the death of Gillcomgain, burnt in the preceding year, the person intended must have been his brother. Maolbryd himself was Mac Boet (or Bodhe).

‡ Simeon Dunel. co. 178. He adds, by mistake, " cui

"In vico Glannis rapuit mors libera regem,
Sub pede prostratis hostibus ille perit.
Abbatis Crini, jam dicti filia regis,
Uxor erat Bethoc nomine digna sibi."

Chro. elegia.

According to general Vallancey, an old anonymous manuscript, which he had seen, "mentions that a daughter of Brian Borumh, monarch of Ireland [slain in 1014] was married to [this] Malcolm the Second, son of Kinneth, king of Scotland." Collectanea, I. 547.

Bethoc (or Beathach, O'Flaherty, p. 488) appears to have been the only child of Malcolm. Fordun, probably without any good reason, says that "Crynyne. abbas de Dul," which he had found in certain annals, should be "Abthanus de Dul," which he derives from abba, pater; &c. "But who," exclaims Pinkerton, "ever heard of an abthane?" (Enquiry, II, 193.) "The nature and antiquity of this office," observes the ingenious and accurate D. Macpherson, "is unknown to me; but that there was such an office, and that it remained for ages after this time is unquestionable. David II. granted to Donald Macnayre the lands of Easter-Fossacke with the Abthanie of Dull in Perthshire [Roll D. 2. K. 21. in MS. Harl. 4069.] The baillerie of Abthane of Dull, and the lands of the Abthane of Kinghorn, occur in other grants in the same MS. in Roll D. 2. F." See also Robertson's Index of charters, p. 46, 53, 90.
Dunkeld et Bethoc filiæ Malcolm Mac-Kinat sex annis [regnavit].

MXXXIV. Malcolm king of Scots died.
Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld and of Bethoc daughter of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, reigned six years.

MXXXV. Dunecanus rex Scottorum, cum immensis copiis adveniens, Dunelmum obsedit, et ad eam expugnandam multum quidem sed frustra laboravit. Nam magna parte equitum suorum ab his qui obsidebantur interfecta, confusus aufugit, fugiens pedites omnes interfectos amisit, quorum capita in forum collata, in stipitibus sunt suspensa.

MXXXV. Duncan, king of the Scots, coming with immense forces, besieged Durham, and to

* Nomina regum, &c. "Se bliadhna Donnchadh ghlain gooith" (i.e. Six years Duncan of clean breath). Duan. He is omitted in the Cronica regum.
† S. Dunel. co. 33.
take it laboured much, indeed, but in vain. For, a great part of his horsemen being slain by those who were besieged, he, in confusion, fled, and, flying, lost all his foot, who were slain, whose heads being brought into the market-place, were suspended upon stakes.

MXL. Interfectus a Macbeth Mac-Finleg in Bothgonanan, et sepultus in Iona.*


“Ex illâ¹ genuit² Duncanum nomine natum
    Qui senis annis rex erat Albaniae.
A Finleg natus percussit cum Macabeda,
    Vultere lethali, rex apud Elgin obit.”
    Chron. ecleiacum.

King Donald-bane, the younger son of Duncan, had also a daughter named Bethok (Fœdera, II, 577); and Mr Pinkerton quotes a charter of K. William, to the canons of Jedburgh, engraven at Edinburgh 1771, which contains the words,

¹ Bethoc. ² Crinan.
Macbeth Mac-Finleg septemdecim annis [regnavit].


*Ib.* "Macbeth fil. Findleg xvii an." Cro. regum, &c. "Seachtmbliadna deg mac Fionlaioch" (i.e. Seventeen years the son of Finleg.) Duas. Tigernach, as cited by O'Flaherty, calls him "Macbeothadhg mac Finmlaoich," (p. 498.) It is doubtful whether he were named after his mother, or grandmother, Bethoc, or Beathach, or from some Irish saint, according to the fashion of those times.† Macbeth, however,

† It was, by no means, uncommon, in, and long before, the age of this usurper, for a son to be called after his mother, or, even, his grandmother: thus Fergus, the son of Erc, is surnamed Mac-Nise; and another Fergus was sometimes called Mac-Rolgh. See MacCurtins Vindication, p. 168. Domangart, son and successor to the first of those Ferguses, is, in one of the Clarendon MSS. in the Museum (Ayscoughs Catalogue, Num. 4791, fo. 84), called "Domangart Mac Nisse rex Scotiei;" apparently from the name of his grandmother. In Num. 4798, fo. 31, he is "Domangart Mac Nesi." In Wares Antiquitatis Hiberniae, 1654, 8vo. p. 36, we have an "Ængus Mac Nisæ, cujus cognomento á matre tractum;" and Murbertac, or Murdac, king of Ireland, who died in 534, was also (as we learn from the same authority) named Mac-Erca, after his mother. Bethoc, or Beathach, seems the same name with Beatha, or Beothadgh; and we, likewise, find, among the fables of Geoffrey Keating "Eana son of Laeth," and Jobhath "son of Beothach," (p. 50). The names of Macbride, Maolbride, Mal Patrick, Mal-cholaim, Gilcomgain, &c. are all from Irish saints; and there actually was one who may very probably have furnished that of Macbeth: St. Boctius (Boed, or Boet, in Irish), who died in 513, and whose day is the 7th of December. Boetus or Boctius was, likewise, the father of St. Kieran. Usher, p. 526. The son of Kenneth, we find, was called Bodhe, and Maolbryd, his son, Mac Boete, which
MXL. Slain by Macbeth, the son of Finleg, in Bothgonanan, and interred in Iona.

Macbeth, the son of Finleg, reigned seventeen years.

MXLV. A battle between the Scots themselves, where fell Cronan [r. Crinan] abbot of Duncaillen.*

ML. Rex Scotiae Macbethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit.†

was a common Irish name before he was born. See Chro. Sax. ad an. 891. In a charter also of Alexander I. we find "Beth comes" (Dalrymples Collections, p. 373). Macbeth is, apparently, the same or a similar name.

* An. U. See before.

† Marianus; S. Dunel. R. de Hoveden, Flo. Wigor. Chro. de Mairos. Lord Haile, who did not know that this fact was mentioned by Marianus, or any writer, in short, but Florence of Worcester, ridicules the idea of Macbets going to

may be the same name with that of Macbeth, who might be so called out of compliment to Bodhe or Mailloryd, the father and brother, as it came to pass, of his wife Grwoch. A nobleman, however, named Macocbeth, or Mackbeth, is a witness in two charters of king David I.
ML. Macbeth king of Scotland distributed silver at Rome, by throwing it about.

MLII. Osbernus cognomento Pentecoste, et socius ejus Hugo, sua reddiderunt castella, et comitis Leofrici licentia per suum comitatum Scotiam adeuntes à rege Scottorum Macbetha susceptis sunt.

MLII. Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his associate Hugh, gave up their castles, and, by leave of earl Leofric, going through his country into Scotland, were received (i.e. taken into pay) by Macbeth, king of the Scots.

Rome; and pretends the original only insinuates that he bribed the court there. A journey to Rome, however, was so little extraordinary for a monarch in that age, that we find Canute the Great taking it in 1031, and Dunwallo, the little king of Strath-Clyde, died there in 974: beside other instances adduced by Mr. Pinkerton. This anecdote, at the same time, is remarkable as the only instance of liberality in a Scotch monarch; very few of Macbeth's successors having ever had any money to distribute.

* S. Dunel. Co. 187; R. de Hoveden, p. 443; and Flo. Wigor. p. 629. "Sanctus Edwardus filius Ethelredi... quamvis vel reges vel simplex putaretur, habebat comites, qui eum ex humili in altum conantem erigerent: Siwardum Nor-thanimbrensium, qui ejus jussu cum Scottorum rege Macbetha congressus vita regnoque spoliavit, ibidemque Malcolmum filium regis Cumberorum regem instituit." W. Malmes. L. 2, c. 13. This engagement is thus recorded in the Ulster annals: "1054. A battle between Scots and Saxons, where 3000 of Scots, and 1500 of Saxons, were slain, with Dolfin Mac Finlor." Simeon, it is observable, does not say that Macbeth was slain in this battle. Siward, according to that historian, as well as to the Saxon chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Roger de Hoveden, and the chronicle of Mailros, died in 1055; Ralph de Diceto alone says 1058. Duncan, the father of Malcolm, is presumed to have been king of Cumberland in the lifetime of his grandfather. Dolfin Mac Finlor is, probably, the Dolfinus filius Torfni, father-in-law to Cospatrick, mentioned by Simeon of Durham (Co. 80); and Finlor, of course, a mistake for Fintor, or Torfin.
THE SCOTS.

MLIV. Siward, the valiant duke (or general) of the Northumbrians, by the command of king Edward, with both an army of horse, and a powerful fleet, went into Scotland, and fought a battle with Macbeth, king of Scots, and many thousand of the Scots, and all the Normans, of whom we have above made mention, being killed, put him to flight, and constituted king Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians, as the king had commanded. In that battle, however, his son and many of the English and Danes fell.

MLVII. Interfectus in Lunfanen à Malcolm Mac-Donchat et sepultus in Iona.*

* Nomina regum, &c. "Anno 1058 . . . Macbeothadgh mac Finnlaocic supremus Albaniae rex à Malcolmo filio Donnchadii trucidatus est:" So Tigernach (O'Flaherty, p. 498); but, according to the Annales Ultonienses, under the same year, "Moghethai Mac Finloich, archking of Scotland, [was] killed by Melsechlin Mac Doncha [another son, it is presumed, of king Duncan], in battle." The chronicon elegiacum says of him,

"Rex Macabeda decem Scotiae septemque fit annis,
In ejus regno fertile tempus erat.
Hunc tamen in Lunfantr truncavit morte crudeli
Duncanii natus nomine Malcolmus."
Lulach fatuus quatuor mensibus [regnavit].

MLVII. Slain in Lunfanan, by Malcolm, the son of Duncan, and interred in Iona.
Lulach, the foolish, reigned four months.

As Lulach, his successor, reigned four months and a half, and was slain the 1st of January 1058, Macbeth must have been killed about the 15th of August 1057, and not, as lord Hailes asserts, upon the testimony of Fordun, on the 15th of December 1056. Mr. Pinkerton absurdly strives to prove Malcolm (Maol-Choluim, the servant or devotee of St. Columba) a Píkish, and Macbeth (the son of Béth), a Gothic name.


"Mensibus infelix Lulach tribus extiterat rex:
Armis ejusdem Malcolmim cecidit.
Fata viri fuerant in Strathbolgin, apud Esseg:
Heu sic incaute rex miser occubuit!"

Chro. elegiacum.
MLVIII. Interfectus est in Essei in Strathbolgi, et sepultus in Iona.*

MLVIII. He was slain in Essei, in Strathbolgi, and interred in Iona.

If the above dates be correct, which is highly probable, it would seem that both Macbeth, and Lulach, his successor, had kept possession of some (most likely the northern) parts of the kingdom, for two or three years after the invasion of Malcolm, and the defeat of the former by Siward.

Lulach had a son, named Maolsnechta, who was king, or earl, of Murray, and slain in 1065. He had, likewise, a daughter, the mother of Angus, or Æneas, earl of Murray, slain at Strucathrow, in 1130. (See An. Ul. Chro. de Mail-ros, Chro. S. Crucis, Fordun, L. 5, C. 33.) Macbeth had no issue: though a certain editor of Shakspeare asserts, and quotes as his authority, "Fordun. Scoti-Chron. L. V. c. viii" (where no such thing is to be found), that "Macbeth had a son alive."

* Nomina regum, &c.
APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE SCOTISH KINGS.

496. Fergus I., son of Erc.
499. Domangart, son of Fergus.
504. Congal, son of Domangart.
538. Gavran, son of Domangart.
560. Conal I., son of Congal.
574. Aidan, son of Gavran.
608. Eochy I., surnamed Buide (or the yellow),
     son of Aidan.
629. Conad, surnamed Kerr, son of Conal.
     ... Farquhar, son of E.
     ... Donald I., surnamed Brek (or the spotted),
     son of Eochy-Buide.
642. Malduin, son of Donald-Duin.
     ... Donald-Brek.
     ... Farquhar, surnamed Fada (or the long).
697. Eochy II., surnamed Dinnavel (or Hook-
     nose), son of Domangart, son of Donald-Brek.
APPENDIX.

697. Armchellac, son of Farquhar-Fada.

... Selvach.

7. Ewen I., son of Farquhar-Fada.

... Eochy III., son of Eochy.

733. Murchard, son of Armchellac.

736. Ewen II., son of Murchard.

748. Ed-fin (or Hugh the white), son of Eochy-Hook-nose.

778. Fergus II., son of Hugh.

781. Conal II.

783. Conal III.

7. Doncorcaí.

792. Constantine I.

801. Angus.

810. Ed-ain, or Hugh (surnamed the musical).

814. Eochy IV., surnamed Annuine (or the poisonous).

827. Dungall, son of Eochy-annuine.

834. Alpin, son of Eochy-annuine.

841. Kenneth, son of Alpin.

858. Donald II., son of Alpin.

862. Constantine II., son of Kenneth.

882. Hugh, son of Kenneth.

883. Grig, son of Dungall.

894. Donald III., son of Constantine.

904. Constantine III., son of Hugh.

944. Malcolm I., son of Donald.
**APPENDIX.**

955. Indulf, son of Constantine.
961. Duf, son of Malcolm.
965. Culen-rig, son of Indulf.
970. Kenneth, son of Malcolm.
1004. Malcolm II.
1034. Duncan, son of Crinan, by Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm.
1040. Macbeth, son of Finleg.
1057. Lulach, son of Gilcomgain.
1058. Malcolm III., son of Duncan.

**It must be admitted that there is some difficulty in the origin and antemonarchical history of Malcolm III. The old Scotch lists, the Elegiac chronicle, and the Irish annals, uniformly agree that he was the son of Duncan; who had, likewise, another son, Donald-bane, afterward king of Scotland. To this Malcolm, says Wyntown, the father, as soon as he was crowned, gave the region of Cumberland; of which, it is to be presumed, as, in fact, it is asserted by the same writer, he had himself been king: but still it is altogether unaccountable that the old English historians should uniformly call Malcolm the son of the king of the Cumbrians, and never once, the son of the king of the Scots, nor ever once mention his name. Upon the supposition that Duncan had been actually king of Cumberland, before his accession to the Scotch throne,**
they may be permitted to mean, that this Malcolm was the son of one who had been formerly king of the Cumbrians; but a similar instance of such obscurity is nowhere to be met with. That, however, he really was the son of Duncan, is manifest from his age; for supposing him to have been 20, at the death of his father, in 1037, he was only 56 at the time of his own, in 1093. Upon the usurpation of Macbeth, according to Fordun, Malcolm, who should have succeeded, fled into Cumberland, and his brother Donald into the isles. Afterward, he says, Malcolm, by the advice of, and in company with, Siward, went to the court of king Edward, to obtain his friendship and promised assistance; where he resided about fourteen years: a circumstance never mentioned by any more ancient or authentic English historian. Andrew of Wyntown, however, says that the two legitimate sons of Duncan fled on this occasion; and that Malcolm, a bastard, "nought gottyn of lauchful bed," the third son, passed to saint Edward in England. Of his birth he gives a very particular account. The king often resorted to the house of a miller, who had a fair daughter, whom he took for his concubine:

"In-to bede wyth hyr he lay,
And gat on hyr a sowne or day
That wes Malcolm, of Scotland,
Thare-efyre crownyd kyng regnand."
That Duncan had three sons, if not more, is confirmed by an extract from the *Scala chronica*: "Malcolin," says the author, "causid one of his brothers to be behedid, and put out the eyes of another of his brethern, and kept hym in Gedworth-castel yn pryson, fering lest they should put him from his kingdom. He that was blynd got a mayd childe of a launder, that wold never leve ontyl he had maried her. This doughter was after given, with landes, yn mariag, by Malcoline onto a sunne of the countie Comyn of Fraunc, the which young Comyn, at that tyme, duellid with king Malcoline." (Lelands *Collectanea*, I. 529.) According to the *Nomina regum*, Donald was taken by his nephew Edgar (after 1098), deprived of sight,* and died in Roscoepin.

* According to Ordericus Vitalis, king David, (youngest son of Malcolm,) had a son older than Henry. A certain person, in holy orders, murdered a priest, while officiating at the altar. In consequence of ecclesiastical immunity, his life was spared. His eyes, however, were put out, his hands and feet cut off. He procured crooked irons, or hooks, to supply the use of hands. Thus destitute, maimed, and abhorred, he attracted the compassion of David, who then resided in England as a private man. From him this outcast of society obtained food and raiment. David had a son two years old; the ungrateful monster, under pretense of fondling the infant, crushed it to death in his iron fangs. For this crime he was torn to pieces by wild horses. (B. 8, p. 702.)
APPENDIX.

Mr. Pinkerton, indeed, says, that "Duncan, father of Malcolm, was married to a daughter (more likely a sister) of Siward, as all agree," (Enquiry, II. 204). Fordun, however, that "gross forger and falsificator," is the only ancient writer who mentions such a marriage, and, according to him, the lady was neither daughter nor sister of Siward. He also strives to prove that Duncan, king of Cumberland, father of Malcolm-Canmore, was himself the son of Duncan king of Scotland: an idle and brain-sick whim, to which no author, ancient or modern, affords the slightest countenance.
Annals of Strath-Clyde.
INTRODUCTION.

The kingdom of Cambria, Cumbria, Stratclud, Strath-Cluyd, or Strath-Clyde,* in the west of modern Scotland, appears to have consisted of the territory at present included in the shires of Renfrew, Kyle, Cuningham, and the sheriffdoms of

* Strath, in British, signifies a valley; so that Strath-Clyde is synonymous with Clydes-dale, or Clydes-vale. It is, likewise, called, in the Cronica Pictorum, Britannia, and by the Welsh writers, (according to Mr. D. Macpherson) REGED SCOTIA; as the inhabitants are, by the Saxon, or other ancient historians, Stræ-celandwolds, Strat-clud-wallani, Stret-gled-wali, Stretclucenses, Britones, Britones-Albaniae, Walenses, and Bretty, or Brets. Lhuym, however, complains that the Welsh are at a loss now for the modern name of Reged (Irish preface); which no one, who is any way acquainted with those sagacious antiquaries, will be at all surprised at.
Lanerk, Dunbarton, and Stirling. The capita of this little kingdom is called, by Bede, Alcuith (Ad Cludam), and described as a "civitas Brittonum munitissima," which, in their language, he elsewhere says, signifies "Petram" (i.e. rupem), Cluyth, or Clyde, being near the river of that name (B. I, c. 1, 12). It is called, likewise, by Adomnan, Petra-Cloithe, and, by other ancient writers, Arecluta, Alcwith, Aldclyhit, and Alcluth; all implying a rock, or elevation, upon the Clyde, now Dunbarton, a corruption of Dunbritton. The foundation of the monarchy cannot be ascertained. If, however, we may credit the life of saint Ninian (written in the twelfth century), it existed so early as the fourth; whence it can be traced, with sufficient certainty, down to nearly the close, at least, of the tenth.

According to Richard of Cirencester, the Attacoti inhabited the banks of the Clyde, a nation, sometimes, formerly terrible to all Britain: a very great lake, he says, is here seen, the name of which was, formerly, Lynicalidor, at the mouth whereof Alcuith, a city built by the Romans, in a short time, had this name [Valentia, or Valentiana] by lot, from the general Theodosius, who had recovered the province, possessed by the barbarians; with this none could be compared, as
that which, after the other circumjacent provinces were lost, resisted the government of the enemy. But not so long, he adds, the Romans held it, under the eagle, at their pleasure, that its names and subjection became known to posterity.*

* B. I., c. 6. § 49, 50. Theodosius was here in the year 361. The Roman name of the people was Damnii; being bounded, it would seem, from the words of Joceline, toward the north by the Roman wall, between the Forth and the Clyde, originally erected by the emperor Antoninus Pius, and repaired by Ætius.

Lhuyd, in his catalogue of British MSS. (Archaologia p. 258, co. 2,) registers a work intitled "Kyvoese Myrhdyn a Guendhydh i chuaer:" i.e. The synchronism of Merlin and his sister Gwendiddia; or, a dialogue of the future princes of Cumbria: by an unknown author; who appears to have written about the year 948, not, truly, concerning the future, but the past (as he, expressly, designs them): in the red book of Hergest. This book, if genuine, and capable of translation, promises to afford information of a curious and interesting nature. It is, likewise, inserted in the Myrwyrian archaio-
logy of Wales (I. 138).

John of Tinmouth, in his life of saint Petroc, calls him "B. Petrocusi, natione Cumber, ex regali ortus prosapia." Ushers Antiquitates, 292. If the name Petrocus have been formed from Petra [cluiite], it may fix his birth to Alcuylud; but, in fact, it is very uncertain whether the Cumbria, or Cumberland, south of the river Esk, or Solway-firth, was, in the sixth century, included within the kingdom of Cambria, Cumbria, or Strath-Clyde.
INTRODUCTION.

The inhabitants, no doubt, were, for the most part, the remains of the ancient British, who, driven from the north and east by their indefatigable and victorious enemies, the Scots and Picts, in this corner, either by their own valour, or the natural defences of the country, were able to protect themselves for the space of six hundred years.
ANNALS OF STRATH-CLYDE.
ANNALES STRATCLUDENSES.

CCCXC. In insula, quae quondam a Bruto, ut dicitur, Britanniae nomen accepit, in ipsius nominis gente, haud ignobili familia, beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus; in ea, ut putatur, regione, quae in occiduis ipsius insulae partibus (ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit) constituata, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur.*

Ninianus in opus quo fuerat demissus a spiritu, duce Christo, festinavit. Quo in patria recepto, sit magnus populorum concursus, et occursus, ingens cunctis laetitia, mira devotio, laus ubique re-

* Vita Niniani, autore Ethelredi Rievalesii (Vitae antiquae SS. Scotiae), c. 1. He professes to make use of a "liber de vita et miraculis ejus, barbario scriptus," probably the one, in Irish, quoted by Usher. Since, however, he mentions Brutus, and, consequently, must have been familiar with Geoffrey of Monmouth, the author can scarcely be St. Ethelred, unless very late in life.
sonat Christi: quidam sicut prophetam eum habeant. Mox strenuus agricola domini sui agrum ingressus, cepit male plantata evellere, male collecta dispersere, male ædificata destruerent. Purgatis deinde ob [l. ab] omni errore fidelium mentibus, cepit in eis sinceræ fidei jacere fundamenta; superædificans aurum sapientiae, et scientiae argumentum, bonorumque operum lapides; quæ omnia fidelibus agenda, et verbo docuit, et exemplo monstravit, cum multis et magnis miraculis confirmavit.*

Elegit autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna dicitur; qui locus super litus oceani situs, dum seipsum mare longius porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur; a parte tamen aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus tantum apperitur. Ibi igitur jussu viri dei cementarii, quos secum adduxerat, ecclesiam construunt; antequam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam. Et jam quidem sanctissimum Martinum, quem miro semper venerabatur affectu, a terris ad coelos discerat transmigrasse, ipsam ecclesiam in ejus honore studuit dedicare.†

Fuit in regione eadem rex quidam (nam tota insula diversis regibus divisa subjacuit), Tuduwallus nomine, quem divitiae, potestas, et honor erexerant.

* Vita Niniani, &c. c. 2. † Ibi. c. 3.
in superbiam; quem concupiscentia carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et divitiae mundi, elacionis suae et superbiae incentivum; dum quantum quisque habet tantum se posse presumit, tantum sibi et licere confidit. Hic viri dei monita contemnens, et clam doctrinæ ejus, et moribus ejus derogabat, et sanæ doctrinæ ejus in facie resistebat: ita ut terra videretur reproba et maledicto proxima, ut pote quæ semper super se venientem bibens imbre, spinas et tribulos, non herbam opportunam, germi.nabat. Quodam autem tempore cum plus solito molestus esset viro dei, non ultra passus judex coelestis servi sui inultam ire injuriam, intolerabili morbo superbum percussit in capite, confregitque verticem capilli perambulantis in delictis suis. Tantumque prævaluit aegritudo, ut elatos oculos cæditas repentina obduceret; et quæ lucem impugnaverat veritatis, lucem amitteret carnis; nec frustra neque ad insipientiam ei. Jacebat enim miser pressus dolore, privatus lumine, sed externis obtenebratus, internis illustratus, dum rediens ad cor confitetur excessum, ab illo sperans remedium, cui se semper exhibuerat inimicum. Vocatis postremo amicis, accepto ab eis consilio, quoniam ipse detentus infirmitate ire non potuit, nuncios mittit ad virum dei, obsecrans ut non intret in judicium cum servo suo, nec retribuat ei secundum opera sua;
sed, ut imitator divinæ benignitatis, retribueret ei bona pro malis, et dilectionem pro odio. Audiens hæc vir beatissimus, .... premissa ad dominum oratione, ad ægrotum cum summa humanitate et devotione perrexit: et primum quidem leni increpatione virum corripit, deinde medica manu caput tangit ægroti, cæsisque luminibus signum vitæ salutaris impressit. Quid plura? Fugit dolor, cæcitias luce superveniente fugatur. Sicque factum est, ut morbus corporis morbum animi curaret, morbum verò corporis viri dei virtus expelleret. In utroque igitur, corpore scilicet et mente, sanatus, cœpit deinceps sanctum dei omni affectu colere et venerari, sciens expertus quod dominus erat cum eo, et omnia opera ejus dirigebat, præstans ei virtutem super omnem hominem extollentem se adversus scientiam Christi, cum impromptu haberet ulcisci omnem inobedientiam et injuriam illatam famulis Christi.*

* Vita Niniani, &c. C. 4. It is not expressly said that this Tuduvallus, or Tudoval, was a pagan; he appears, rather, to have been an irreligious, or immoral, though believing christian. The Britons are asserted by Gildas to have received the light of religion in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, that is, before the year 37, and, by Bede, at the desire of king Lucius, in 150: both eras being, probably, erroneous; but the fact, that they were christians so early, at least, as the fourth century, cannot, possibly be disputed: We cannot, certainly, infer, from this life, that
ANNALS OF STRATH-CLYDE.

CCCXC. In the island, which formerly, from Brutus, as it is said, received the name of Britain, there were any Picts in Galloway, at this period. Ninian, as will be elsewhere seen, goes from Whithern into the country of the Southern Picts to convert that idolatrous people. (An. of the Picts, 394.) "That Whithern," as Mr. Pinkerton asserts, "was the see erected by Ninian over the Piks [Picts] he converted," is a childish and ridiculous error. "Aldred," he adds, "tells us that it was his proper British see, long before he went to convert the South Piks, who lived, as Beda shews, south of the Grampian hills, or in Fifeshire, &c." (Enquiry, I, 74.) He elsewhere says, that "The southern Piks, between the Forth and the Grampian hills, or of present Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton, Perth, Angus and Mearns, by far the most populous tract of Pikland, were converted to christianity by St. Ninian, about 412, as Beda shews." (I, 256; see, also, II, 266; and Usher, p. 350.)

"There is extant," says Usher, "among our Irish, a life of the same Ninian: in which, by reason of the importunate and frequent visitation, as well from his mother, as from his relations, Whithern being deserted, that, to him and his quiet, with his disciples, he might be at leisure to study, is reported to have sought Ireland, and there, a place suitable and pleasant being obtained from the king, called Cluayn-coner, to have builded a great monastery; and there, after many years passed, to have died. To have had, also, a brother, saint Plebeia by name, as we read in his life by John of Tynemouth." (Antiquitates, p. 506.) Ninian, according to Bale,
in the nation of the same name, of no ignoble family, the blessed Ninian was born; in that region, as it is thought, which, placed in the western parts of the same island (where the ocean as an arm stretching forth, and of either part making, as it were, two angles, now divides the kingdoms of the Scots and the English), until the latest times of the English is proved to have had its proper king, not only by the faith of historians, but also by the memory of certain persons.

died in 432, under Theodosius the younger. Alcuin, about 780, in a letter to the brethren of Whithern, mentions a metrical life of this saint, which had been sent him from York. (W. Malmes. p. 272.) It is unfortunately lost. Bishops, in these times, seem to have resembled the methodist preachers of the present, much more than their successors who live in idleness and luxury, at the rate of fifteen or twenty thousand a-year. St. Ninian, it is probable, like his master, subsisted upon alms, or even by the produce of his own labour.

Saint Gildas, the author of a querulous treatise De excidio Britanniae, is said, in his life, by an anonymous monk of Ruys, in Brittany, about 1040, to have been born at Al-cluyd, or, as he calls it, in the most fertile region of Aecluta [A. C. 520]; his father, according to his other biographer, Carádoc of Llancarvan, a writer of the following century; called Nau, [r. Kau.] and being the king of Scotland, the most noble of the northern kings; meaning, it is presumed, that he was a king or prince of Strath-Clyde. The monk of Ruys, however, only calls the father "nobilissimus et catholicus vir," though he says that "Cuillus" (Hueil, Carádoc) "post mortem patris, ei in regno successit."
Ninian hastened about the work to which he had been sent by the spirit, under the command of Christ; and being received in his country, there was a great concourse, and running together of the people, much joy in all, wonderful devotion, the praise of Christ everywhere resounds: some took him for a prophet. Presently the strenuous husbandman entered the field of his lord, began to root up those things which were badly planted, to disperse those badly collected, and to destroy those badly built. The minds of the faithful being finally purged of all error, he began to lay in them the foundations of sincere faith; building upon the gold of wisdom, and the argument of knowledge, and the stones of good works; all which things to be done by the faithful he both taught by word, and shewed by example, and with many and great miracles confirmed.

Now he chose his seat in a place which is now called Whithern; which place, situate upon the shore of the ocean, while the sea stretches far from the east, west, and south, is inclosed by the sea itself; from the north part a way is opened for those only who are willing to enter. There, then, by the command of the man of god, the masons, whom he had brought with him, erect a church; before which they say there was none in Britain built of stone:
And having now learned that the most holy Martin, whom he always venerated with wonderful affection, had transmigrated from earth to heaven, he determined to dedicate the same church in his honour.

There was, in the same country, a certain king (for the whole island was divided among several kings), named Tudwal, whom riches, power, and honour, had exalted into pride; whom the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the riches of the world, the incentive of his elation and pride, whilst so much as any one has, so much he presumes himself able to do, so much, also, he trusts to be valued at. He, contemning the warnings of the man of god, and, secretly, of his doctrine, derogated from his morals, and resisted his wholesome doctrine to the face: so that the land seemed reprobate and next to a curse, inasmuch as, drinking the rain, always falling upon it, it grew thorns and brambles, not seasonable grass: At which time, when he more than usual molested the man of god, the celestial judge, no further suffering the injury of his servant to go unreavenged, smote him in the head, and bruised the hairy crown of him who walked in his offences. So much prevailed the sickness, that sudden blindness came over his lofty eyes; and he who had combatted the light of truth, lost the light of the flesh; neither in vain, nor to folly to him.
For the wretch lay oppressed with pain, deprived of sight, but, darkened in external things, enlightened in internal, while, returning to his heart, he confessed his error, hoping a remedy from him to whom he had always shewed himself an enemy.

Calling, last of all, his friends, and receiving from them advice, forasmuch as he, detained by infirmity, could not go, he sent messengers to the man of god, beseeching that he would not enter into judgement with his servant, nor recompense him according to his works; but, as imitator of the divine benignity, would reward him good for evil, and love for hatred. The most blessed man hearing these things, ... having first said a prayer to the lord, went forward to the sick man with the greatest humanity and devotion: and, at first, truly, reproves him with a gentle check, then, with a healing hand, touches the head of the sick man, and impresses on his blind eyes the sign of life. Why more words? The pain fled, the blindness by returning light is banished: and so it was done, that the disease of the body should cure the disease of the mind, but the virtue of the man of god should expel the disease of the body. In each, therefore, to wit, in body and mind, being made whole, he began thereafter to worship and venerate the saint of god, with all affection, knowing, by

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experience, that the lord was with him, and directed all his works, giving to him virtue over every man lifting himself up against the knowledge of Christ, and being ready to revenge all disobedience, and injury, offered to the servants of Christ.

DXL. Sanctus Kentegernus, in loco [qui tunc Cathures, nunc Glasghu, vocatur] degens... instinctu divino rex et cleru regionis Cambrensis, cum ceteris christianis, licet perpauci essent, in unum convenerunt; et de statu ecclesiae reparandae, quae jam pene deleta fuerat, tractantes, unani consensu accedentes ad sanctum Kentegernum, ipsum in pastorem et episcopum animarum suarum, licet plurimum retinentem, et plura objicientem, elegerunt... Imprecantes ergo ei prosperam, et in nomine sanctae trinitatis benedicentes, et spiritui sanctificatori, committentes, illum inthronizaverunt: accitoque uno episcopo de Hybernia, more Britonum et Scotorum, tunc temporis, in pontificem consecrari fecerunt... Sanctus vero Kentegernus, quanquam hoc modo consecratus fuerit, correctioni omnimodae hujus ritus, de qua postmodum dicemus, satisfecit. Cathedralem sedem suam in villa dicta Deschu, quod interpretatur cara familia,
quae nunc vocatur Glaschu, constituit: et pluri-
mam servorum dei continentium, et secundum for-
mam primitiae ecclesiae sub apostolis, in propri-
tate, in disciplina sancta, et divino obsequio viven-
tium, clamet et caram deo familiam adunavit. Dio-
cesis vero episcopatus illius secundum limites Cam-
brensis regni extendebatur: Quod utque regnum,
sicut vallum quondam a Severo principe, a mari
usque ad mare; postmodum auxilio et consilio le-
gionis Romanorum, ob arendam irruptionem Pic-
torum, in eodem loco murus habens in latitudine
octo pedes, in altitudine duodecim pedes construe-
batur: et usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit; et
Scotiam ab Anglia disternendo dividit.* Hae
autem regio Cambria, cui jam Kentegernus episco-
pali honore praefuit, quondam tempore Eleutherii
papae, principante rege Lucio, sicut et tota Britan-
nia, fidem christianam susceperat; † sed paganis
diversis temporibus insulam infestantibus, et in ea
dominantibus, insulani susceptam fidem in aposta-
siam lapsi abjecerant.‡

* The wall of Severus is here, as in Nennius, confounded
with that of Antoninus.
† In 156, according to Bede.
‡ Vita Kentegerni, c. 11. In chap. 9, we have an account
of the sickness, death, and funeral, of a man of venerable life,
named Fergus, who lived in a town called Kernach, near Glas-
DXL. Saint Kentegern dwelling in the place which was then Cathures, and is now called Glasgow ... by divine instinct the king and clergy of the region of the country, with the rest of the christians, although they were very few, assembled together; and treating of the state of the church, to be repaired, which was now almost destroyed, approaching with unanimous consent to saint Kentegern, elected him, although much holding back, and objected many things, to be the pastor and bishop of their souls ... Praying, therefore, for his prosperity, and blessing him in the name of the holy trinity, and committing him to the holy ghost the sanctifier, they enthroned him: and one bishop being sent for from Ireland, in the manner of the Britons and Scots, at that time, they caused him to be consecrated bishop ... But saint Kentegern, although he were in this manner elected, performed every kind of correction of this rite, whereof we shall afterward speak. His cathedral-seat he placed in the town called Deschu, which is interpreted The dear family, which is now called Glasgow; and

gow; and in the following chapter, mention is made of his two brothers, Telleyr and Anguen, who resided in the same place. The author asserts that the mother of his saint "cu-jusdam regis, sectā paganismi in Septentrionali plagā Cambriā [regno sci. Stratcludensi], filia fuit." (C. 1.)
brought together a very numerous family of the servants of God, chaste, and living according to the form of the primitive church under the apostles, famous and dear to God. Now the diocese of that bishopric was extended according to the limits of the kingdom of Cambria: which kingdom, certainly, as the wall formerly erected by Severus the prince, was from sea to sea; afterward, by the aid and advice of the legion of the Romans, for preventing the irruption of the Picts, in the same place a wall was constructed having in breadth eight feet, in height, twelve feet: and it reaches unto the river of Forth, and, separating, divides Scotland from England. But this region Cambria, over which Kentegern presided with episcopal honour, formerly in the time of pope Eleutherius, king Lucius reigning, as, also, all Britain, had received the Christian faith; but the pagans at divers times infesting the island, and lording it therein, the islanders fallen into apostacy, had cast away the received faith.

DXLIII. Quidam tirannus, vocabulo Morken, Cambrensis regni solum ascend[er]at: cui potestas, honor, et divitiae ambulare in magnis et in miraculis super se persuaserant. Sed cor illius, sicut
rum opulentia, deliciarum affluentia, et honorum fastigiis, sublimari. Et cum efficaciter et evidenter diceret pauperes patronos divitibus fore, quorum beneficiis sustentantur, divites vero pauperum patrocinio indigere, sicut vites ulmi sustentaculo. Barbarus non potuit resistere sapienti, et spiritui qui loquebatur per instrumentum suum, sed stoma-chando respondit: "Quid multa? Si confidens in deo tuo absque manu humana, omne far meum quod in horreis meisque acervis continentur, ad mansionem tuam transferre possis, animo libenti tibi concedo et dono, et de cætero postulationibus tuis devotus obtemperabo." Hæc dicens laetabundus recessit, quasi qui tali sponsione virum sanctum deluserit. Vespere autem facto sanctis elevatis oculis, ac manibus in celum profluentibus lacrimis, orationem devotissime fudit ad dominum. Eadem autem hora, cum ex imo pectore sancti emergentes lacrimæ per oculos profuxerunt, flumen Clud, subtus defluens, . . . subito ibat, et intumescebat; ripasque suas transcendens, ac horrea regisinibi constituta circum- ivens, et adlambens in alveum suum traxit. Et cum impetu magno usque ad locum nomine Mellingdevor, ubi sanctus tunc degere solebat, in aridam transposuit. . . Rex autem præfatus Morken, licet locuples valde, et magnus in oculis hominum, vile tamen mancipium Mammonis, egre tuit amissio-
nem, ut sibi videbatur, annonae sua, que de signo quod divinitus acciderat. Turbato ergo præ furore oculo ejus multa convicia in sanctum presulum evomuit, magum et maleficum inquam. Eique mandavit ut si ulterior in conspectu suo appareret, gravissimas penas, utpote qui illi illusisset, lueret. Instigaverat nam illum in odium et injuriarum sancti pontificis quidam pessimus, qui erat a secretis regis, nomine Catheli, quia odiosa et onerosa solet esse pravis vita bonorum; et facile persuasorem admittit ad id quod amplificetur animus proclivus ad malum. Vir vero deis, sapientia volens vincere malicam, in spiritu mansuetudinis potius quam in virga severitatis adivit principis presentiam; et more benignissimi patris instruendo, commenendo, corrigere studuit filii insipientiam. Vir autem Belial, instar aspidis surdæ et obturantis aures suas ni audiret vocem incantantis sapienter, verbo commenendo consilio salutis non adquievit. Immo majori dementia instimulatus irruit in illum, et calce percussit, et solotenus resupinavit. Incenstor hujus sacralegii Cathen cachinnans equum ascendit, et quasi qui de sancto triumphasse sibi videbatur, gratulabundus abscessit. Nondum longius processit a turba constituta in loco, et sonipes cui insedit nescio in quem obicem pede offendens corruit, et ascensor ejus retro ante januam

DXLIII. A certain tyrant, by name Morken, had ascended the throne of the kingdom of Cambria: whom power, honour, and riches had persuaded to walk in great and wonderful things above himself. But his heart, as it was elevated into pride, so out of the region was it contracted and blinded by avarice. He spurned and despised the

* A Saxon name among Britons!
† Vita Kentegerni, à Jocelino, CC. 21, 22.
life and doctrine of the man of god, privately detracting him, and sometimes resisting him to his face; reputed his signs to be magical tricks, he held all his deeds for nothing. But the man of the lord, when, at a certain time, he wanted an allowance for the victuals of the brethren of the monastery, went to the king, insinuating the penury of him and his; and beseeching that his want the kings abundance, according to the apostles advice, helping, would supply. But he elated and inflated to the putter up of prayers returned contumely, and to the asker of help he bestowed injury. At length with a blasphemous mouth he ironically said to him, "Cast thy care in the lord, and he shall nourish thee, as thou hast often advised others, since nothing is wanting to those fearing god, but those asking him are not deprived of any good. Thou, therefore, as thou fearest god, and observest his commandments, dost thou even want necessary food? Now I, who neither seek the kingdom of god, nor his justice, all prosperous things are cast to me; the affluence of all things laughs." At last he concluded, "foolish therefore is thy faith, false thy preaching." But the holy man, replying, superadded from the testimonies of the holy scripture, and the living assertions of reasons, and by examples, that many just and holy men were afflicted with both
thirst and manifold want, in this life: and the reprobate elevated with the opulence of riches, the affluence of delights, and the degrees of honour. And when he efficaciously and evidently taught that the poor were patrons to the rich, by whose benefits they are supported, but that the rich needed the patronage of the poor, as the vine the support of the elm. The barbarian could not resist the sage and the spirit which spoke by his instrument, but peevishly answered: "Why many words? If confident, in thy god, without human power, all my corn which in my barns and heaps is contained, thou art able to transfer to thy mansion, with a willing mind I to thee grant and give, and for the future will devoutly comply with thy requests." Having said this, he departed very joyful, as one who, by such a promise, had deluded the holy man. Now the evening being come, the saint, with eyes and hands lifted up toward heaven, shedding tears, poured forth most devoutly a prayer to the lord. Now, in the same hour, when rising from the lowest breast of the saint tears flowed through his eyes, the river Clyde flowing below, ... suddenly rose and swelled, and overflowing its banks, and surrounding and licking up the kings barns there placed, drew them into its channel; and, with great violence, unto the place named Mellingdevor, where
the saint then went to dwell, transplaced it upon the dry land. . . . Now the aforesaid king Morken, although very rich, and great in the eyes of men, yet a vile slave of Mammon, bore hardly the loss, as it appeared to him, of his provision, and of the sign which had happened from god. . . . His eye, therefore, rolling with fury, he vomited many reproaches against the holy prelate, calling him a magician and enchanter, and sent him word, that if he any more appeared in his presence, he should suffer the most grievous punishments, as one who had mocked him. For a certain very bad man, who was of his privy council, named Catheli, had instigated him into hatred and injury of the holy bishop, because the life of the good is wont to be odious and troublesome to the bad; and he easily admitted a persuader to that which his mind prone to evil embraced. But the man of god willing by wisdom to conquer malice, in the spirit of gentleness rather than with the rod of severity, went into the presence of the prince; and in the manner of a most kind father, by instructing, and advising, studied to correct the folly of his son. . . . But the man of Belial, like to the adder, deaf, and shutting his ears lest he should hear the voice of the wise charmer, did not acquiesce in the word advising the counsel of salvation. Yea, rather, stimulated with greater madness, he rushed
upon him, and kicked him with his heel, and laid him on his back. The inceptor of this sacrilege, Cathen, laughing, mounted his horse, and as one who seemed to himself to have triumphed over the saint, departed rejoicing... He had not yet proceeded very far from the crowd assembled in the place, and the horse on which he sat hitting with his foot against I know not what obstacle, fell down, and his rider behind, before the gate of the king his lord, the neck, which against the bishop of the lord he had proudly lifted up, being broken, expired. Now a tumour seized the king's feet, to the tumour succeeded pain, death followed the pain: and, dead, [he] was buried in the royal town, which is called from his name Thorp-Morken. Nor yet is that disease, cut off from the succession of his race, buried. For from the beginning of that time until the next age the weakness ceased not, but the gout took revenge upon his descendants; and although not in countenance, or habit of body, yet in this kind of disease the progeny resembled the father. As for the royal family extinguished by this sort of disease, the testimonies of their death declare, after what manner, jealous of his own, and revengeful, the lord visits the sins of the fathers upon the children into many generations, and what kind of retribution he gives to the proud.
DLX. Rex Rederech [quem dominus suscitaverat super regnum Cambrinum]* videns christianam religionem in regno suo pene deletam, magnum operam adhibuit quomodo repararet eam. Et diu apud se tractans, et cum aliis christianis qui erant ei a secretis, non invenit salubrius consilium, quo id posset perducere ad effectum, quam si desti-

* "Quic a discipulis sancti Patricii in Hibernia baptizatus fide christianissima." (C. 29.) The father of this Rederech, or Roderec, according to Mr. Pinkerton, "was Morken, as," he says, "Jocelin shows." (Enquiry, I, 74.) Jocelin, however, says no such thing, and what he does say implies that there was no relationship between them. Adomnán, on the contrary, has an express chapter (L. I, c. 15), "De rege Rodero filio Totail, qui Petre Clothe regnavit, beati viri [Columbae sci.] prophetia," and in an old Welsh genealogy, quoted by Williams, in his notes upon the Ærae Cambrobrit. at the end of Llwyds Commentariolum (p. 142) he is called "Rhydercher Hael [i. e. munificus] ab Tudwal Tudglud:’ both which passages are actually cited by this veracious and consistent enquirer. That Totail or Tudwal, the father of Rederech or Roderech, was the Tuduvallus of Ælred is sufficiently probable: But why Morken intervenes, or Roderech succeeds, cannot be explained. From a subsequent chapter it appears, that his residence was "in Villa regia quae Pertmet nuncupatur." He is supposed to be mentioned by Nennius, in the following passage: "Hussa regnavit annis septem; contra illos [Adda, scilicet, Æddric, Deodric, Fridolguald, et Hussa, reges Saxonum] quatuor reges, Urðgen [l. Urien] et Rydtheren [l. Rydderch] et Guallane, et Morcant dimicaverunt." (c. 64.)
naret nuncios ad sanctum Kentegernum, ob illum ad priorem cathedram revocandum* ... Direxit ergo rex nuncios ad beatum presulem, cum literis suis deprecatoriiis, et commonitoriiis, obscurans, exhortans, et obtestans, per nomen domini ne pastor oves pascuae suae diu desolatas, et destitutas, ulterior deserendo, curam eis sui subtrahat ... Indicavit etiam vindice deo defunctos esse qui querebant animam ejus; juravitque se in omnibus, velut patri filium, obtemperaturum voluntati, doctrinae, et preceptis ejus.†

Cum audisset rex Rederech, et populus ejus, quod Kentegernus advenisset de Wallia ad Cambriam, de exilio ad propriam patriam, rex cum ingenti letitia, et plurima multitudo laetabunda et laudans processerunt ei obviam.‡

Rex itaque Rederech, cernens manum dei bonam secum, et prae voto operantem, gaudio multo replebatur. Quantaque devotione interius fer veret foras ostendere non cunctabatur. Vestibus tamen regis se exuens, genibus flexis, et manibus incutiens, cum consensu et consilio magnatum suorum, hominium suum sancto Kentegerno obtulit; eique dominium et principatum super universum regnum suum tradidit, illumque regem se patre rectorem sub

* He had been hitherto residing at Caerleon in Wales.
† Vita Kentegerni, c. 31.  ‡ Ibid.
ipso, nominari voluit, sicut magnum quondam Constantinum imperatorem sancto Silvestro fecisse cognovit. Unde mos inolevit ut per multorum annorum curricula, quamdiu regnum Cambrinum in suo statu perduravit, semper princeps episcopo subditus fieret.*

Regina, Languoreth nomine,† diutinæ sterilitatis opprobrio depressa, benedictione et intercessione sancti episcopi, concepit, et peperit filium; ad totius parentelæ consolationem et gaudium: quem sanctus baptizans vocavit Constantinum, ob memoria fari facti paterni... Crevit itaque puer egregiae indolis, etate et gratia, dilectus deo et hominibus, effectus qui jure hereditario, postquam pater in fata concessit, ei in regnum successit; episcopo autem, sicut et pater, semper subjectus. Et quia dominus erat cum eo, omnes barbaras nationes vicinas genti suæ, sine sanguinis effusione compressit. Omnesque reges qui ante se in regno Cambriæ principabantur, divitiis et gloria, dignitate, et quod praestantius est sanctitate, antecessit. Unde et meritis preclarus, consummans in bonum dies suos de seculo triumphari, et in celo et honore meruit coronari, sanctusque Constantinus usque in præsens solet a pluribus appellari.

* Vita Kentegerni, c. 33. † Afterward Langueth.
Sanctus præsul Kentegernus in Holdelino ecclesiæs construens, presbíteros et clérum ordinans, sedem episcopææ aliquanto tempore, certa de causa, ibi constituit. Postea divina revelatione communitus, illam ad civitatem suam Glasghu, æquitate exigente transtulit.*

DLX. King Rederech (whom the lord had raised over the kingdom of Cambria) seeing the christian religion in his kingdom almost destroyed, applied great labour [to know] in what manner he should repair it. And long treating the subject with himself, and with other christians, who were in his confidence, he found no counsel more salubrious, by which he might bring it to effect, than to send messengers to saint Kentegern, for recalling him to his former chair ... The king, therefore, directed messengers to the blessed prelate, with his letters, excusive and commonitory, beseeching, exhorting and conjuring, by the name of the lord, that the shepherd, further deserting the sheep of his pasture, long desolate and destitute, may not withdraw from them his care ... He showed also, that, god being the avenger, those were dead who sought his life; and swore that he in all things, as son to father,

*Vita Kentegerni, c. 33.
was ready to act according to his will, doctrine, and precepts.

When king Rederech and his people had heard that Kentegern was come from Wales to Cambria, out of exile to his own country, the king with much joy and a very great multitude joyful and singing praises proceeded to meet him.

King Rederech, therefore, perceiving the good hand of God with him, and operating beyond his wish, was filled with much joy: and did not delay to show outwardly with how much devotion he was inwardly heated. But divesting himself of his royal garments, with bent knees, and smiting with his hands, with the consent and counsel of his great men, he did his homage to St. Kentegern, and delivered to him the dominion and principality over his whole kingdom, and willed that king to be named ruler under him, being his father, as, he knew, that Constantine the great, formerly emperor, had done to St. Silvester: whence the custom grew up that, for the space of many years, as long as the Cambrian kingdom endured in its state, the prince was always subject to the bishop.

The queen, named Languoreth, depressed by the opprobrium of long sterility, by the benediction and intercession of the holy bishop, conceived and brought forth a son; to the consolation and joy of
all the family: whom the saint baptizing called Constantine, in memory of his fathers act ... The boy, therefore, of an excellent disposition, increased in age and favour, beloved by god and men, become one whole hereditary right, after his father had yielded to the fates, succeeded him in his kingdom; but always, as well as his father, subject to the bishop. And because the lord was with him, all the barbarous nations neighbours to his people, he kept under without effusion of blood: And all the kings who before him reigned in the kingdom of Cambria, in riches and glory, and in dignity, and, what is more excellent, in sanctity, he excelled: whence also right famous by his merits, spending his days in good, he deserved to triumph in this life, and to be crowned with honour in heaven, and is hitherto wont to be called by many Saint Constantine.

The holy prelate Kentegern having constructed churches in Holdelin, and ordained priests and clergy, his episcopal seat for some time, from a certain cause, there made. Afterward, warned by divine revelation, he translated it to his city of Glasgow, as justice required.
DLXXVII. Prælium apud Arderydd. *

*Ærae Cambrobritannicae, ad calcem H. Ildwyd Britanniæ descriptionis commentarioli (à Gulielmio), p. 142. "Arderyd est nomen loci alicubi in Scotia; forte an Atturith vel Atterith, VI. M. P. ab æstuario Solvathiano distans, [Atterith, apud Usserium, 71]. In libro Triadum, qui mille fere annis editus fuit, prælium hoc ideo furtur esse unum ex tribus nugatorius insulæ Britanniae præliis qui a nulla de causa, vel saltem inepta et frivol, nido scilicet alaudæ, factum fuerit. Decertabant autem ex una parte (ut scribit Merlinus Caledonius) Aidanus perfidus (Aeddan Fradawg) et Gwendo-lavus F. Ceidiav (Gwendidolau ab Peidjaw) duo principes ex boreali parte Britanniae: Ex altera vero parte Rodericus munificentus (Rhydderch Hael) Cumbriæ rex, qui victoriam ibi adeptus est. Rodericus autem ille ab auctore libri Triadum inter tres munificentos viros insulæ Britanniae recenseatur. Tritavum ciebat Maximum tyrannum, ut liquet ex antiquo tractatu cui titulus, a Bonedd Gwy y Gogledd, i. e. Genealogia nobilium septentrionis, ubi inter alia haec legere est, Rhydderch Hael ab Tudwall Tudglud, ab Cedig, ab Dysnal Hen, ab Ednyfed, ab Macen Wledig. Hujus etiam mention fit a Merlino Caledonio, Telesino, auctore veteri genealogiarum Saxoniarum ad calcem Nennii, uti etiam in antiquo cod. membranaceo legum Hoelinarum, et in vita S. Kentigerni et S. Asaphi." Ibi. The Triades, of which there is a copy and imperfect translation in the Hatleian library (Num. 4181), are manifestly not older than the 13th (and probably the 14th, or even 16th) century, and of little or no authority. The work referred to, of Merlin Caledonius, would, if genuine, be a much more important publication on the subject of British history than any that has yet appeared. It seems to have been of great use to Geoffrey
of Monmouth, in his metrical romance of Merlin, in which he has introduced a relation of this great battle. Roderic, however, though called king of the Cumbri, appears, in fact, to have been king of Strat-Clwyd, or Strath-Clyde: whether the two kingdoms were anciently united, under the name of Cumbria or Cambria, or have been supposed to be so, or the one mistaken for the other, cannot, perhaps, at such a distance of time, and under such unfavourable circumstances, be satisfactorily ascertained.* "The ancient Cumbria," according to a late Welsh writer, "is not to be understood as comprehended within the limits of the province now called Cumberland; but it was so much of the northern country as the Cynmry retained at that period, extending into Scotland." ("Some account of the life of Llywarch Hen," prefixed to "The heroic elegies, &c." of that bard, with a translation by W. Owen.) Joceline says that the diocese of St. Kentigern's bishopric was extended according to the limits of the kingdom of Cambria: which, like the former wall by prince Severus, was from sea to sea. "Caradoc," according to Mr. Pinkerton, "says, "the northern

* Geoffrey, in his life of Merlin, calls this Roderic (Rodarchus) sometimes Cambrorum, sometimes Cumbrorum rex. He married Ganiesta the sister of Merlin.

"Rodarchus mortit, postquam discordia longa
Scotos et Cumbros per longum tempus habebit
Donec crescenti tribuaturn Cumbria denti."

The words Kambria and Cambri, also, frequently occur, and apparently with the same sense.
DLXXXIV. Gwrgius et Peredurus interfeci sunt.*

Britons of Strat-Clyde and Cumberland: thus clearly distinguishing between these countries." (Enquiry, I. 88.) It is not Caradoc, however, who says so, but some of his modern interpolators.

* * * * *

Hi duo cum sorore sua Ceindrech Penas gell tergemina proles audiebant. Pater horum fuit Oliverus Gosfordd fawr (i. e. magnum habens satellitium) in boreali Britanniae plaga. In diebus istis et longo post tempore Britanni sive Cambri Dunclidum (i. e. Caer Alclud vel Arclud, nunc Dunbritton sive Dunbarton) et omnes regiones inde ad oras occidentales Cumberlandiae et Westmorlandiae tenuere. Harum autem regionum nobiles in nostris antiquis codd. MSS. Britannicis vocantur Teyredd y Gogledd, id est, Reges septentrioris, qui licet plures fuerint, omnes tam men Cumbriae regis imperio obtemperabant. Matrem autem hi gemini frates habuere Eurr dul-fliam Commarci F. Marciani (Gn sarch Amheirchjawn) et sororem Urieni Regediae dominii et Cumbriae regis, qui unus erat ex Arthurii regis militiae. Mentionem facit hujus Urieni vetus auctor genealogiarum Saxoniarum quæ in nonnullis Nennii exemplarios exstant. Hi patres, cum constituisissent diem pugnandi adversus Eddam Glinmawr Saxonicum regem, ad civitatem Caergreu dictam in septentrione contenderunt cum magno amicorum, propinquorum, et sociorum, exercitu, qui inde, pridie quam

* Morken was king of Cambria during the first settlement of St. Kentegern in the see of Glasgow, and died of a mortification in the foot with which he had kicked that holy man (Vita, c. 21, 22), who, having after his death, retired into Wales, was recall ed by Redcrech, or Rodric (c. 25).
pugnaturus erat clam se subduxít, et deseruit dominos suos, qui ibi inimicorum gladio percussi sunt. *Ibi. (nota editoris.)*

The passage referred to as in the interpolated copies of Nennius is in the following words: “Contra illos [Adda, Æddric, Deodric, Friodolguald, et Hussa] quatuor reges, Urbgen [I. Urien], et Ryderthen, et Guallane, et Morcant, diminuaverunt. Deodric [I. Rodric] contra illum Urbgen [Urien] cum filiis dimicabat fortiter.” (Editio Bertrami, p. 141.) In a curious fragment of the life of St. Kentegern, bishop of Glasgow, and St. Asaph, extant in the Cotton library, he is said to have been the natural son of Ewen, the son of Erwegende, sprung from a most noble family of Britons, but who, in the gests of the minstrels, was called Ewen the son of king Urien [r. Urien]. (Vite antiquae SS. qui habitaverunt in Scotia, p. 203.)*

Among the printed poems of Llywarch Hen is an elegy on his death. Wyme, in his augmentations of Caradocs History of Wales, (London, 1697, p. 12), mentions “Eneon Bhrenin or Anianus, king of the Scots, .... son to Owen Danwyn, the son of Eneon Yrth, son to Cunedha Wledig king of Cambria, and a great prince in the north, and cousin-german to the great Maelgwn Gwyneth king of Britain, who died about the year

*“Caradoc,” according to Mr. Pinkerton, “mentions that Kentigern, who lived about 600, was grandson to Urien king of Cumbria, and son of Owen, regent of Scotland” (Enquiry, I. 96): but this is another of his misrepresentations; nothing of the kind being to be found in Caradoc. The Welsh, however, have a fabulous history of this Owen ab Urien. See Lhuyds Archaeologia, p. 265.
DCI. Beatus Kentegernus plenus dierum, cum esset centum octoginta quinque annorum, merits maturas, signis et prodigiis et præsagiis præclarus, transivit ex hoc mundo ad patrem.*

Eodem anno quo sanctus Kentegernus rebus exemptus humanis ad caelos migravit, rex Rederech, in villa regia quæ Pertmet nuncupatur, diutius solito commoratus est. In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus,

586." Unless by Cambria is intended Strath-Clyde, as Joce-line uses it, it may possibly be a mistake for Cumbria. In fact, however, the Welsh historians, from their secret and suspicious authorties, which they want either sense or honesty to quote in the established manner of all other modern writers, are not much to be relied on. Langhorn, an author of the same stamp, gives a list of the Reges Cumbriae et Arcludæ, in which he enumerates (among others) "Angusellus, Lothi et Uriani pater, Evenus, Uriani filius, Rodericus Cereticus, Huanus, sive Oenus, Donaldum Breccum Scotorum regem inter-fecit, Deovama, Edberto Northumbrensi contemporaneus, Anonymus, Hiberno Northumbrensi contra Scotos federatus, Constantinus ejus filius à Gregorio Scotorum rege occisus, Hebertus Constantini frater." Chro. regum Anglo. 1679. One Nicholas, in a letter to Eadmer bishop elect of St. Andrews (about 1120), calls the bishopric of Glasgow "Cumbrensem," adding "quam Johannes modo tenet." (Anglia sacra, 11, 236.) The same prelate, in the Saxon chronicle, is called bishop of Lothene.

* Vita Kentegerni, c. 44. John of Tinmouth also states him to have died at the same age. (See Usher, 370.)
vocabulo Laloicen,* degebat, qui ibi victualium et vestitus necessaria, ex regis munificentia, recipiebat. Solent enim optimates terrae, filii regni, vanitati dediti, homines hujusmodi secum retinere; qui et ipsos dominos, et familiam, verbis et gestibus fatuis possint in jocos et cachinnos commovere. Hic homo post depositionem sancti Kentegerni gravissimis lamentos se afficiebat; nec aliquam consolationem ab aliquo accipere volebat. Qui cum perquireretur cur tam inconsolabiliter lugeret, respondit regem Rederech dominum suum, et quemdam de primoribus terrae, nomine Morthec, non posse post mortem sancti episcopi diutius in hac vita morari, sed illo anno præsenti in fata cecessuros.† Eodem ergo anno quo pontifex sanctus decessit

* This Laloicen, or Lailoken, as we learn from the interpolated Scotichronicon (L. 3, c. 31), was the celebrated Welsh prince, prophet, and poet, Merlin, surnamed Caledonius, or Sylvester, who, according to his life, in Latin metre, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, went mad in consequence of the prodigious slaughter, and particularly the death of the three brothers of Peredur duke of the Venedoti (or North-Welsh), in a great battle between that prince and Guennolous king of Scotland, where both Merlin and Rederech (or Rodarc) appeared on the part of Peredur; and not, as 'dr.' Leyden says, "on account of the slaughter of his nephew." (Complaynt of Scotland, "preliminary dissertation," p. 190.)
† Vita Kentegerni, c. 45.
Kentegernus, et rex, et princeps praedicti, obierunt; et in Glasghu sepulti sunt.*

* Vita Kentegerni, c. 45. In the life of St. Columba, by Adomnan, is a chapter, entitled "De rege Roderco filio Totail, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit, beati viri prophetia." At another time, it relates, as he was the friend of the holy man, he sent to him a certain secret message by Lugbe Mocumin, wishing to know if by his enemies he were to be killed or not. But Lugbe, being interrogated by the saint, concerning the same king, and his kingdom and people, answering, as one sorrowful, says, "Why dost thou enquire concerning that wretch, who can, in no wise, know in what hour he shall be killed by enemies?" The saint then, afterward, says: "Never shall he be delivered into the hands of enemies: but shall die in his house, upon his feather-bed." Which prophecy, concerning king Roderic, was completely fulfilled; for, according to his word, he died in his house an easy death. (L. 1, c. 15.) This monarch (who, as elsewhere mentioned, deservedly obtained the surname of Haell, or the munificent,) was, as we are told by Joceline, greatly magnified by the lord, because he adhered to him with faith and the service of good works, and obeyed the will of St Kentegern. Glory and riches in his house, liberality in his heart, urbanity in his mouth, munificence in his hand, so that the lord had blessed the works of his hands. Whence not only in the borders surrounding his land, but even beyond sea into Hibernia went out the fame of his bounty. For which cause by a certain king of Hibernia a juggler (or minstrel), skilled and dexterous in his profession, is sent into Cambria, to the court of the said king, that he might see if the truth would answer to fame so far and widely diffused. The juggler, admitted into the palace, played on the tympanum and cithara; and rejoiced the king and his palatines all the feast.
The blessed Kentegern, full of days, being of one hundred and eighty[five] years, mature in days of the lords nativity (i.e. during the Christmas holidays). The solemnity of the most holy epiphany of the lord being fulfilled, the king commanded gifts to be brought and given to the juggler, as suited his royal magnificence: all which the minstrel rejecting, said he could have enough of such things in his own country. Being asked by the king what he would accept, he answered that of gold or silver, garments or horses, with which Hibernia abounded, he was in no want. "But," says he, "if thou wilt that I depart from thee remunerated, let there be given to me a dish full of fresh mulberries." Those who heard this expression proceed from the mans mouth, burst into laughter, because they supposed him to have uttered it in jest. He, however, affirmed with an oath that he demanded the mulberries not in jest but in earnest; neither prayers, nor promises, nor offers of the most ample gifts, could in any wise bend him from this determination; and, rising up from the midst he declared, that he would depart, and expect, as is wont to be vulgarly said, the kings honour. Now this the king took in sufficient discontent, and that he might not be dishonoured, enquired of his nobles what thereupon was expedient to be done. For it was winter, and no mulberries could be anywhere found. Advised therefore by the counsel of his nobles he went to St. Kentegern, and humbly besought that he would by prayer obtain from god what was required. The man of god, although he did not think it grateful to spend his prayer in such trifles, yet as he knew the king to have great devotion toward god and the holy church, resolved to condescend to his petition. Deliberating, therefore, a little within himself, and briefly praying, he said to the king, "Dost thou remember in what place, in the summer time, thou cast away the garment
merits, famous by signs and prodigies and presages, passed from this world to the father.

thou hadst on, on account of the too great heat, when thou went a-hunting that thou mightst more expeditiously follow the dogs: forgetting or little caring to take it, whither thou hadst unburthened thyself thou didst not return?" The king answered, saying, "I know, my lord the king and bishop, the time and place."—"Go," said the saint, "quickly to the place, and thou wilt find that vestment yet entire, and spread upon a bramble-bush, and underneath plenty of ripe mulberries, still fresh and fit to take. Take them, and satisfy the jugglers demand; and by all means be careful that god who does not permit thy honour to be mutilated or diminished in so light a cause, thou more and more honour." The king did as the bishop commanded, and found all things as he foretold. Taking therefore a dish, and filling it with mulberries, he gave it to the minstrel, saying, "Lo, what thou hast demanded receive; for, by the hand of god operating with us, thou shalt not be able to hurt the fame of my bounty in any respect; and that I may not appear more covetous to thee than to others, stay with us as long as thou shalt please." The minstrel seeing the dish full of mulberries, contrary to the season, wondering, was afraid; and when he had known the order of the thing done, he exclaimed and said, "Truly there is none like to thee in the kings of the earth, munificent in bounty, and there is none like to Kentegern magnificent in sanctity, praise-worthy and working miracles, who effects in my sight such things against expectation. Now I will not depart from thy house, and from thy service; but will be to thee an everlasting servant so long as I shall live." The minstrel therefore remained in the kings palace; and served him in the juggling art a great many days. Afterward setting before his face the
In the same year in which saint Kentegern, taken out of human affairs, migrated to heaven, king Rederech, in the royal town which is called Pertmet remained longer than usual. In his court dwelled a certain foolish man, named Laloicen, who there, from the kings munificence, received the necessaries of victuals and raiment. For the great men of the land, the sons of the kingdom (i. e. princes), given up to vanity, were wont to retain with them men of this kind; who, by their foolish words and actions might move both the lords themselves and the fa-

stimulus of divine fear, he renounced the profession of minstrel, and entering the ways of a better life, gave himself to divine attendance. (C. 37.) The author, Joceline, who wrote about the year 1180, professes to have made use of two more ancient lives, one of which was in Scotish (or Irish, "stilo Scotico ... aut sermon barbarico"), and the other made use of in the church of Glasgow. Ralph archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, refers, in all probability, to the latter of these lives, where he says, "veruntamen sicut in gestis sanctorum virorum, Columbae, viz. . . . et venerabilis Cantugerni episcopi, qui primus Glasguensi ecclesiae praefuit invenitur." Decem scrip. co. 1746. In the Cotton library (Titus A. XIX.) is a fragment entitled "Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Kentegerni," written, it appears, at the instance of Herbert bishop of Glasgow (1147-1164). His life is, also, in the collection of John of Tinmouth, probably after Joceline. He is mentioned, however, neither by Bede, nor by Nennius, nor, in fact, by any writers more ancient than Ralph and Joceline.
mily into jest and laughter. This man, after the de-
position of saint Kentegern, afflicted himself with
the most grievous lamentations; nor would receive
consolation from any one: and when he was asked
why he did so inconsolably lament, he answered,
that king Rederech his lord, and one of the chiefs
of the land, named Morthee, could not after the
death of the holy bishop longer remain in this life,
but were about to yield to fate in that present year.
In the same year, therefore, in which the holy bi-
shop Kentegern departed, both the king and the
prince aforesaid died, and were buried in Glasgow.

DCXLII. Bellum Offa apud Britones.

DCXLII. The battle of Offa among the Bri-
tons.

DCLVIII. Mors Guiret regis Aloctuote.

DCLVIII. The death of Guiret king of Alcluyd.
DCXCIV. Daniell M‘Avin rex Alocluathe mortitur.

DCXCIV. Daniel, the son of Owen, king of Alcluyd dies.

DCCXI. Congressio Brittonum et Dalriada, apud Longecoleth, ubi Britones devicti.

DCCXI. An engagement of the Britons and Dalriads, at Longcoleth, where the Britons were defeated.

DCCXVII. Congressio Dalriada et Britonum, in lapide qui vocatur Minmro, et Britones devicti sunt.

DCCXVII. An engagement of the Dalriads and Britons, at the stone which is called Minmro, and the Britons were defeated.
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DCCXXII. Bile Mac Eilphin rex Alocluathe moritur.

DCCXXII. Bili the son of Elphin king of Alcluyd dies.

DCCXLIV. Factum est prælium inter Pictos et Brittones.*

DCCXLIV. [A battle was fought between the Picts and Britons.]

DCCL. Bellum Cato inter Pictores [l. Pictones] et Brittones, in quo cecidit Talorgan Mac Fergusa, frater Aongusa.†

DCCL. [A battle between the Picts and Britons,

* S. Dunel. co. 104.
† An. Ul. See also Caradoc, p. 16.
in which fell Talorgan Mac Fergus, brother of Aongusa.)

DCCLVI. Eadbert rex, xviii anno regni sui, et Unust rex Pictorum duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Alcwith. Ibique Brittones inde conditionem receperunt, * prima die mensis Augusti.†

DCCLVI. Eadbert king, in the 18th year of his reign, and Unust king of the Picts led an army to the city of Alcluyd, and there the Britons thereof received (i. e. surrendered upon) condition, the first day of August.

DCCLXXX. Combustio Alocluatie in kalen. Janu.‡

DCCLXXX. The burning of Alcluyd in the calends of January.

* "In deditionem (Kilm.)" Usher, p. 427.
† An. Ul. ad an. 657, &c. All the dates in that part of those annals being a year behind.
‡ Ibi.
DCCCXV. Conan M'Ruorach, kinge of Britons, died.

DCCCXLVIII. Britanni concremaverunt Dul-blaan.*

DCCCLXIX. Hoc anno urbs Alclud, ab olim tam famosa, quae ad occidentalem extremitatem illius famosi muri sita est per Dacos funditus est deleta.†

DCCCLXIX. In this year the city of Alcluyd, so famous of old, which is situate at the western extremity of that famous wall, was utterly destroyed.

* Vetus chronicon, apud Innes, p. 783.
† J. de Bromton, co. 807. Obsessio Ailcluahe à Nordman-nis; id est, Aulaiv et Ivar, duo reges Normannorum, obside-runt arcem illum; et destruxerunt, in fine IV mensium, arcem, et prædaverunt. An. Ul. The date in these annals agreeing with Bromton may seem to prove, that the former are not in every instance a year behind the true account. Higdin of Beverley, however, places this destruction in 870. See Le-lands Col. II. 371, 397.
DCCCLXXI. Aulaiv and Ivar came again to Dublin, out of Scotland; and brought with them great booties, from Englishmen, Britons, and Picts, in their two hundred ships, with many of their people captives.

DCCCLXXII. Artga rex Brittonum Strath-Cluhohe, consilio Constantini Mac Cinaoch occisisus est.*

DCCCLXXII. Artga king of the Britons of Strathcluyd, by the counsel of Constantine Mac Kenneth, was killed.

DCCCLXXV. Exercitus [paganorum sive Danorum] Hreopedune deserens, in duas se divisit turmas; cujus altera pars cum Healfreno in regionem Northanhymbrorum perrexit, et ibi hyemavit juxta flumen, quod dicitur Tine; et totam Northanhym-

* An. Ul.
brorum regionem suo subdidit dominio; necnon et Pictos et Stratduttenses [l. Stratcluttenses] depopulati sunt.*

DCCCLXXV. The army [of the Pagans or Danes] leaving Repton, divided itself into two battalions; of which one part marched with Healften into the region of the Northumbrians, and there wintered by the river which is called Tyne; and subjected the whole region of the Northumbrians to his dominion; they, also, depopulated both the Picts and the Strathclydians.

DCCCLXXVI. After the death of Roderic the great [king or prince of Wales], the Northern Britains of Stratclywyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots, insomuch that as many of them as would not submit their

*Asserius, p. 27. The Saxon chronicle, upon this occasion, calls these Stratcluttenses Stræceld [l. Stræceld] Wealas, i. e. Strath-Clyde-Welsh.
necks to the yoke, were forced to quit their country, and to seek for more quiet habitations.*

DCCCLXXVII. Roary Mac Murmin, king of Britons, came into Ireland, for refuge from Black gentiles. An. Ul.

* Caradoc, by Wynne, 1697, p. 37. "Constat has regiones [Damnii scil. seu Westmarios, et Cumbriam] cum Gallovidia usque ad Cludam annem ad annum nostræ salutis DCCCLXXVII Britannis possideri, quo tempore à Scotis, Danis, et Anglis multis bellis iacessiti, et tandem Constantino eorum rege ad Lochmaban in Anandia occiso, in Cambriam ad contribules suos migrare coacti sunt." Llwyd, p. 41. The name and death of this Constantine, king of Strath-Clyde or Cumber-land, are mentioned by no other writer.†

† An ancient chronicle, published by Innes (p. 784) calls Eochodius, king of Scotland, the successor of Ed, in 883 "filius Ku regis Britanorum nepos Kinadi ac fili;" which seems to be Mr. D. Macphersons sole authority for concluding that the kings of Strath-Clyde were "sometimes, perhaps always, of the Scottish royal family." Mr. Pinkerton, likewise, asserts that "Eochold, the son of a king of Strat-Clyde, came to the Pikish [i.e. Scottish] throne, by inheritance, in 883" (Enquiry, I, 78, 80).
DCCCCLXXVIII. Roary son of Murmin, king of Britons, killed by Saxons. *Ibi.*

DCCCXCIX. Eadwardus, cognomento senior, [Angul-Saxonum rex] Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Stretgledunalorum, omnesque occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditio-nem accepit.*

DCCCXCIX. Edward, surnamed the elder, king of the Anglo-Saxons, received the submission of all the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, Strath-Clyde-Welsh, and Western Britons.

DCCCXXXI. Rex Scottorum cum tota gente sua, et Regnaldus rex Danorum, cum Anglis et Danis Northymbriam incolentibus, rex etiam Stred-dedunalorum [l. Stredcledunalorum] cum suis, re-

* Simeon Dunel.
gem seniorem sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt,  
firmumque fœdus cum eo pepigerunt.*

DCCCXXI. The king of Scots with his whole  
nation, and Reginald king of the Danes, with the  
English and Danes inhabiting Northumberland,  
the king also of the Strath-Clyde-Britons with his  
people, chose the elder king for their father and  
lord, and contracted with him a firm league.

DCCC... Mortui sunt in tempore hujus  
[Constantini scilicet, filii Edii] Dovenaldus rex  
Britannorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ede rex eligi-  
tur,†

DCCCC... Died in the time of Constantine  
Mac Hugh Donald king of the Britons, and Donald  
the son of Hugh is elected king.

* Simeon Dunel. See also Chro. Sax. 924: “& eac Stræcled-  
Weala cyning. & ealle Stræcled-Wealas.”  
† Cro. Pictorum.
DCCCCXLIV. The Englishmen did enter Wales with a strong armie, and spoiled Strad-Clwyd, and returned home.*

DCCCCLXX. Culen [rex Scotorum] et frater ejus Eochodius occisi sunt a Britonibus.†

DCCCCLXX. Culen, king of Scots, and his brother Eochy were slain by the Britons.

DCCCCLXXV. Daniel Mac Owen king of Wales [died] in pilgrimage.‡

* Caradoc, by Lhoyd, p. 58. See also Llwyds Commentariolum, by Williams, p. 41.
‡ An. Ul. "At that time [between 972 and before 976] Dwnwalhon prince of Strad Clwyd tooke his journie to Rome." Caradoc, p. 64. See also Llwyds Commentariolum, p. 41, 87.
MXVIII. Ingens bellum apud Carrum* gestum est inter Scottos et Anglos, inter Huctredum filium Waldef comitem Northymborum et Malcolmum filium Cyneth regem Scottorum. Cum quo fuit in bello Eugenius Calvus rex Lutinensium [L. Clutinensium].

* Near Wark, in Northumbria, but not the same place.
† Simeon Dunel. There never was a people called Lutinenses. The MS. of Simeon (according to mr. D. Macpherson, Q. ubi?), as well as Leland's extract (Col. II, 354) reads "Clutinensium," which Mr. M. supposes to mean "the people of Strathclyd." Mr. Pinkerton, absurdly, says that this rex Lutinensium "seems a titular king, whom Malcolm supported against the earl of Northumberland, in his claim for the English Lothen, or present Northumberland [which never was so called]," (Enquiry, II, 212); and elsewhere, that "Eugenius Calvus, or Owen the bald, kinglet of Lothian, [a kingdom never before heard of], assisted Malcolm." (Ibid. 189.) It should, at the same time, be observed that the word Clutinenses, if genuine, is to be found in no other writer; that Simeon himself calls this people Stredgledunalorum, (co. 151) Strededunalarum [L. Stredcledunalorum], (co. 153), and Streduccenses [L. Stretclucenses] (co. 127); and that the more legitimate name would have been Clutenses (or, as Asser, Stratcluttenses) and not Clutinenses. To this may be added, that, according to Llwyd, Dunwallo, who died at Rome, in 974, was the last king of Strath-Clyd; and that Huchtrin appears, from the Saxon Chronicle, to have been assassinated in 1016.
MXVIII. A great battle was fought at Carrum between the Scots and the English, between Huch-tred the son of Waltheof earl of the Northumbrians and Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, king of the Scots: with whom was in the battle Owen the bald, king of the Strath-Clyde-Welsh.
Annals of Cumberland.
INTRODUCTION.

Westmorlandiae ad occasum praejacet Cumbria, vulgo Cumberland, ultima in hac parte Angliae provinciæ, utpote quæ ipsam Scotiam ab arcto attingit, ab austro et occidente Hibernico oceano pulsata, ab ortu, verò, super Westmorlandiam, Northumbriæ contigua. Nomen ab incolis traxit, qui veri, et Germani Britannii fuerunt, et se sua lingua Kumbri et Kambri indigitârunt. Britannos enim diu hic in sedisse, fremente Saxone, historiæ testantur, ipsæque Marianus, qui hanc regionem Cumbrorum terram dixit; ut taceam Britannica passim locorum nomina, cujusmodi sunt Caerluel, Caerdroc, Penrith, Penrodoc, &c., quæ hoc planissimè loquuntur, et assertioni meas probationem praestant vel apertissimam.*

* Praefatio Camdeni. Britannia, Londini, 1587, p. 521. He places it under the Brigantes. Richard of Cirencester, however, calls the inhabitants on the west of the Penine Alps (i.e. Stane-
INTRODUCTION.

To the west of Westmoreland lies Cumbria, vulgarly Cumberland, the last province in this part of

more) the Volantii and Sisentii, (L. I, c. 6.); and, according to Liwyd, "Cumbriam olim habitabant Selgovii et Otadeni [rectius Selgovæ et Otadini]. Com. p. 40. Bromton says that the counties of Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, were part of the kingdom of Northumberland, which extended from the Humber to the Scotch Sea, (Co. 801); and it would seem, from Simeon of Durham, that Cumberland and Cornwall were not, in his time, enumerated among the shires of England. See likewise Polychronicon, p. 201. This county, as well as Northumberland, Durham, and most part of Westmoreland, is omitted in Domestay-book, not, perhaps, as is generally surmised, by reason of the turbulent or impoverished state of those parts, but from some accident, or precipitancy, which prevented the completion of that part of the survey, part of Westmoreland being confusedly inserted in the description of Yorkshire; and even London and Winchester excluded for the same, or some similar, reason. See also the preface to the Annals of Strath-Clyde, and those annals, under the years 577 and 584. It were to be wished that the identical words here imputed to Marianus had been more particularly referred to. He is elsewhere quoted by this great topographer, (whose memory seems to have occasionally deceived him), instead of Henry of Huntingdon. Cumbri, in all probability, is the same as Cambri, both meaning Welsh. No instance, however, of the existence of either term, or of the name of Cambria, or Cumbria, can he found before the tenth century, when Cumber-land is first mentioned in the Saxon chronicle. The Cumbri are likewise noticed by Ethelward, before 1090, (p. 844) but no where, with submission to Camden, by Marianus, or any earlier writer, none of which he was able to quote.
INTRODUCTION.

England, as that which touches Scotland itself from the north, is beaten by the Irish ocean from the south and west, and from the east, above Westmoreland, is contiguous to Northumberland. The name it drew from the inhabitants, who were the true and natural Britons, and called themselves, in their own language, Cumbri and Cambri. For that the Britons, while the Saxon raged, seated themselves here for a long time, histories bear witness, and Marianus himself, who called this region the land of the Cumbrians; not to mention the numerous British names of places, of which kind are Caerluel, Caerdonoc, Penrith, Penrodoc; &c.,* which speak this most plainly, and afford even the most open proof to my assertion.

The new History of Cumberland throws no light upon the pristine state of that county. The author, being little acquainted with old historians, and a total stranger to ancient manuscripts, supplies his want of knowledge with the lying relations of modern writers:

"As geographers, on barren downs,
Place elephants, for want of towns."

* Certainly Caer, in British, means city, and Pen, head, how, or when, ever those names might be given.
ANNALS OF CUMBERLAND.
ANALES CUMBRÆ.

DCLXXXV. [Rex Egfridus, et Theodorus archiepiscopus], villam Crecam, et tria in circuitu ipsius villæ milliaria, 'Cuthberto' dederunt... Et quia illa terra minus sufficiens erat, Lugubaliam, quæ Luel vocatur, in circuitu quindecim milliaria habentem in augmentum suscepit. Ubi etiam sanctimonialium congregatione stabilita, reginam dato habitu religionis consecravit, et in prospectum divinae servitutis scholas instituit.*

* S. Dunel. Historia de Dunel. ecclesia, p. 5. See the charter in Ap. ad Bedæ Opera, Nu. 22. Bede, in his life of Cuthbert, mentions two visits of that saint, in this and the following year, "ad Lugubaliam civitatem, quæ a populis Anglorum Luel vocatur" (c. 27, 28). It is evident, from the above grant, that Cumberland was in the hands of the English at this period. The kingdom of Strath-Clyde continued to, at least, the year 971; but even in the time of Bede, Whithern, in Galloway, was included in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which certainly extended from the Humber to the firth of Forth.
DCLXXXV. King Egfrid, and Theodore, the archbishop, gave to Cuthbert the town of Craike, and three miles round the same . . . . and because this land was insufficient, he received Lugubalia, which is called Luel [Carlyle] being fifteen miles round, in augmentation. Where, also, having founded a society of nuns, he consecrated the queen, giving her the habit of religion, and instituted schools for the benefit of divine service.

DCCCLIV. Eardulfus, vir magni meriti, cathdræ pontificalis gubernacula, [ecolesis Lindisfarnensis], suscepit, nec minorem quam proximis Lindisfarnensium, quibusque longè positis episcopatus sui locis pastoralis cura sollicitudinem impendebat: quorum Luel, quod nunc Carleol appellatur, non solum proprii juris sancti Cuthberti fuerat, sed etiam ad sui episcopatus regimen ab Egfridi regis temporibus semper adjacebat.*

* S. Dunel. Hist. de Dunel. ecclesia, co. 13. In the Monasticon Anglicanum (II, 845), are two writs from William the bastard, one to “W. filio Theoderic et omnibus fidelibus
CUMBERLAND.

DCCCXLIV. Eardulf, a man of great merit, undertook the government of the pontifical chair of the church of Lindisfarne, nor did he bestow less solicitude of pastoral care, than to the nearest places of Lindisfarne, to those situated at a distance from his bishopric, of which Luel, which is now called Carleol, not only of proper right pertained to saint Cuthbert, but moreover always lay contiguous to suis de Carleolo," the other to " G. vicecomiti et baronibus suis de Caerleil," commanding them to be obedient, in religious matters, to the bishop of Durham, and his archdeacon, a decisive proof that Cumberland was, at that period, under the dominion of the English crown. According to William of Malmesbury, there was in his time (about 1140) in the city of Lugubalia, (now Carlisle), a bed of stones vaulted with arches, which no spite of tempests, nor even wood placed by it out of design, and set on fire, had ever availed to ruin. The country, he says, is called Cumberland, and the men are called Cumbrians, and an inscription is read in the front of the bed: MARII VICTORIÆ (to the victory of Marius). "What it is," he adds, "I am at a loss to conjecture, unless, perhaps, part of the Cimbrians had settled in these places, when they were driven out of Italy by Marius" (De gestis pontificum pro. L. 3). "Here," observes the sagacious plagiarist Randal Higden, "William of Malmesbury was deceived, thinking this title of the stone to belong to Marius, the Roman consul. Nor is it to be wondered at, since he had not read the British book [Geoffrey of Monmouth] where it treats of king Marius." (Polyehro. L. 4. c. 9). See Ushers Antiquitates, that, however, the inscription was not MARII VICTORIÆ, but MARTI VICTORI, see the introduction to the Annals of the Picts, § 1.
the jurisdiction of his bishopric from the time of
king Egfrid.

DCCCLXXV. Barbari in sortes sibi duas di-
vidunt regnum: partem sumpsit dux barbarorum,
Healfdene nomen Northanhymbriorum; hyberno
ibi sedilia tempore cudit juxta nominatum fluvium
Tinam, ibidemque vastant territaria passim. Ast
crebrius inducunt Pihtis bellum, Cumbrisque.*

DCCCLXXV. The barbarians divide the king-
dom among themselves in two lots. The general of
the barbarians, named Healfdene, took the part of
the Northumbrians; there he takes up his seat, in
the winter-time, near the river called Tyne, and
there they waste the country on every side. But
they more frequently make war upon the Picts and
Cumbrians.

* Ethelwerdus, p. 844. "Anno dominicæ incarnationis
DCCLXXV. supra memoratus sæpe exercitus [Paganorum]
Hreoedune deserens, in duas se divisit turmas; cujus altera
pars cum Healftene in regionem Northanhymbrorum perrexit,
et ibi hyemavit juxta flumen quod dicitur Tine; et totam North-
anhymbrorum regionem suo subdedit dominio; necnon et
Pictos et Stratduttenses [i. Stratcludenses] depopulati sunt."
Asserius, p. 27. V. etiam Chron. Sax. p. 83, Aluredum Be-
DCCCCLXXVI. After the death of Roderic the great [king, or prince, of Wales], the northern Britains of Strathclyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots, inso-much, that as many of them as would not submit their necks to the yoke, were forced to quit their country, and seek for more quiet habitations.*

DCCCXCIX. Edwardus rex, Ælfredi filius, Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Stretglaðuvalorum, om-nesque occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditio-nem accepit.†

* Caradoc's History of Wales, augmented and improved by Wynne, 1697, p. 37. "Constat has regiones [Cumbriam sci.] cum Gallovidia usque ad Cludam annem ad annum DCCCCLXX a Britannis possideri, quo tempore à Scotis, Danis et Anglis, multis bellis laccessiti, et tandem Constantino eorum rege ad Lochmaban in Anandia occiso, in Cambriam ad contribuere suos migrare coacti sunt." (H. Llwyd Britan. descrit. com. p. 41). The name and death of this Constantine, king of Cumberland, or Strath-Cluyd, are mentioned by no other writer. See, as to this Rederech, or Roderick, in the Annals of Strath-Clyde, under the year 560.

† S. Dunel. Historia, p. 151. "Invictissimus rex Anglo-
DCCCXCIX. [King Edward the son of Alfred] received the submission of the kings of the Scots, Cumbrians, people of Strath-Clyde, and of all the western Britons.

DCCCXXXIV. Æthelstanus rex Scotiam ‘tendens’ cum totius Britanniae exercitu; fugato ‘Ewino’ rege Cumbrorum, et Constantino rege Scottorum, terrestri et navali exercitu, Scotiam sibi subjugando perdomuit.*

DCCCXXXIV. King Athelstan marching into Scotland, with the whole army of Britain... Ewen, king of the Cumbrians, and Constantine, king of the Scots, being put to flight, by his land and sea army subjugating Scotland, was everywhere victorious.

rum Eadwardus senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incoelectibus Anglorum, Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Danorum, pariter et Brittonum populis gloriosissime præfuit... ex hac vita transiens, &c. [924].” Ibi. p. 154. V. etiam R. de Hoveden Annales, p. 421; and Cronica de Mailros, p. 147.

* S. Dunel. His. cc. Dunel. c. 25.
DCCCXXXVIII. Apud Weondune, quod alio nomine Etbrunnanwerch, vel Brunnanbyrig, appellatur, pugnavit [Æthelstanus rex] contra Onlaf, Guthredi quondam regis filium qui DC. et XV. navibus adverterat, secum habens contra Ethelstanum auxilia regum praefatorum, scilicet Scotorum et Cumbrorum. At ille . . . prostrata multitudine infinita reges illos de regno suo propulit.*

* S. Dunel. &c. c. 26. Ingulph, likewise, mentions, by name, Constantine king of Scots, and Owen (Eugenius) king of the Cumbrians, as present with Anlaf at this battle (Historia, p. 37). "Æthelstanus rex, apud Wendune pugnavit, regemque Onlafum cum DC. et XV. navibus, Constantinum quoque regem Scotorum, et regem Cumbrorum; cum omnium multitudine in fugam vertit." (S. Dunel. Historia de gestis regum Anglorum, c. 134.) Ingulph calls the place of action "Brunford in Northanhumbria," and Ethelwerd, "Brunandune;" but it is Brunan-burh in the Saxon chronicle; and is idly supposed, by Camden, to be Bromeridge in Northumberland, and still more erroneously and absurdly, by Hearne, "Brunesburgh nunc Seton, prope Axminster in Devonia" (Leland's Collectanea, I, 194). Bishop Gibson, however, more correctly, from the passage of Florence of Worcester, "Hiberniensium multarum insularum rex paganus Anlafus à socero suo rege, Scotorum Constantino incitatus, ostium Humbri fluminis valida cum classe ingreditur. Cui rex Æthelstanus fraterque suis Eadmundus, in loco qui dicitur Brunanburgh, cum exercitu occurrerunt, &c." thinks it probable that the battle was decided rather in Lincolnshire, or Yorkshire, than in Northumberland: and it is observable, that either Peter Langetoft, or Robert of Brunne, his translator,
Fugit Analafus, filius Sithrici, in Hyberniam, et frater ejus Godefridus in Scotiam; subsecuti sunt ή vestigio regales missi ad Constantinum, et Eugenium regem Cumbrorum, transfugam cum denouncedatione belli repetentes. Nec fuit animus barbaris, ut contra obmutirent, quin potius sine retractione, ad locum qui Dacor vocatur venientes, se cum suis regnis Anglorum regi [Adelstano] dedidere.*

DCCCCXXXVIII. At Wendon, which by an-

who was sufficiently conversant in that part of the country, says expressly,  

"At Brunesburgh on Humbr they gan him assalle." 

That no such place now exists is an idle objection, as it may have been easily swallowed by the higre, as is well known to have been frequently the case.

There seems to be an omission in Simeons text: Anlaf was the son of Sithric, and Reginald the son of king Cuthred (M. West. p. 187). In fact Simeon himself, in another place, expressly calls Onlaf the son of Sihtric. The name of this pagan is constantly written Analafus, or Analavus, by W. of Malmesbury, as it is, by others, Analaphus, Anlavus, Anlaf, or Onlaf. Bromton, in one place, has Aulaf; in another Hanlaf; R. of Gloucester, Analaf; J. Wallingford, Olaf; Caradoc, Llloyd, or Powel, Hawlafl. Olavus, however, seems to have been generally regarded as a different name.

* W. Malmes. De g. r. A., L. 2, p. 50. Dacor is, probably, own Dacre-castle, in Cumberland, still in good preservation.
other name is called Etbrunnanwerch, or Brunnanburgh, king Athelstan fought against Anlaf, son of the late king Guthred, who had come over with 615 ships, having against Athelstan the aid of the aforesaid kings, to wit, of the Scots and of the Cumbrians. But he, an infinite multitude being prostrated, drove those kings out of his realm.

Anlaf, son of Sicthric, fled into Ireland, and his brother Godfrey into Scotland; the royal messengers closely followed their track to Constantine, king of the Scots, and Owen, king of the Cumbrians, demanding the fugitives, with denunciation of war. Nor had the barbarians resolution to be silent, but rather, without delay, coming to a place which is called Dacor, surrendered themselves, with their kingdoms, to Athelstan, the king of the English.

DCCCCXLV. Eadmund cyning ofer-hergode eall Cumbra-land et hit let to eal Malculme. Scotta cyninge. on that gerad that he were his mid-wyrhta ægther ge on sæ ge on lande.*

* Chro. Sax. p. 115. "Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est, illamque regi Scottorum Malcolmo eo terrore dedit, ut terra marique sibi
Cum Eadredus, frater, et successor Eadmundi, à rege Cumbrorum juramentum fidelitatis accepis-

cum. Provincia, quae vocatur Cumberland, regi Scottorum Mal-

"Rex fortissimus Eadmundus ... totam Cumberland, quia gentem provinciae illius perfidam et legibus insolitam ad ple-

"Anno gratiae 946 ... rex Eadmundus, adjutorio Leolini regis Demetiae fretus, Cumbriam totam cunctis opibus spolia-
vit, ac duobus filiis Dummailli ejusdem provincie regis, ocu-
lorum luce privatis, regnum illud Malcolmno Scotorum regi, de se tenendum concessit, ut aquilonares partes, terra, marique, ab hostium adventantium incursione tueretur.” (M. West. p. 188.) This Dummail, who is mentioned by no writer, ex-
cept this monk, who flourished in 1307, may, possibly, be here conformed with Dunwalhun, or Dunwalla, the last king of Strath-Clyde, who, in 971, went to Rome, and there died. (See The historie of Cambria, p. 64; Llwyds Britan. descrip. com. by Williams, p. 87, 41.) It must be observed, however, that, in the life of saint Cadroé, we read that he came “usque terram Cumbrorum, Dovenaldus rex,” it continues, “illi pra-

cred plebi, et quia erat propinquus viri, cum omni gaudio oc-
currìt; et secum aliquidu retinis conduxit usque Loidam civitatem, quae est confinium Normannorum [L. Northanhym-
brorum] atque Cumbrorum; ibique excipitur à quodam viro nobili Gunderico, à quo perductit ad regem Erichium in Euroacum [L. Eboracum] urbem: qui scilicet rex habebat conjugem, ipsius domini Kaddroé propinquam. Unde egres-
set, et partes illas insecuritate posuisse, versus austrum cum suis contendit.*

DCCCCXLV. King Edmund wasted all Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, king of Scots, on this condition, that he should be his ally both by sea and land.

When Edred, the brother and successor of Edmund, had received the oath of fidelity from the king of the Cumbrians, and put those parts in security, he returned with his army to the south.

DCCCCLXXIII. Se cyng [Eadgar] geleadda ealle his scip-here to Sege-ceastre. & thær him co-mon on-gean vi. cyningas. & ealle with trywrodon that he woldon efenwy [r]hton beon on sæ. & on lande.†

sus Lungdinam civitatem expētīt," &c. This Dovenald, according to the Bollandist editors, was the Dummall of Matthew of Westminster: Dovendus, Domnaldus, or Domnalus, being one and the same name. Loida is, probably, intended for Leeds in Yorkshire. Ericius, a Dane, or of Danish extraction, was made king of the Northumbrians in 947, but banished in the following year. See R. de Hoveden, p. 423.

* M. of West.
† Chro. Sax. p. 122. "[Eadgarus rex Angliæ] regem Scotorum Kunadiurn, Cumborum, Malcolmum, archipira-
DCCCCLXXIII. The king Edgar led all his naval force to Chester; where he was met by six kings; all of whom pledged their faith that they would be his allies by sea and by land.

DCCCCXCVII. Malcolmus filius Domnaldi, Britonum aquilonarium (hoc est Cumbrorum) rex, mortuus est.*

tam Maccusium, omnesque reges Wallensium, quorum nomina fuerunt Dusual, Gifreth, Hunal, Jacob, Judethil, ad curiam coactos, uno et perpetuo sacramento sibi obligavit.” (W. Malmes. p. 56.) “Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus .... cum ingenti classe, Britannia circumnavigata ad Legio-
um civitatem appulit. Cui subreguli ejus octo, Kynath, scilicet, rex Scotorum, Malcolm rex Cumbrorum, Maccus plurimaram rex insularum, et alii quinque, Dusnald, Siferth, Huval, Jacob, Nichil [alter Iuchil, vel Inchil], ut mandave-
rat occurrerunt et quod sibi fideles et terra et mari coöperatores se vellent juraverunt. Cum quibus, die quadam, scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis De perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducem et procerum simili navigio comitante ad palatio ad monasterium sancti Johannis baptistae navigavit.” (S. Dunel. p. 159; see, also, Flo. Wigor. Chron. Jorvalensis, and Cro. e Mairros, ad annum.)

This Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, appears to have been the son of Donald: there was no king of Scotland of either name between 954 and 1004.

* Tigernac, Ogygia, p. 487. O’Flaherty supposes this
DCCCCXCVII. Malcolm son of Donald, king of the northern Britons (that is, the Cumbrians), died.

M. Se cyng [Æthelred] ferde into Cumberlande. & hit swithe neah call for-hergode.*

M. The king Ethelred went into Cumberland, and almost totally wasted it.

Malcolm, king of Cumberland, who is mentioned by no Scotch or English writer, to have been the grandson of Malcolm I. king of Scotland. It is, at any rate, certain that this Malcolm had two sons, Odo-Duf and Kenneth IV., and that Malcolm II. son to the latter, succeeded his cousin Kenneth V. in 1001. Malcolm I., who succeeded in 944, was himself the son of Donald II., who died in 904. Donald, the father of Malcolm, king of Cumberland, could not, therefore, be either king of Scotland, or the king of Scottlands son. Could he be the Do-venald, who visited saint Cadroë, or (if a different person) the Dummail of Matthew of Westminster, whose two sons were deprived of their eyes? See before, under 945.

MLII. Concessit rex Siwardo Westmerlandiam, Cumberlandiam, et Northumbriam; quas quidem terras potenter pacificavit, regis inimicos contrivit, et Osbernun Bulax filium suum in Scotiam con-
quirendam misit.* 

MLII. The king granted to Siward Westmore-
land, Cumberland, and Northumberland; which 
provinces he powerfully pacified, broke the kings 
enemies, and sent Osbern Bulax his son into Scot-
land to conquer it.

MLIV. Siwardus [comes] Northaniumbret-
sium, jussu [regis, S. Edwardi] cum Scottorum rege congressus vita regnoque spoliavit; ibidem-
que Malcolmum filium regis Cumbrorum regem 
instituit.†

* Chro. J. Bromton, c. 946. Bromton is an inaccurate, 
and even fabulous writer, of the 15th century. His account 
of Siward is a perfect romance.

† W. Malmesburiensis. "Strenuus dux Northymborum 
Siwardus jussu regis Edwardi, et equestri exercitu et classe 
valida Scotiam adiit, et cum regio Scottorum Maasotha pra-
lium commisit, ac ... illum fugavit, et Malcolmum regis
MLIV. Siward earl of the Northumbrians, by command of king Edward, encountered with the king of Scots, whom he deprived of life and kingdom; and, at the same time, appointed Malcolm, son of the king of Cumbrians, king.

MLXX. Infinita Scottorum multitudo ducente Malcolm rege per Cumbrelant traducta, versus orientem divertens, universam Tesedale et ejus finitima loca ultra citraque feroci vastavit popolatione. Inter has Scottorum vastationes ac rapinas, Gospatricius comes (qui à rege Willielmo comitatum Northanhymbrorum precio assecutus fuerat) accitis auxiliatoribus strenuis atroci depopulatione Cumbreland invadit. Erat enim eo tempore Cumbrel-

cumbrorum filium, ut rex, jussaret, regem constituit." S. Dunel. c. 187. V. etiam R. de Hoveden, p. 443; et Chronica de Mailros, p. 158. "Siwardus dux Northanhymbrorum jussu regis Edwardi Macchetum [L. Macbethum] regem Scotorum de regno privavit, et Malcolmum regem Cumbrorum regem Scotorum constituit." Chronicon J. abbatis S. Petri de Burgo, p. 43. This last writer is the only one who calls Malcolm himself king of the Cumbrians; perhaps inadvertently.
land sub regis Malcolmii dominio, non jure pos-
sessa, sed violenter subjugata.*

MLXX. An infinite multitude of Scots, headed
by king Malcolm, being brought through Cumber-
land, turning toward the east, wasted all Teesdale,
and its neighbourhood, on every side with ferocious
ravage. Among this devastation and plunder of
the Scots, earl Gospatrick (who had obtained, by a
bribe from king William, the county of Northum-
berland) having called together strenuous auxilia-
ries, invaded Cumberland with atrocious depopula-
tion: For, at that time, Cumberland was under the
dominion of king Malcolm, not possessed by right,
but subjugated by violence.

MLXXII. Illis temporibus regebat comitatum
Carlioli [Cumbriæ sci.] comes Ranulphus de Mi-
cenis, qui efficax auxilium præbuit regi Gulihelmo

* S. Dunel. Historia, c. 200. V. etiam R. de Hoveden An-
nales, p. 452.

MLXXII. In those times, earl Randal de Meschines, who afforded efficacious assistance to king William in his conquest of England, governed the county of Carlisle [i.e. Cumberland]. He began to build the city, and to endow the citizens thereof with numerous privileges. But king William, returning from Scotland through Cumberland, beholding such a royal corporation, took it away from earl Randal, and gave him for it the county of Chester, privileged with many honours. But Carlisle king William commanded to be fortified with the strongest towers and ramparts.

* M. West, p. 227. See before.
MLXXXVI. Willielmus rex Angliæ, W. filio Theoderici, et omnibus fidelibus suis de Carleolo, et omnibus qui manent ultra Loedriam, salutem. Præcipio vobis ut recipiatis christianitatem de episcopo Dunelmensi, et de archidiacono suo, et prædicto episcopo sitis obedientes de christianitatis egibus, sicut justè debetis obedire vestro episcopo: et videte, sicut me diligitis, ne amplius faciatis inde aliquam molestiam ministris episcopi injuste. Testibus Roberto filio Giraldi, (&c.)*

MLXXXVI. William king of England to W. son of Theoderic, and all his faithful of Carlisle, and all who live beyond the Lowther, greeting. I command you that you receive christianity of the bishop of Durham, and of his archdeacon, and to the aforesaid bishop be ye obedient to the laws of christianity, as you justly ought to obey your bishop: and see ye, as you love me, that you no further do thereof make any molestation to the ministers of the bishop unjustly. Witnesses Robert son of Girald, &c.

* Monasticon Anglicanum, II, 845.
MXCII. Se cyng Willelm mid mycelre fyrde ferde north to Cardeol & tha burh geææststaweled. & thone castel arerde. & Dolfin ut ædref the æor thær landes weold. & thone castel mid his mannan gesette. & siththan hider suth gewende. & mycele menige Eyrlisces ['Englisces'] folces mid wifan. & mid orle thyder sende. thær to wunnigenne that land to tillianne.*

MXCII. King William, with a great army, went north to Carlisle, and reedified that city, and built a castle; and expelled Dolfin, who, before, was governor of that territory; and placed his men in the castle; and on his return to the south, sent thither a great multitude of English, with their wives and cattle, there to reside, and to cultivate that land.

MCXXII. Rex Henricus ... intrans regiones ab Eboraco divertit versus mare occidentale, consideraturus civitatem antiquam quæ lingua Brittonum Cairleil dicitur, quæ nunc Carleol anglicè, Latinè, vero, Lugubalia appellatur, quam data pecunia castello, et turribus praecipit muniri.  

of Alward (Monasticon Anglicanum, I, 400), (V.S. Dunel.); a fourth, the son of Uthred, to whom in 1130 the prior and monks of Durham granted Staindrop (Lelands Col. I, 390). The former seems to be the one here meant. Cospatricius frater Delphini is named among the witnesses in the instrument of inquisition of the possessions of the church of Glasgow, in Cumberland, about the year 1118, printed in the appendix to Sir James Dalrymples Collections, and elsewhere; and Ulfas filius Dolfini is, likewise, mentioned by Florence of Worcester, under the year 1065.

* S. Dunel. c. 246.
MCXXII. King Henry... entering the country from York, turned toward the western sea, to behold the ancient city which, in the language of the Britons, is called Cairlei, but which now, in English, is called Carlisle, and in Latin Lugubalia, and giving money, commanded it to be fortified with a castle and towers.

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MCXXXII. Rex Henricus fecit episcopatum apud Carleolum, in limbo Angliæ et Galwalliæ, et posuit ibi primum episcopum, nomine Æthelulphum, sancti Oswaldi priorem, cui peccata sua solebat confiteri.*

MCXXXII. King Henry erected a bishopric at Carlisle, in the march of England and Galloway, and placed there [the] first bishop, Ethelwulph by name, prior of Saint Oswald, to whom he used to confess his sins.

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MCXXXVI. David rex Scotiae... continuo insur-rexit in regnum Angliæ, et citius munitiones Cumberlandiae et Northimbriæ, cum populis adjacentibus optimuit usque Dunelmum, præter Babhanburch... Occurrit ei rex Stephanus... apud Dunelmum, ibi commoratus diebus xv. David quoque rex in Novo castello se recept. Habita igitur collocutione de pace inter eos, Henricus filius regis Scotiae, fecit homagium regi Stephano apud Eboracum, in augmentum honoris de Huntedundatis ei Dunecastra et Karleol.*


* They are not one and the same place. See Armstrongs map of Northumberland.
CUMBERLAND.

Norimbria et Cumbria redditæ sunt regi Scottorum David; sed statim pacificati sunt rex David et rex Stephanus, et Norimbria redditæ regi Stephano, et Cumbria regi David remansit.*

MCXXXVI. David, king of Scotland, rushed all at once into the kingdom of England, and soon took the strong places of Cumberland and Northumberland, with the neighbouring people, as far as Durham, except Bamburgh... King Stephen met him... at Durham, where he stayed fifteen days. King David, also, betook himself into New-


“Northumbyrland and Cwmbyrland
Til the king Dawy of Scotland
War gyvyn agayne that ilke yhere:
And eftyr swne frendyt were.
The kyng Dawy of Scotland
And Stewyn kyng than of Ingland;
Northwmbyrland be that trettè
Til Stewyn the kyng wes gyvyn fre;
Bot Cumbryrland all halily
Remanyd wyth oure lord the kyng Dawy.”

Wyntownis Cronykil, I, 298.

* Chro. de Mailros.
castle. A conference of peace being, therefore, had between them, Henry, son of the king of Scotland, did homage to king Stephen at York; Doncaster and Carlisle being given to him in augmentation of the honor of Huntingdon.

Northumberland and Cumberland were yielded to David king of the Scots; but straightway king David and king Stephen were pacified, and Northumberland yielded to king Stephen and Cumberland remained to king David.

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MCXXXVIII. Rex David ... intrans in terram S. Cuthberti, ... ex ejus edicto Picti et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel et de circumjacenti regione ad eum convenerunt.*

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MCXXXVIII. King David, entering into the land of St. Cuthbert (i.e. the bishopric of Durham), at his summons, the Picts and Cumbrians,

* R. prior Hagustal. co. 319. "[Post bellum de Cuto- more] per Northymbriam et Cumberland quarto die ante festum sancti Michaelis ad Carlel pervenit [W. Cumin regis Scotiae cancellarius], ibique regem Scotiae cum episcopis, abbatis, prioribus, baronibus, sua terrae reperit." (Ibi.)
and men of Carlisle, and of the circumjacent country came together to him.

MCXL I. Henricus comes [filius regis Scotiae] cum conjuge sua ad regem Angliae profectus est. Insurrexit in inimicitias in eum Ranulfus comes Cestriæ, propter Karl et Cumberland quam jure patrimonii sibi reposcebat, voluitque eum in reditu cum armata manu involvere. Rex vero reginæ precibus commotus ab intentato periculo tutatim eum patri et patriæ restituit, transpositaque est indignatio hæc in insidias regis salutis.*

MCXL I. Earl Henry [son of the king of Scotland] came with his wife to the king of England. Randal, earl of Chester, rose in enmity against him, on account of Carlisle and Cumberland, which, by right of patrimony, he asked for himself; and wanted to entrap him in his return with an armed force. But the king, being moved by the prayers of the queen, restored him safe, from the threatened danger, to his father and country, and this indignation

* J. prior Hagustal. c. 268.
was transferred against the treachery of the royal help.


* J. prior Hagustal. c. 277. (The proposed match did not take place; but, in 1190, David, brother of William king of Scotland, married [Maud] sister of Randal [Blundeville] earl of Chester [grand-son of the earl Randal here spoken of.] Benedictus abbas, p. 629.) "Aquilonalis regio, quem in postestatem David regis Scotiorum usque ad Tesiam cesserat, per ejusdem regis industriam in pace agebat, ad quem Henricus ex nepte ejus, id est Matilde olim imperatrice, Andegavensis comitis filius, et Angliæ rex futurus à mater missus jam pubes accessit: et ab eo ad Luguballiam (quæ vulgo Car-
MCL. Henry, the son of Geoffrey earl of Anjou, and of Adela [Maud] the empress, came at Whitsuntide to Carlisle. King David received him with great reverence, and the sumptuous preparation of opulent munificence. For he gave him the belt of knighthood; Henry his son, and Randal earl of Chester, assisting him. Now this Randal remitted the indignation with which he had been used to claim Carlisle, under the right of patrimony, and did homage to the same king David. For it was agreed between them in conversation that for Carlisle he should have the honour of Lancaster; and that the son of earl Randal should take to wife one of the daughters of Henry son of the king of Scotland.

MCLIII. Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus . . . querelam fecit apud Karleol regi David, super forestam suam quam vastaverunt homines regis qui operabantur in argentaria.*

*i.e.* dicitur) cingulum militare accepit, praestita prius (ut dicitur) cautione quod nulla parte terrarum, quae in ejusdem regis ex Anglia ditionem transissent, ejus ullo tempore mutilaret heredes." (W. Neubrigensis Historia, p. 75. V. cbiam Chronica W. de Hemingsford, apud V. script. p. 492.)

* J. prior Hagustal. c. 280.
MCLIII. Henry archbishop of York ... made complaint at Carlisle to king David, on account of his forest, which the kings men who worked in a silver mine wasted.

MCLIV. David rex Scotiae apud Karlel pressus infirmitate, ix. kal. Junii obiit.*

Regi Scottorum, qui aquilonales Angliae regiones, scilicet Northumbriam, Cumbriam, Westmeriam, nomine Matildis dictae imperatrix et heredis, ejus olim à David Scottorum rege adquitis, tantum jus proprium possidebat, mandare curavit [rex Henricus]; Regem Angliæ tanta regni sui parte non debere fraudari, nec posse patienter mutilari, justum esse reddi quod suo fuisset nomine adquisitum. Ille vero prudenter considerans regem Anglianæ in hac parte cum potentia virium merito causæ praestare, quamvis posset ostendere juramentum quod avo suo David præstitisse dicebatur, cum ab eo cingulum acciperet militare, praenominatos fines repetenti cum integritate restituit,

et ab eo vicissim comitatun Huntedunensem prisc-
co jure sibi competentem recept.*

MCLIV. David, king of Scotland, oppressed
with infirmity, died at Carlisle, the 9th of the ca-
lends of June (24th of May.)

King Henry took care to send to the king of
Scots, who possessed the northern regions of Eng-
land, to wit, Northumberland, Cumberland, and
Westmoreland, formerly acquired by David king of
the Scots, in the name of Maud called the empress
and her heir, as his own right: That the king of
England ought not to be defrauded, nor could pa-
tiently be mutilated of such a part of his realm,
and that it was just that what had been acquired
in his name should be restored. Now he, prudently
considering the king of England, in this respect, to
supply the merit of his cause with the power of
his forces, although he could have shown the oath
which he was said to have taken to his grandfather
David, when he received from him the belt of
knighthood, restored the beforenamed boundaries
to him who demanded them, and from him, in re-

* W. Neubrigensis Historia, p. 115.
turn, received the county of Huntingdon, desirable to him of ancient right.

MCLVII. Henricus rex Anglorum transfretavit in Angliam, et Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei civitatem Carleol, castrum Baenburg, Novum castrum super Tinam, et comitatum Lodonensem.*

MCLVII. Henry, king of the English, passed over into England, and Malcolm king of the Scots delivered up to him the city of Carlisle, the castle of Bamburgh, New-castle upon Tyne, and the county of Lothian.

MCLVIII. Rex Anglie Henricus et Malcolmus rex Scotorum apud Carle convenerunt, sed non

bene pacificati ab invicem discesserunt, ideoque rex Scottorum non adhuc miles factus est.*

MCLVIII. Henry king of England and Malcolm king of Scots met at Carlisle, but they departed from each other not perfectly reconciled; and therefore the king of Scots was not yet made a knight.

MCLXXIII. Rex Scottorum [Willielmus] agnito, quantum rex Anglorum [Henricus] in Normannia laboraret, cum gentis barbarae et sitientis sanguinem immanissimum copiis Anglorum fines ingressus, civitatem Cardulicense obsidione circumdedit totamque adjacentem provinciam cædibus et rapinis foedavit.†

MCLXXIII. The king of Scots [William] being apprised how much the king of the English [Henry] was distressed in Normandy, with most incredible numbers of a barbarous and blood-thirsty people, having entered the borders of the English,

* Chro. de Mailros. He received this honour from the hand of Henry, at Tours, in the following year.
† W. Neubrigensis, p. 205, 707
laid siege to the city of Carlisle, and polluted all the adjacent province with slaughter and rapine.

MCLXXIV. Rex Scotiæ cum exercitu suo obsedit Carleolum, quod Rodbertus de Vallis in custodia habuit: et cum per paucos dies ibi moram fecisset, dimisit ibi partem exercitus sui circa castellum, et ipsa cum reliqua parte exercitus sui ivit per Northumbriam...Et postea reidiit ad exercitum suum quem dimisit circa Carleolum, et tamdiu ibi moram fecit, donec Rodbertus de Vallis, victu sibi et burgensibus, qui intus erant decisciente, cum eo pacem fecit in hunc modum, quod, ad festum sancti Michaelis sequens, redderet ei castellum et villam Carleoli, nisi interim haberet succursum à domino rege Angliæ: et super hoc fecit ipsa regem Scotiæ securum fide et sacramentis et obsidibus.*

MCLXXIV. The king of Scotland, with his army, besieged Carlisle, which Robert de Vallis had

* Benedictus abbas, p. 74. In the circuits for the judges of assise, 1176, Eboracessire, Richemundesire, Cowpelanda, Westmullanda, Northimberlanda, and Cumberlanda, are allot-
in custody. And when he had stayed there for a few days, he left part of his army there about the castle, and he himself, with the rest of his army, went through Northumberland...And afterward he returned to his army, which he had left about Carlisle, and stayed there so long, till Robert de Vallis, provisions for himself and the burgesses who were within failing, made peace with him after this manner, that, at the feast of St Michael following, he would render up to him the castle and town of Carlisle, unless, in the meantime, he should have succour from his lord the king of England: And hereupon he himself made the king of Scotland secure by faith, and oaths, and hostages.

MCXCIII. Quinta die mensis Aprilis rex Angliae et rex Scotiae venerunt ad Maltonam, ubi rex Scotiae petit à rege Angliae dignitates et honores quos praedecessores sui habuerunt in Anglia. Petiti etiam comitatum Northumbriæ et Cumberland
et Westmerland, et comitatum de Loncastre sibi reddi de jure prædecessorum suorum. Cui rex respondet, se satisfacturum ei per consilium comitum et baronum suorum.*

MCXCIII. On the fifth day of April, the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Malton, where the king of Scotland demanded from the king of England the dignities and honours which his predecessors had in England. He demanded also the county of Northumberland, and Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the county of Lancaster, to be restored to him of the right of his predecessors: To whom the king answered, that he would satisfy him by the counsel of his earls and barons.

MCCLXXV. Rex Willielmus cognomine bastardus, dux Normanniae, conqueror Angliæ, dedit totam terram de comitatu Cumbriae Ranulpho de Meschines, et Galfrido [rectius, Hugoni] fratri ejusdem Ranulphi totum comitatum Cestriæ, et

* R. de Hoveden, p. 736.
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* Fundator de Wederhall. King Henry the first gave him the castle of Egremond.
in capite. Prædictus Waldevus filius comitis Cos-
patricii feoffavit Odardum de Logis de baronia
de Wygton, Dondragt, Waverton, Blencogo, et
Kirkebrid, qui fundavit ecclesiam de Wigton, et
dedit Odardo filio Liolfe, Talentire, et Castlerige,
cum foresta inter Caltre, et Greca; et priori et
conventui de Gisburne, * Appleton, et Briorkirke,
cum advocatione ejusdem ecclesiæ: et dedit Adæ,
filio Liolfe, Uldell [et] Gilcruce: et dedit Gamello,
filio Brun, Bothill: et dedit Waldevo, filio Gilemi-
nii, cum Ethreda, suror sua, Broughton, Ribton,
et parvam Broughton, et Dunwaldode ac Bowaldode,
ad unam logeam: et dedit Ormo, filio Ketelli, Se-
ton, Camberton, Flemingbi, [et] Craiksothon, cum
Gurwelder, sorore sua; et Dolfino, filio Alwardi,
cum Matilda sorore sua, Appletheswaite, et parva
Crosby, Langrige, et Brigham, cum advocatione
ejusdem ecclesiæ: et dedit Melbeth, medico suo,
villam de Bromefield, salva sibi advocatione ejus-
dem ecclesiæ. Alanus, filius et hæres ejusdem
Waldevi, dedit Ranulpho Lyndesey, Blenerhasset,
et Uckmanby, cum Etheldreda sorore sua: et dedit
Ugthredo, † filio Fergus, domino Galwediale, cum
Guynolda sorore sua, Torpenhow, cum advocatione

* This priory was founded in 1129.
† Murdered 1174.
ecclesiae: et dedit Catello Despenser Threpland:
et dedit Hereberto villam de Thoresby, pro tertia
parte unius villae: et dedit Cospatricio, filio Ormi,
albam Ireby, pro tertia parte unius villae: et dedit
Gamello le Brun Rugthwaite: et dedit Radulpho
Engaine Issaell, cum pertinentiis, Blencrakern,
cum servitio de Newton: et idem Alanus habuit
unum fratrem bastardum, nomine Cospatricium,
cui dedit Bolton, Bastinthwaite, et Esterholme:
et dedit tribus venatoribus suis, scilicet, Sleth, et
sociis suis Hayton: et dedit Uctredo unam caru-
catam terrae in As patrike, ut esset summitor in
Allerdale: et dedit Dolhino sex bovatas terrae in alta
Crosby, ut esset serviens domini regis in Allerdale: et
dedit Simoni de Sheffelyngs medietatem de Derom,
et Dolhino, filio Cospatricii, aliam medietatem: et
dedit Waldevo, filio Dolhini, Brakanthwaite: et de-
dit prioratui S. Begæ* Stainburne: et dedit prior-
atui Karlioli,† cum corpore Waldevi, filii sui, cru-
cem sanctam quam adhuc possident, et Crosby, cum
advocacione ejusdem ecclesiae, et cum servicio Uctre-
di, et advocacione ecclesiae de As patrike, cum servicio
Alani de Brayton, cum advocacione ecclesiae de Ireby.

* Founded by Randal de Meschines, in the time of Henry
the first.
† Begun by Walter, a priest, finished and endowed by
Henry.
CUMBERLAND.

quia fuit desponsata Edmondo fratri domini regis E.
et obiit sine herede,&c.* Reginaldus de Lucy genuit,
ex Amabilla, Amabillam et Aliciam;† et successit
Amabillæ Lambertus de Multon;++ cui successit
Thomas de Multon de Egremond:|| et successit
Aliciae Thomas de Lucy; cui successit Thomas
filius ejus; cui successit Antonius filius ejus.§

* She died in 1269, being the year of her marriage. King
Edward succeeded his father in 1272.
† Amabil and Alice were the daughters of Richard (son
of Reginald) de Lucy, by Ada, daughter of Hugh de Mor-
vil.
‡ 1244.
|| Died 1271.
§ Cronicon Cumbria, ex registro de Wederhale, apud Monas-
ticon Anglicanum, I, 400. This account, which appears to have
been written soon after the accession of Edward the first, is
very inaccurate. In the first place, there never was an earl of
Chester named Geoffrey, much less Geoffrey de Meschines;
secondly, Hugh Lupus, to whom William the conqueror ac-
tually granted the earldom and county of Chester (who, by the
way, was only brother-in-law to Randal de Meschines), left a
son Richard, who was drowned at sea in 1119; and, upon his
death it was, that Randal de Meschines, alias de Bricasard,
succeeded to that earldom, by right of inheritance, being the
son of Randal de Meschines, by Maud, the sister of Hugh Lu-
pus. (See Lefceters Historical Antiquities, p. 118.) It can-
not, therefore, be relied on, and was by no means a sufficient
authority for Camden, who makes use of it in the edition of
1695, p. 845.
MCCLXXV. King William, surnamed the bastard, duke of Normandy, conqueror of England, gave the whole land of the county of Cumberland to Randal de Meschines, and to 'Hugh,' the brother of the same Randal, the whole county of Chester, and to William their brother the land of Coupeland, between Duden and Derwent. Randal de Meschines enfeoffed Hubert de Vaux of the barony of Gilliesland, and Randal his brother of Sowerby, Carlaton, and Habbrughtly, and Robert their brother of the barony of Dalston, and enfeoffed Robert de Stivers of the barony of Burgh, and Richard de Boyville of the barony of Lemyntton, and Odard of Logis of the barony of Staynton, and enfeoffed Waldeve, the son of Cospatric, of Dunbar, earl in Scotland, of the whole barony of Allerdale, between Wathenpole and Derwent. The aforesaid William de Meschines, lord of Coupeland, enfeoffed Waldeve, son of Cospatric, of the whole land between Coker and Derwent, together with five vills, namely, Brigham, Eglysfeld, Dene, Bramthwaite, Gisothen, and two Cliftons, and Stainburne, and enfeoffed Odard le Clerk of the fourth part of Crostwhait, for the custody of his hawks. Hugh de Meschines, earl of Cheshire, died without heir of his body, and Randal de Meschines was earl of Chester, and rendered to the lord the king the whole county of Cumberland, by
this condition that all his feoffees should hold their
lands of the lord the king in fee. The aforesaid
Waldeve, the son of earl Cospatic, enfeoffed Odard
de Logis of the barony of Wigton, Dondragt, Waverton, Blencogo, and Kirkebri, who founded the
church of Wigton, and gave to Odard, son of Lio-
olfe, Talentine, and Castle-ridge; and to the prior
and convent of Gisburne, Appleton, and Briorkirke,
with the advowson of the same church: and gave
to Ada, son of Liole, Uldell, and Gilcruce: and
gave to Gamel, son of Brun, Bothill: and gave to
Waldeve, son of Gilemini, with Ethelreda, his sis-
ter, Broughton, Ribton, and Little Broughton, and
Dunwaldofe and Bowalofe, to a lodge: and gave
to Orm, son of Ketel, Seton, Camberton, Flemib-
bi, and Craiksothan, with Gurweld, his sister; and
to Dolfin, son of Alward, with Maud, his sister,
Applethaite, and Little Crosby, Lang-ridge, and
Brigham, with the advowson of the same church:
and gave to Melbeth his physician, the vill of Brom-
field, saving to him the advowson of the same
church. Alan, son and heir of the same Waldeve,
gave to Randal Lyndesey, Blenerhasset, and Uck-
manby, with Ethelreda, his sister; and gave to
Ugthred, son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, with
Guynolda, his sister, Torpenhow, with the advow-
son of the church: and gave to Catel Despenser
Threpland: and gave to Herbert the vill of Thoresby, for the third part of a vill: and gave to Cospatrick, son of Orm, High-Ireby, for the third part of a vill: and gave to Gamel le Brun Rugthwaite: and gave to Ralph Engaine Issaell, with the appurtenances, Blencrakern, with the service of Newton: and the same Alan had a bastard brother, by name Cospatrick, to whom he gave Bolton, Bastinthwaite, and Esterholme: and gave to his three huntsmen, namely, Sleth, and to his fellows Hayton: and gave to Uctred a carucate of land in Aspatrike, that he [might be] summoner in Allerdale: and gave to Dolfin six okgangs of land in High Crosby, that he might be sergeant of the lord the king in Allerdale: and gave to Simon de Sheffelyngs a moiety of Derom, and to Dolfin, son of Cospatrick, the other moiety: and gave to Waldeve, son of Dolfin, Brakanthwaite: and gave to the priory of saint Bees, Stainburne: and gave to the priory of Carlisle, with the body of Waldeve, his son, the holy cross, which they yet possess, and Crosby, with the advowson of the same church, and with the service of Uctred, and the advowson of the church of Aspatrike, with the service of Allan of Brayton, with the advowson of the church of Ireby, with the service of Waldeve of Longthwaite. The same Alan, son of Waldeve, gave to the lord Henry the king the lands of the
forest of Allerdale, together with right of hunting when he lodged at Holmcultram: to which Allan succeeded William, son of Duncan, earl of Murray, nephew and heir of that Allan, begotten of Ethreda, sister of Waldeve his father. The same William, son of Duncan, espoused Alice, daughter of Robert de Romeli, lord of Skipton in Craven: which Robert had formerly espoused, the daughter of William de Meschines, lord of Coupland. The same William begot of the same Alice, his wife, a boy, William of Egremont, who died under age, and three daughters: of whom the first, by name Cecilia, was married, with the honor of Skipton, to William le Gross, earl of Albemarle, by the lord Henry king of England. Also, the second, by name Amabel, was married to Reginald de Lucy with the honor of Egremont, by the same king: and the third, by name Alice, was married to Gilbert Pipard with Aspatrike; and the barony of Allerdale, and the liberty of Cockermouth, by the same king; and again, by the queen to Robert de Courteney, and died without an heir. William the gross, earl of Albemarle, begot of her Cicily, and Hawys: to whom succeeded William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle: to whom succeeded another William de Fortibus: to whom succeeded Aveline, who was espoused to Edmund, brother of the lord
king Edward, and died without an heir, &c. Reginald de Lucy begot of Amabel, Amabel and Alice; and succeeded to Amabel Lambert de Multron: to whom succeeded Thomas de Multron de Egremont: and succeeded to Alice Thomas de Lucy; to whom succeeded Thomas his son; to whom succeeded Anthony his son.
APPENDIX.

KINGS OF CUMBERLAND.

919.  
934. \{ Ewen, or Owen, son of Donald.  
938. \}  
945. Malcolm, king of Scotland.  
947. Donald.  
970. Malcolm, son of Donald, died in 997.†

* This Ewen may, possibly, have been the son of Donald III, king of Scotland, who succeeded in 894, and died in 944; and there were two Ewens in 719 and 736. Owen, however, seems rather a Welsh name, though Donald is Scottish. Donald MacAlpin, or the 2d, king of Scotland, reigned in 858. Fulman, who published "Rerum Anglicarum scriptores veteres," Ox. 1684, fo. dates the battle of Brunanburgh in 948 (p. 37).

† Malcolm I, king of Scotland, slain in 955, was the son of Donald III, already named; so that, though not the same sovereigns, Donald and Malcolm, kings of Cumberland, might be descended from the Scottish race.
1031. Duncan, father of Malcolm Canmore?*

* Duncan, slain by Macbeth, son of Crinan, by Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm I. It is impossible to ascertain how or when he became king of Cumbria; neither does William of Malmesbury, nor any other ancient English historian mention the name of Duncan. Mr. Pinkerton, who says that "Duncan, grandson of Malcolm II, was put in possession of Cumberland by him, before his death," quotes "Wil. Malm." but, in fact, Fordun is the only historian who mentions that circumstance. (See Enquiry into the History of Scotland, II, 203.) In a subsequent page (220) he again cites this respectable monk, as asserting, "that Malcolm only permitted Duncan, his grandson and heir, who was possessed of Cumberland, to pay homage for that province;" adding, that "this plain account sufficiently refutes the usurpatory style of the Saxon chronicle." This, however, is a misrepresentation; in point of fact, William of Malmesbury never once names either Malcolm or Duncan. The enquirer also asserts that "Duncan, father of Malcolm, was married to a daughter (more likely to a sister) of Siward, as all agree," (II, 204). In fact, however, no one writer mentions such a marriage, except Fordun, who neither mentions daughter, or sister, but expressly calls this pretended wife "Consanguinea Sywardi comitis," (L. 4, c. 44, editione Hearnii).

To complete his absurdity, he pretends that Malcolm III, king of Scotland, son of Duncan, was his grandson, by another Duncan, also king of Cumberland, a nonentity of his own imagination.
Annals of Galloway.
INTRODUCTION.

The province of Galloway,* in ancient times, that is, in, and before the twelfth or eleventh century, comprehended, not only the modern shire of that name (now the stewartry of Kirkcudbright), but several others, in its neighbourhood; those, for instance, of Wigton, Annandirdale, Kyle, and Cunningham, if not also Renfrew, Clydesdale, Teviot-

* This name is generally thought to have been attributed by the Irish; in whose language, according to Mr. Pinkerton, "Gall implies an alien; as the Galwegians," he says, "long an independent people, were to the present Scots. It is observable," he adds, "that, in Galway of Ireland, there were also Cruthens or Piks." (Enquiry, I, 337.) It would, therefore, seem to require a different etymology. Gall, with the ancient Irish, certainly implied foreigners, as, in the Ulster Annals, the Danes are called, the black galls (Dubh-gall), and the English, the white galls (Fin-gall). The Picts, however, were no foreigners, at the time this name is supposed to have been given, in the eye of the Scots; the two nations having been familiarly connected for many centuries preceding.
dale, Nithisdale, and others; all which appear to have been occasionally taken out of it.* Galloway, and Lothian, seem, at that period, to have included the whole of that part of Scotland which lies to the south of the two firths, of Clyde and Forth.† It appears, likewise, to have been then looked upon as distinct from Scotland, and to have had a government, laws, and customs, peculiar to itself.‡ That this province was, at least, part of the seat of the southern Picts is an incontrovertible fact, for which we have, amongst others, the express testimony of venerable Bede.§ Even so late as the twelfth cen-


‡ *Ibid.*. The kings of Scotland, in the twelfth century, usually addressed their charters, "Francis et Anglica, Scotis et Galwensibus, et Walensibus;" having, actually, so many nations or people among their subjects. (*Ibid.* p. 38.)

§ B. 4, c. 26. See, also, *The Annals of the Picts*. Saint Constantine, king of Cornwall, went into Galloway to preach the gospel to the Picts and Scots, and was martyred in Kentyre about 570. See his life in the *Acta SS. 11 Martii*. This anecdote, however, is liable to suspicion: the Picts and Scots, in the sixth century, were as good christians as the Britons,
tury, its inhabitants, though mixed, at that time, it is probable, with invaders, were still distinguished by this appellation; and Joceline, a monk of Furness, about the year 1118, expressly calls Galloway the country of the Picts: "Pictorum patria, quæ modo Galwethia dicitur:"* as Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to pope Calixtus, about the year 1122, calls the bishop of Glasgow, "Pictorum episcopus."

To the early history of this province, anterior to the year 1100, we are almost total strangers. The government, at that period, was in the hands of a powerful Irish family, surnamed Macdonall (subject, it is presumed, to the feudal superiority of the Scotch, or English, crown), which continued to rule, with incessant disturbance, barbarity, and bloodshed, for near a century and a half: but the origin and descent of Fergus, the first prince or lord and would hardly, therefore, have put to death a missionary who came to preach their own dogmas.

* Vita S. Kentegerni, c. 34. Girald Barry asserts that the Picts, having taken their wives from Ireland, which they could not have from the Britons, enticed the Irish nation into alliance with them, and granted them the maritime part of the land they had seized, near to their own country, where the sea is narrow, and it is called Galloway (Galweidia), to inhabit. (Liber distinct. Julius, B. xiii.) This writer, by the way, is no more to be credited than Geoffrey of Monmouth.
INTRODUCTION.

of this family upon record, are, at present, beyond the reach of enquiry.

The most ancient inhabitants of these parts, during the predominance of the Roman arms, were the Novantæ, or Novantes, whose principal city was Leucopibia, afterward Candida casa, and, in Saxon, as in old English, Whithern (a name the site still preserves); all three signifying The white house. The mull of Galloway, now in the shire of Wigton, was then termed the Novantum chersonesus. The æra of the original settlement of the Picts, effected, no doubt, by conquering, and driving out, the old British inhabitants, as had been already the case in the north, is altogether uncertain; but had probably taken place long before the year 400. Their more early history, however, is confusedly blended with that of the other Picts; no distinct series of the Pictish monarchs having been preserved, or being now possible to frame.

The primitive language of the southern, or Galloway, Picts seems to have yielded, at an early period, to that of their Irish invaders; no ancient author, however minute in his description of their barbarous manners, ever noticing any peculiarity in this respect. The patrio sermone of Buchanan was, unquestionably, Irish, there being no other language than that, and the English, spoken in
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Scotland even in the time of Fordun, to his knowledge. So well warranted was Henry of Huntingdon, about the year 1138 in his assertion, that the language of the Picts was then totally destroyed.*

It has, indeed, been pretended, that "The wild Scots of Galloway [a proverbial expression], who spoke Irish, were a colony permitted to settle there in the fifteenth century, while a constant intercourse, and mutual aid, prevailed between Scotland and the north of Ireland. They are unmentioned before that time; and have nothing to do with the old Galwegians:"

* "The speech of Galloway," according to Mr. Pinkerton, "has in general a good deal of the Welch accent, which is vulgarly thought the Irish; for the Celtic dialects," he adds, "are much the same" (Enquiry, I, 81): so that it may be Irish after all. He elsewhere says that "The rest of that vast tract, anciently called Galloway, speak the broad Scotish, or Piko-Gallic" (Ibi. 337)!

† Critical review, for January, 1795, p. 51.
ANNALS OF GALLOWAY.
ANNALES GALLOVIDIENSES.

DCCCCXXI. Rex Scotorum, Reginaldus rex Northanhumbrorum ex natione Danorum, [et] dux Galvalensium, ad regem Eadwardum venientes, subjectionem fecerunt, et cum eo foedus firmissimum pepigerunt.*

ANNALS OF GALLOWAY.

DCCCCXXI. The king of Scots, Reginald, king of the Northumbrians, of the nation of the Danes, and the earl of the Galwegians, coming to king Edward, made subjection, and entered into the most firm league with him.

DCCCCXXIV. Rex Anglorum Eadwardus, cognomento senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incolenti-

* Mat. West., Flo. Wigor., and S. Dunel. more ancient writers, have "Rex etiam Strengledwalorum and Streddedunalorum" [l. Streccledunalorum].
bus Anglorum, Walanorum, Scotorum, Cumborum, Galwalensium, Danorum, populis potenter præfuit . . . . diem clausit extremum.*

DCCCXXIV. Edward, king of the English, surnamed the elder, who powerfully presided over all the people inhabiting Britain, of the Welsh, Scots, Cumbrians, Galwegians, and Danes, closed his last day.

MXCVIII. Magnus rex Norwegiae . . . Galwedienses ita constrixit, ut cogeret eos materias lignorum cedere, et ad littus portare, ad munitiones construendas.

MXCVIII. Magnus, king of Norway, so bridled the Galwegians, that he compelled them to cut

*Idem. Perhaps, in both instances, it should have been Stretogladwalensium, or the like: no other ancient English author ever mentioning the Galwegians, at so early a period. The same writer, among the eight petty sovereigns, who rowed king Edgars barge up and down the river Dee, in 974, names "Jacobo rege Galwalliae," by whom, also, he, probably, intended, Strath-Clyde, if, in fact, that kingdom had then existence.
down timber, and carry it to the shore, for the construction of fortresses.

MCII. Olavus, filius Godredi Crouan [rex Manniae] accepit in uxorem Africam filiam Fergusii de Galewedia, de qua genuit Godredum. *

MCII. Olave, son of Godred Crouan, king of Man, took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergus of Galloway, on whom he begat Godred.

MCXXXVIII. Willielmus filius Dunecan nepos David regis [Scotiae] cum parte exercitus ipsius David castellum quod Carrum† dicitur in terra regis Anglie antelucanis insidiis invasit, depredataque circumquaque regione, illud expugnare cepit. Deinde ipse rex cum Henrico filio suo et cum majore exercitu illuc adveniens, et omnium virium suarum conatus explorans, balistis et aliis machinis et variis assultibus oppidum expugnare

* Chro. regum Manniae.
† Near Wark, in Northumberland.
aggressus est, ac deinde illud iii. ebdomadis obsedit. Sed nihil prosectit, immo deo auxiliante omnis ejus conatus in contrarium illi conversus est.... Cernens autem rex laborem suum illic cassari, et sibi suisque grave dampnum de die in diem crescere, indignatione et ira inflammatum, tandem oppido relictio ad Northymbriam devastandum cum omni multitudine sua properavit. Igitur ille detestandum exercitus, omni paganorum genere atrocior, nec deo nec hominibus reverentiam deferen, tota provincia devastata, utriusque sexus cujusque ætatis et conditionis homines passim trucidavit, villas, ecclesias, domos destruxit, spoliavit, accendit. Namque languentes in grabatis, ac mulieres praebantakes et parturientes, et in cunis infantes, et alios innocentes inter ubera et in sinibus matrum suarum cum ipsis matribus, et decrepitos senes et defectas anus et caeteros qualibet occasione debiles, ubicunque inveniebant, in ore gladii trucidaverunt, vel lanceis suis conixerunt. Et quanto miserabiliore mortis genere illos disperdere poterant, tanto plus gratulabantur...Coadunatus autem erat iste nefandus exercitus de Normannis, Germanis, Anglis, de Northymbrianis et Cumbris, de Teswetadala, et Lodonea, de Pictis, qui vulgo Galleweienses dicuntur, et Scottis; nec erat qui eorum numerum sciret....Igitur per provinciam discurrentes et nemini parcentes....
fere totam Northymbriam usque ad Tinam fluvium ... ferro et flamma vastaverunt ... In hac autem pro-
cellosæ tempestatis rabie illud nobile monasterium 
Haugustaldense, quamvis in medio concursu et 
 quasi in via illius nefandi exercitus et supradictorurn 
 malorum situm undique ab eis coangustaretur, 
tamen ... deo auxiliante, suis et omnibus ad illud re-
fugientibus pacem firmissimam exhibuit, et omnibus 
illis contra omnes hostiles impetus tutissimum asi-
 lum extitit. Verumptamen primo Picti ad Tinam 
 fluvium juxta eandem villam fluentem cum maximo 
 impetu irruptentes, ipsam sicut et alia destruere pro-
 posuerant. Sed mox antequam prædictum annem 
 transirent, à compatriotis duo de numero illorum 
 sunt interfici. Quod cæteri cernentes, exterriti 
 retrorsum abierunt. Præterea duo de eadem gente 
 Pictorum devenerunt ad quoddam oratorium sancti 
 Michaelis archangeli ex eadem boreali parte Tinæ 
 fluminis situm, quod ad prædictam Haugustalden-
 sem ecclesiam pertinebat. Frangentes igitur ejus 
 hostium, quod ibi repererunt secum abstulerunt. 
 Sed vindicta dei non defuit. Nam mox daemoni tra-
diti, sensu privantur, et prout furor illos exagitabat, 
in conspectu omnium per nemora et rura nocte et 
die passim discurrentes, alter ipse sibi os primo 
lapidibus conterens, deinde à quodam abscisys fe-
 moribus, alter seipsum in Tina submergens, uterque
miserabiliter utraque morte damnnati perierunt...
Interea circa purificationem S. Mariae Stephanus rex
Angliæ .... cum maximo exercitu equitum et pe-
ditum venit. Quod ubi rex Scotiae cognovit, relic-
ta Northymbria, cum exercitu suo ad terram suam
properavit...Verum peracta paschali sollemnitate,
mox in proxima ebdomada feria vj. Sæpe dictus
rex Scotiae cum nefando exercitu suo iterum in
Northumbriam rediit,...ac deinde maximam par-
tem terræ S. Cuthberti in orientali plaga inter Dun-
elmum et mare, non minore furore et crudelitate
quam supradictum est destruxit .... Sed sanctus
Cuthbertus tandem suorum misértus est. Nam
dum sui haec agerent, rex cum suis militibus haud
procul à Dunelmo perhendinabat. Ubi gravi sedi-
tione propter quandam feminam orta, Picti ipsum
regem cum suis extinguere minabantur. Quo pa-
vore dum valde anxiaretur, ecce falso rumore divul-
gatur magnum exercitum de Suthanglia adventare.
Igitur cibis suis relictis qui tunc parati erant, ne-
mine persequeunte versus terram suam cum omnibus
suis fugit, et ad oppidum de Northam .... divertit,
illudque obsidens, variis modis et machinis expug-
nare et capere temptavit. Dumque ibi in obsidione
moraretur, Willielmum filium Dunecan nepotem
suum cum Pictis et parte exercitus sui in expedi-
tionem ad Eboracensem scyram transmisit. Quo
pervenientes et propter peccata populi victoriam optinentes, possessiones cujusdam nobilis cenobii quod in Suthernessa situm est, et provinciam quae Crafnia dicitur, ex magna parte ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Igitur nulli gradui, nulli tæati, nulli sexui, nulli conditioni parcentes, liberos et cognatos in conspectu parentum suorum, et dominos in conspectu servorum suorum et e converso, et maritos ante oculos uxorum suarum quanto miserabilius poterant prius trucidaverunt; deinde, proh dolor! solas nobiles matronas et castas virgines mixtis cum aliis feminis et cum præda pariter abduxerunt. Nudatas quoque et turmatim reticulis


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et corrigiis colligatas et copulatas lanceis et telis
suis compungentes, ante se illas abegerunt ....
Deinde illis cum præda disparitis, quidam eorum
misericordia commoti aliquas ex eis ecclesiae sanctae
Marie in Carle liberas tradiderunt. Verum Picti,
et multi alii, illasque eis obvenerunt secum ad pa-
triam suam duxerunt. Denique illi bestiales homi-
nes adulterium et incestum ac cetera scelera pro
nichilo ducentes, postquam more brutorum anima-
lium illis miserrimis abuti pertæsi sunt, eas vel sibi
ancillas fecerunt, vel pro vaccis aliis barbaris vendi-
derunt .... Rex igitur David, duobus tegnationibus,
id est baronibus suis, cum gente eorum obsidione
Carrum commendata, cum maxima parte sui ex-
ercitus ad oppidum quod Bahanburg dicitur pro-
fectus est .... Intransque in terram S. Cuthberti,
que nondum ad eum venerat sui exercitus partem
expectavit. Nec mora, ex ejus edicto Picti, et
Cumbri, et homines de Carlel, et de circumjacente
regione ad illum convenerunt. Congregato igitur
toto exercitu suo, quia nimius et insuperabilis ei
videbatur, revera enim grandi erat, plus quam
xxvj. milia hominum habens, nimio exultavit

* Hoc bellum factum est inter Anglos, Pictos et Scottos
apud Clitherhou feria vj. die XV. ante nativitatem sancti Jo-
hannis baptistæ, anno .... M. C. xxxviiij. (J. prior Hagustal-
densis, co. 261.)
gaudio . . . . His autem infra octabas nativitatis sanctae Mariae ita gestis, rex cum suo exercitu Dunelmum praeteriens usque ad Tesam fluvium segetes depopulari, villas et ecclesias quas alia vice intactas reliquit, more suo frangi, depredari, succendi fecit. Pertransiens quoque Tesam idem facitare cepit. Verum divina pietas lacrimis innumerabilium viduarum orphanorum et miserorum pulsata, illum tantam impietatem diutius impune exercere non est passa. Quippe dumque se suosque ad hujusmodi nequitiam praepararet, omnis ejus apparatus et quid agere et quo tendere posuerat, et fama praecipitante et certis nuntiis intercurrentibus, homines Eboracensis scyræ non latuit. Igitur barones illius provinciæ . . . Eboracum convenerunt, et quid consilii in hac tempestate habere deberent, inter se diligenter tractaverunt . . . . At illi ad opidum quod Tresc vocatur iverunt.* . . .

* Rodbertus de Brus et Bernardus de Bailliolio ad regem Scottæ super Teisam profecti sunt, Henrico filio ejus comitatem Northymbrie pollicentes, et eum ab hac impugnatione cessare commenantes. Noluit acquiescere rex. Iccirco Rodbertus absolvit se ab homaggio quod ei fecerat pro baronia quam tenuit de eo in Galewégia. (J. prior Hagustaldensis, co. 261.) In the harangue made by this baron to king David, he tells him, "Nova tibi est in Walensis ista securitas, qui eos hodie armis pétis per quos hastenus amabilis Scottis, terribilis Galwensis imperasti." (Ethelredus, co. 343.)
Dum itaque adventum Scottorum expectarent, ecce ... regem cum exercitu suo jam TESam fluviwm pertransisse, et more suo jam suam provinciam destruendum cognoscent. Ergo cum summa festinatione eis occurrunt. Pertranseuntisque villam quae Alvertun dicitur, ad campum* qui duobus miliariis ab ea distabat summo mane pervenerunt. Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod Standard appellaverunt. ... Deinde vix se bellicos armis instruxerant, cum ecce rex Scotiae cum toto exercitu suo ad præliandum paratissimo ac promptissimo cominus adesse nunciatur. Itaque maxima pars equitum, equis relictis, iunct pedites. ... Similiter vero ex parte adversariorum ipse rex, et pene omnes sui sunt effecti pedites. ... In fronte belli erant Picti, in medio rex, cum militibus et Anglis suis; cætera barbaries undique circumfusa fremebat.† ... Rex, interim, coactis in unum comitibus, optimisque regni sui proceribus, ceptit cum eis de belli ratione tractare; placuitque plurisim, ut quotquot aderant armati milites et sagittarii cunctum præirent exercitum quatenuus armatos impete-

* Cowton-moor, where, though it has been long inclosed, the Scot-pit-fields are well known at this day.
† Ricardus, prior Hagustal. co. 315, &c.
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* William MacDuncan had, a short time before, with a body of Picts and Scots, defeated the English, or Normans, who are here called Galli or French, with great slaughter; obtaining much plunder, and many prisoners. Many English or Normans were also in the Scotish army.
scuto utentes lanceis prostrernemus." His dictis, cum rex militum magis consiliis adquiescere vide-retur, Malisse comes Stradarniae plurimum indignatus, "Quid est," inquit, "o rex, quod Gallorum te magis committis voluntati, cum nullus eorum cum armis suis me inermem sit hodie præcessurus in bello?" Quæ verba Alanus de Perci, magni Alani filius nothus, * miles strenuissimus et in mili-taribus negotiis probatissimus, ægre ferens, con-versus ad comitem, "Grande," inquit, "verbum locutus es, et quod hodie pro vita tua efficere non valebis." Tunc rex utrosque compescens, ne tumul-tus hac altercatione subito nascetur, Galwensium cessit voluntati.†

Igitur, in octabis assumptionis sanctæ Mariæ, undecimo kalendas Septembris, feria secunda, inter primam et tertiam, hujus praelii conflictus initus et finitus est. Nam statim in primo congressu,‡

* William de Percy, the elder, or legitimate brother of this Allan, a powerful baron of Yorkshire, was on the other side.
† Ethelredus abbas, De bello standardi, co. 342.
‡ At Galwensium canesus more suo ter ululatum diræ vocis emittens tanto impetu irruant in australes, ut primos lancearios stationem deserere compellerent, sed vi militum iterum repulsi, in hostes animum viresque recipiunt. ... Videres ut hericium spinis, ita Galwensem sagittis undique circumseptum, nichilominus vibrare gladium, et cæca quadam amentia pro-ruentem nunc hostem cedere, nunc inanem aerem cassis ictis verberare. (Ethelredus abbas, co. 345.)
innumeris Pictis interfectis, cæteri, projectis armis, turpem fugam inierunt.* Campus cadaveribus repletur, quamplurimi capiuntur, rex, et alii omnes, terga dederunt. Denique de tanto exercitu, omnes aut caesi sunt, aut capti, aut sicut oves, percusso pastore, dispersi. . . . Namque Angli, et Scotti, et Picti, et cæteri barbari ubicumque casu se inveniebant, quicumque prævalebant alios mutuo vel trucidabant, vel vulnerabant, vel saltem spolia-bant, et ita, justo dei judicio, æque à suis sicut ab alienis opprimebantur.†
MCXXXVIII. William, the son of Duncan, nephew of David king of Scotland, with part of the army of the same David, assailed, with nocturnal

mentis ab eis, quod in omni conflictu et periculo fideliter cum eo et pro eo persistenter. (J. Hagustal. co. 262.) Scottos quoque et Pictos in hoc sibi acquiescentes habuit, ut infra festum sancti Martini omnem captivitatem ad Karlci reducerent et libertate donarent, nullusque eorum ecclesias violare, femin Neo sexui, vel pueris, vel senibus, cædem inferre ulterius praesumeret. (Idem, co. 264.)

An ancient poet, Serlo, a monk, brother of Radulfus abbas de Parcho, says, of the Scots who returned home alive, from the battle of Cowton-moor:

"Quidam tamen lento pede venerunt ad propria,  
Sed nil secum attulere nisi fata tristia.  
Quam ob causam singulorum uxor cum familia,  
Luxit virum cladem passum, nec adeptum spolia.  
Prohibentque viros suos praebiari denuo,  
Maloht Patric imprecantes Anglis et Standardio."

Decem Scrip. co. 331.

This abbey is unnoticed in Tanners Notitia.

In this battle, says Lambarde, "After that the bishop of Durham [r. Orkney] had exhorted the soldiers to fighte, the Scottes cryed out Albany! Albany! after their own maner, as thoughe al had bene theires. But the Englishe souldyours sent amongst them suche bayle of shott, that after a while they turned their backes, and, in fine, theare was slayne of them to the numer of 11,000, and they weare, for their brag of Albany, mocked with Yry, Yry, Standard! a terme of great reproach at that time, as Matthew Paris witnesseth;" in whose work, however, no such thing is to be found."
treachery, the castle which is called Carrum, in the
land of the king of England, and, destroying the
country all round, began to attack it by storm.
Afterward, the king himself, with Henry his son
and a greater army, coming thither, and trying the
endeavours of all their force, attempted to carry the
town by engines which throw stones, and other
machines, and, by various attacks, and thereafter
besieged it three weeks. But he profited nothing,
nay rather, god assisting, each of his attempts was
turned against himself. Now the king, perceiving
his labour there to be fruitless, and a grievous loss
to him and his from day to day to grow, inflamed
with indignation and anger; at length, leaving the
town, hastened, with all his multitude, to destroy
Northumberland. Therefore that detestable army,
more atrocious than every kind of pagans, carrying
reverence neither to god nor to men, having plun-
dered the whole province, everywhere killed per-
sons of each sex, of every age and condition, de-
stroyed, pillaged, burned towns, churches, houses.
For men sick in bed, and women pregnant, and in
the act of delivery, and infants in cradles, and other
innocents, between the breasts and in the bosoms of
their mothers, with the mothers themselves, and
decrepit old men, and worn-out old women, and
all other feeble persons from whatever cause where-
ever they were found, they killed with the point of the sword, or thrust through with their lances: And by how much the more miserable kind of death they could destroy them, by so much the more they rejoiced.... Now this abominable army was composed of Normans, Germans, English, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, from Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts, who are vulgarly called Galwegians, and Scots; nor was there any one who knew their number.

Therefore, running up and down through the province, and sparing no one, they wasted almost all Northumberland, as far as the river Tyne, with sword and fire. Now, in this madness of stormy time, that noble monastery of Hexham, although being placed in the middle concourse, and as it were in the way of that abominable army, and of the abovementioned evils, it were straightened by them on every side, yet, god assisting, it offered to its own people and all flying to it, the most firm peace, and remained to all those a most safe asylum against all hostile attacks. Nevertheless, at first the Picts making an irruption, with very great violence, to the river Tyne flowing hard by the same town, had proposed to destroy the same like other places. But by and by before they could pass the aforesaid river, two of their number were killed by
the country people: which the rest perceiving, they departed back terrified. Moreover two of the same nation of Picts came to a certain oratory of st. Michael situate on the same north part of the river Tyne, which belonged to the aforesaid church of Hexham. Breaking therefore the door thereof, what they there found they took away with them. But the vengeance of god was not wanting. For presently, being delivered to the devil, they are deprived of sense, and as madness agitated them, running up and down in the sight of all through the woods and country by night and day, one of them at first bruising his mouth with stones, afterward his thighs being cut off by some one, the other drowning himself in the Tyne, each damned by either death miserably perished. In the mean time, about the purification of st. Mary, Stephen king of England, with a very great army of horse and foot, came [down into the north]: which when the king of Scotland knew, leaving Northumberland, he hastened with his army to his own land... But, the paschal solemnity being accomplished, presently in the next week on saturday, the often-mentioned king of Scotland with his abominable army returned again into Northumberland, and, afterward, destroyed the greatest part of the land of st. Cuthbert in the eastern part between Dur-
ham and the sea, with no less fury and cruelty than is above said. But the holy Cuthbert, at length, had compassion on his people. For, while his soldiers did these things, the king, with his knights, remained not far from Durham: where, a serious sedition having arisen, on account of a certain woman, the Picts threatened to destroy the king with his attendants: with which fear while he was greatly troubled, behold by a false rumour it is published that a great army is approaching from South-England. Therefore, leaving his victuals, which were then ready, no one pursuing, he fled with all his people to his own country, and turned aside to the town of Norham, and laying siege thereto, tried, by various means and machines, to conquer and take it: And while he there stayed in the siege, he sent William MacDuncan his nephew, with the Picts, and part of his army, on an expedition into Yorkshire: whither arriving, and by reason of the sins of the people, obtaining a victory, the possessions of a certain noble monastery, which is situated in Furness, and the province which is called Craven, for a great part, they with sword and fire destroyed. Therefore, sparing no rank, no age, no sex, no condition, children and relations in the sight of their parents, and lords in the sight of their servants, and *vice versa*, and husbands before
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the eyes of their wives by how much the more miserably they were able, they at first slew, then, alas! noble matrons alone and chaste virgins mixed with other women and at the same time with the plunder they carried off. Naked also and in troops, tied and coupled together with ropes and thongs, and pricking them with their lances and darts, they drove them before them. Afterward, these being divided with the booty, some of them moved by compassion delivered certain of them free to the church of St. Mary in Carlisle. But the Picts and many others led those which came to them along with them to their own country. Finally, those bestial men, esteeming adultery, and incest, and all other crimes, for nothing, after, in the manner of brute animals, they were weary of abusing those most wretched creatures, either made them hand-maids for themselves, or sold them to other barbarians for cows. Now king David, having committed the siege of Carrum to two of his thanes, that is, barons, with their followers, with the greatest part of his army marched to the town which is called Bamburgh; And, entering into the land of St. Cuthbert, waited for that part of his army which had not yet come to him: And presently, at his proclamation, the Picts and Cumbrians, and the men of Carlisle, of the circumjacent
region, came together to him. Therefore his whole army being assembled, because it appeared to him exceeding great, and unconquerable, for, in truth, it was considerable, having more than 26,000 men, he rejoiced with exceeding great joy. Now these things being done before the octave of the nativity of st. Mary, the king, with his army, passing by Durham to the river Tees, caused the corn-fields to be destroyed, the towns and churches, which on another occasion he left untouched, after his manner, to be broken, plundered, and burned. Passing also over the Tees, he began to do the same thing. But divine piety, affected by the tears of numberless widows, orphans, and wretched persons, did not suffer him longer to exercise such impiety. For, whilst he was preparing himself and his followers to this sort of wickedness, all his preparation, and what he proposed to do, and whither to go, both by proclaiming fame, and by certain messengers running between, was not concealed from the men of Yorkshire. Therefore the barons of that province assembled at York, and diligently considered amongst themselves what council they ought to take in this crisis... But they went to the town which is called Thirsk. While, therefore, they waited for the approach of the Scots, behold they learn that the king, with his army, has already
passed the river Tees, and is now, in his manner, destroying their province. Therefore with the utmost haste, they go to meet them: and passing through the town which is called North-Allerton, they came early in the morning to a field which was distant therefrom two miles. Presently some of them erected in the midst of a certain machine which they had brought thither the mast of a ship, which they called Standard. Afterward they had scarcely instructed themselves in warlike arms, when behold the king of Scotland, with his whole army well prepared and most ready to fight, is announced to be near. Therefore the greatest part of the horsemen, leaving their horses, became footmen. In like manner, on the part of the adversaries, the king himself, and all his people, became footmen. In the front of the battle were the Picts, in the midst the king with his knights and English, the rest of the barbarians, dispersed round about on every side, roared like beasts.

The king, in the meantime, the earls and best men of his realm being assembled together, began to treat with them concerning the order of the battle, and it pleased a great many, that, as many as had come up, the armed men, knights, and bowmen, should precede the whole army, inasmuch as armed men would attack armed men, knights encounter
with knights, and arrows with arrows. The Galwegians resisted, saying, that it was their right to construct the first battalion, and give the first assault unto the enemy, to animate by their bravery the rest of the army. Others said, it would be dangerous, if, in the first attack, the unarmed should meet with the armed, forasmuch as, if the first battalion, not sustaining the shock of war, should fall into flight, even the hearts of the brave would be easily dissolved. The Galwegians, nevertheless, insisted, requiring their right to be granted to them: "For why," they said, "o king, dost thou fear, and art too much frightened, at those iron coats which thou perceivest at a distance? Tous, certainly, are iron sides, a breast of brass, a mind void of fear, whose feet have neither felt flight, nor, ever, their backs a wound. How far did these mail-coats profit the French at Clithero? Whether did not these unarmed, as they call them, compel them to cast off their hauberks, and neglect their helmets, and abandon their shields? Let your wisdom, therefore, o king, see how little confidence there is in these things, which, in need, are more for burthen than for comfort. We at Clithero carried off the victory from these mail-coats, and we shall prostrate them to-day with our lances, using the valour of the mind for a shield." These things being said, when
the king seemed to acquiesce in the counsels of the knights, Malisse, earl of Strathern, very much enraged, said, "Why is it, o king, that thou rather committest thyself to the will of the Normans, when none of them with his arms is about to surpass me unarmed to-day in battle?" These words Allan de Percy, bastard son of the great Allan, a most brave knight and very much approved in military affairs, hardly bearing, says, turning to the earl, "A grand word hast thou spoken, and which, to-day, for thy life, thou wilt not be able to perform." Then the king, appeasing both, lest a tumult should, suddenly, be born of this altercation, yielded to the will of the Galwegians.

Therefore, in the octave of the assumption of saint Mary, on the eleventh of the calends of September, on monday, between the first hour and the third the conflict of this battle was begun and ended. For, immediately, on the first encounter, numberless Picts being slain, the rest, their arms being thrown away, took to flight. The field is filled with carcasses, a great many are taken, the king, and all the others, turn their backs: Finally of such an army, all being either killed or taken, or scattered like sheep without a shepherd. For the English, and Scots, and Picts, and the other barbarians, wherever they accidentally found them-
selves, whosoever prevailed, either killed, or wounded, or, at least, plundered each other, and so, by the just judgment of god, were equally oppressed by their own people as by strangers.

MCXLII. [Tres filii Haraldi fratris Olavi], congregata classe, transfretaverunt ad Galwediam, volentes sibi subjugare. Galwedienses, autem, conglobati, et magno impetu facto, congressi sunt cum eis. Illi, statim, terga vertentes, fugerunt cum magna confusione ad Manniam, omnesque Galwedienses, qui in ea habitabant, quosdam jugulaverunt, alios expulerunt.*

MCXLII. The three sons of Harold the brother of Olave, a fleet being assembled, passed over to Galloway, willing to subdue it. The Galwegians, however, forming a circle, and a great effort being made, encountered with them. They, immediately, turning their backs, fled with great confusion to Man, and all the Galwegians, who inhabited there-in, some of whom they slew, others they banished.

* Chro. reg. Man.
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MCXLII. Fundáta est abbatia de Dundraynan in Galwaya.*

MCXLII. The abbey of Dundraynan, in Galloway, was founded.

MCLVI. Dovenaldus filius Malcolm apud Witterne captus est, et incarceratus in turre de Rokesbury cum patre suo.†

MCLVI. Donald, the son of Malcolm, was taken at Whithern, and imprisoned in the tower of Roxburgh with his father.

* Chronica de Mailros. The founder was Fergus, prince or lord of Galloway, the first whose name is preserved. He was most probably of Irish extraction, and his family surname Macdonall. (See Dugdales Monasticon, and Nisbets Heraldry.) "In Galloway," according to sir James Dalrymple, "the most ancient ' surnames' were Mackdowall, Mackculloch, Mackie, and Macklellan," all Irish.

† Ibi. This Malcolm, surnamed MacHeth, but whose true name was Wimund, was, in fact, an English monk, but pretended to be the son of Angus, earl of Murray, slain in 1130. (See G. Neubrig. p. 79, &c. or lord Hailes's Annals, I, 86.) In 1157 he made his peace with the king. (Chro. S. crucis.)
MCLX. Malcolmus [quartus] rex tribus vicibus cum magno exercitu perrexit in Galweiam, et tandem subjugavit eam sibi.*
Fergus princeps Galwiaæ habitum canonicalm in ecclesia Sanctæ crucis de Ednesburch suscepit; et eis villam quæ dicitur Dunroden dedit.†

MCLX. King Malcolm the fourth, three times, with a great army, marched into Galloway, and, at length, subjugated it to himself.

Fergus, prince of Galloway, took the canonical habit in the church of the Holy rood of Edinburgh; and gave to them the town which is called Dunroden.

MCLXI. Obiit Fergus princeps Galwiaæ quartus idus Maii.‡

MCLXI. Fergus, prince of Galloway, died on the fourth of the ides of May (12th).

* R. de Hoveden, p. 492. Rex Malcolmus duxit exercitum in Galwalam ter, et ibidem, inimicis suis devictis, fœderatus est cum pace et sine damno remeavit. (Chro. S. crucis.)
† Ibi.
‡ Ibi.
MCLXIV. Sumerledus, regulus Eregeithel, jam per annos xii. contra regem Scotiae Malcolmum dominum suum naturalem impiè rebellans, cum copiosis sum de Hibernia et diversis locis contrahens apud Renfriu applicavisset, tandem ultione divina cum filio suo, et innumerabili populo, à paucis comprovincialibus ibidem occisus est.*

MCLXIV. As Somerled, kinglet of Argyle, now for 12 years impiously rebelling against Malcolm king of Scotland, his natural lord, drawing together a numerous army from Ireland and divers places, had arrived at Renfrew, at length, by divine vengeance, with his son, an innumerable people; by a few provincialists, he was there slain.

MCLXIX. Husbandus, prior de Wenelok, adduxit conventum apud Passelet, qui est juxta Renfriu.†

* Chro. de Mailros.
† Ibi. That the modern shire of Renfrew was anciently part of Galloway, see Innes's Critical essay, p. 160. The p. c. in both places reads, corruptly, Renfriu.
MCLXIX. Husband, prior of Wenlock, brought a convent to Paisley, which is near Renfrew.

MCLXXIV. Statim post clausum Pascha, rex Scotiae promovit exercitum suam in Northumberland, et ibi per Scottos et Galvalenses suos excrabiliter egit. Mulieres enim prægnantes findebant, et foetus extractos super lancearum acumina jactabant. Infantes et pueros, juvenes et senes utriusque sexus, á maximo usque ad minimum, sine ulla redemptione et misericordia interfecerunt. Sacerdotes vero et clericos in ipsis ecclesiis super altaria detruncabant. Quaecunque igitur Scotti et Galvalenses attingebant, omnia erant honoris plena et immanitatis. * Interim rex Scotiae ... cum ex-

* Rex Scottorum Willelmus quæ in provincia Northumbrorum, avo suo regi David fuerant donata, tradita, cartis confirmata, quæ etiam fuerant ab ipso tempore longo possessa, repetens à rege patri [Henrico sci. II.] sed repulsam inveniens, congregavit exercitum, habens multitudinem infinitam Galwalensium, agilem, nudam, calvitie multa notabilem, sinistrum latus munitem cultellis, armatis quibus libet formidandis, jaculis jaciendis, et dirigendis in longinquum manum habentem aptissimam, lanceam longam cum ad bellum progre-diatur erigentem pro signo. Per fines itaque Hugonis episcopi Dunelmensis securum transitem habens, rex Scotiae cepit An-
ercitu suo obsedit Carleolum ... Et inde recedens, obsedit castellum de Prudeau Odenelli de Dunfranvilla; sed illud capere non potuit. Nam exercitus Eboracensis-siriae [l. sciræ] super eum venire parabat. ... Duces autem hujus exercitus erant Robertus de Stutevilla, et Willelmus filius suus, et Willelmus de Vesci, et Randulfus de Glanvilla, et Randulfus de Thilli, ... et Bernardus de Baillol, et Odenellus de Dunfranvilla. Quod cum nuntiatum est regi Scotiae, castellum illud, quod obsiderat, reliquit, et fugiens inde, venit usque Alnewic, et illud obsedit; et misit inde comitem Dunecanum, et comitem D'anegus, et Ricardum de Morvilla fere cum toto exercitu suo per circumjacentes provincias ad devastandum eas; et rex Scotiae ibi remansit cum privata familia sua. Comes vero Dunecanus statim exercitum iterum in tres partes divisit: unam cum retinuit, et reliquas duas misit ad comburrendum villas circumjacentes, et ad homines interficiendos à maximo usque ad minimum, et ad praedas adducendas. Et ipse cum parte exercitus quam sibi elegit intravit villam de Werkeurd, et eam combusit, et interfecit in ea omnes quos invenit, viros et mulieres, magnos et parvos; et fecit satellites suos gliam depopulari, succedere villas, innumerablem congregare prædam, captivas abducere mulierculas, à prægnantium uteris infantes semivivos abstrahere. (R. de Diceto, co. 40.573.)
frangere ecclesiam sancti Laurentii, quae ibi erat, et interficere in ea, et in domo clerici villæ illius, plus quam 100 viros, preter mulieres et parvulos, prob dolor! ... Sed deus omnipotens eadem die vindicavit injuriis et violentiam ecclesiae martyris sui illatam; nam prædicti duces exercitus Eboracisiriae, cum audissent, quod rex Scotiae recessisset de Prudheau, et obsedit Alnewicum, et ita misisset exercitum suum ab eo, cum festinatione securi sunt eum; et ex improviso invenerunt eum ante Alnewic ludentem cum militibus suis, tanquam securum et nihil timentem. Ipse enim cum illos vidisset à longo venientes, arbitratus est, ipsos esse comitem Dunecananum, et qui cum eo erant. Sed cum appropinquassent ei, irruerunt in eum, et statim ceperrunt illum; et milites suos, relictò illo, fugerunt.*

Erant in illo exercitu [sci. Willielmi Scotiae regis] duo fratres, Gilbertus scilicet et Uctredus Galwadensis provinciae domini, cum gentis propriae turma numerosa. Hi nimirum Fergusi, olim principis ejusdem provinciae, filii fuerant: et patri in fata concedenti, rege Scotorum, qui illius terrae principalis est dominus, hereditatem inter eos dividente, successerant. Verum Gilbertus natu major, paterni juris integritate fraudatum se dolens, fratrem

* Benedictus Abbas, p. 72, &c.
semper in corde suo oderat, cum tamen concepti
furoris impetum metus regius cohiberet. *

Huctredus filius Fergus, et Gillebertus frater
ejus, cum audirent quod dominus suus rex Scotiae
caperetur [ad Alnewic], statim redierunt cum
Galualensibus suis in patrias suas, et statim ex-
pulerunt a Galueia omnes ballivos et custodes quos
rex Scotiae eis imposuerat, et omnes Anglicos et
Francigenas, quos apprehendere poterant, interfe-
cerunt; et omnes munitiones et castella, quae rex
Scotiae in terra illorum firmavit, ceperunt et de-
struxerunt, et omnes quos intus ceperant interfe-
cerunt. †

Huctredus et Gillebertus, filii Ferregus, contendentes, ut illorum dominus alterius esse deberet,
et habere dominium super Galwalenses, magnum
odium inter se habuerunt: ita quod uterque illorum
alteri insidiabatur ad interficiendum. Et procedente tempore, Gillebertus, filius Ferregus, homi-
nes suos congregavit, et cum eis consilium iniit, ut
Huctredus, frater suus, caperetur et occideretur:
et statuto tempore convenerunt, ut eum caperent
et occiderent. Et venit Malcolm, filius Gille-
berti, filii Fergus, et obsedit insulam, in qua Huc-
tredus frater patris sui, et consanguineus Henrici

* G. Neubrigensis, p. 216. † Benedictus abbas, p. 76.

* The nature of this consanguinity does not appear. It is, however, to be inferred, that Gilbert and Uchtred were the sons of different wives, and that the latter's mother had been somehow or other related to the king of England. No author ever mentions the name of either Fergus's wife or Gilberts.
consanguineus suus interficeretur, noluit cum GALLUALENSIBUS illis pacem aliquam facere.*

Illud regis Anglorum Henricus II. . . . in extremos regni fines adversus Rolandum Galwadiæ principem duxit exercitum. Quippe idem Rolandus mortuo Gilbert, qui, capto à nostris rege Scotorum, fratem Uctredum nefarie peremerat, in filios ejus sorte bellica prævalens, totam illam sibi provinciam vendicaret. Interpellatus ab eis rex Anglorum, Rolando mandavit, ut hereditatem paternam propriis redderet consobrinis; qui cum sprevisset mandatum, iratus rex cum ingentibus equitum et peditum copiis partes illas adiit.†

MCLXXIV. Immediately after the close of Easter, the king of Scotland marched his army into Northumberland, and there, by his Scots and Galwegians, acted execrably. For they divided pregnant women, and threw the extracted foetuses upon the points of their lances. They slew infants and boys, young and old of each sex, from the greatest to the least, without any ransom or mer-

† G. Neubrigensis, p. 281.
They also mangled the priests and clerks, in the very churches, upon the altars. Whatever things, therefore, the Scots and Galwegians reached, all were full of horror and cruelty. In the mean time the king of Scotland with his army besieged Carlisle.... And thence departing, besieged the castle of Prudenhau, of Ordenel de Dunfranville; but was not able to take it: For the army of Yorkshire made ready to come upon him. Now the leaders of this army were Robert de Stuteville, and William his son, and William de Vesci, and Randal de Glanville, and Randal de Thilli; and Bernard de Baillol, and Odenel de Dunfranville. When this was announced to the king of Scotland, he left the castle, which he had besieged, and flying thence came to Alnwick, and besieged it, and sent thence the earl Duncan, and the earl of Angus, and Richard de Morville, with almost all his army through the circumjacent provinces to waste them; and the king of Scotland remained there with his private attendants. The earl Duncan straightway divided his army again into three parts: one he retained with him, and the remaining two he sent to burn the circumjacent towns, and to kill the men from the greatest to the least, and to bring off booty. And he with the part of the army which he had chosen for himself, entered the town
of Warkworth, and burned it, and killed therein all whom he found, men and women, great and small; and made his guards break open the church of St. Leonard, which was there, and kill therein; and in the house of the clerk of that town, more than 100 men, beside women and children, alas for pity! . . . But almighty God on the same day averted the injury and violence offered to the church of his martyr; for the aforesaid leaders of the army of Yorkshire, when they had heard that the king of Scotland had retired from Prudhoe, and besieged Alnwick, and so had sent his army from him, followed him with haste; and unawares found him before Alnwick playing with his soldiers, as if secure and fearing nothing. For he himself, when he had seen them coming from afar, thought them to be the earl Duncan and those who were with him. But when they had approached him, they rushed upon him, and straightway took him; and his soldiers, leaving him, fled.

There were in this army two brothers, Gilbert, that is, and Uchtred, lords of the province of Galloway, with a numerous body of their proper nation. These were the sons of Fergus, formerly prince of the same province, and had succeeded to their father, yielding to the fates, the king of Scotland, who is the chief lord of that land, divi-
ding between them the inheritance. But Gilbert, the elder by birth, being displeased that he was defrauded of the entirety of his paternal right, had always hated his brother in his heart, while, however, the fear of the king restrained the violence of his conceived fury.

Uchtred the son of Fergus, and Gilbert his brother, when they heard that their lord the king of Scotland was taken [at Alnwick], straightway returned, with their Galwegians, into their country, and forthwith expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and wardens which the king of Scotland had put over them, and killed all the English and French, whom they were able to apprehend; and took and destroyed all the fortresses and castles which the king of Scotland erected in their land, and killed all those whom they had taken within them.

Uchtred and Gilbert, the sons of Gilbert, contending that each of them should be lord and have dominion over the Galwegians, had great hatred between themselves: so that each of them lay in wait to kill the other: And in process of time, Gilbert, the son of Fergus, assembled his men, and went to council with them, that Uchtred his brother should be taken and killed: and at the time fixed they came together, that they might take and
kill him: and Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, the son of Fergus, came and besieged the island, in which Uchtred the brother of his father, and the cousin of Henry king of England the son of Maud the empress, dwelled, and took him, and sending his executioners, commanded that they should pluck out his eyes, and cut off his testicles and his tongue: and it was so done: and, leaving him half alive, departed: and he, a little after, ended his life. While these things were done, the lord the king sent into England one of his chaplains, named Roger de Hoveden, to Robert de Vaux, that they two should agree with Uchtred and Gilbert, and entice them into his service. When they had come about the feast of st. Clement to a conference between them and Gilbert the son of Fergus, the same Gilbert and the other Galwegians offered them, for the use of the king, 2000 marks of silver, and 500 hogs, rent by the year, upon this condition, that the king should receive them in his hand, and take them from the servitude of the king of Scotland. But the aforesaid messengers of the king of England would not make this end with the Galwegians, until they had spoken with the king: and when it was shown to the king, how Uchtred, the son of Fergus, his cousin, was killed, he would not make any peace with those Galwegians.
The illustrious king of the English Henry II. led an army into the extreme borders of his kingdom against Rowland prince of Galloway. Forasmuch as the same Rowland, on the death of Gilbert, who, after the king of Scots was taken by our people, had nefariously killed his brother Uchtred, prevailing over his sons by the chance of war, claimed all that province for himself. The king of England, required by them, commanded Rowland that he should restore the paternal inheritance to his proper cousins, who despising the command, the enraged king with huge forces of horse and foot went into those parts.

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MCLXXV. Dominus rex [Henricus II.] dedit et concessit regi Scotiae licentiam promovendi exercitum in Galveiam, ad debellandum Gilebertum, filium Fergus, pro eo, quod ipse a fidelitate sua recesserat, et fratrem suum Huctredum nequiter interfecerat.*

MCLXXV. The lord the king [Henry II.] gave and granted to the king of Scotland license to

* Benedictus Abbas, p. 120.
march an army into Galloway, to subdue Gilbert, son of Fergus, for this reason, that he revolted from his fealty, and maliciously killed his brother Uchtred.

MCLXXVI. Rex [Henricus] circa festum sancti Dionysii venit usque Fecheham: et ibidem venit ad eum Willelmus rex Scotiae: et duxit se-cum Gilebertum filium Fergus qui fratrem suum Huctredum interfecerat. Et ipse Gilebertus, facta pace cum domino rege de morte fratris sui, qui cognatus regis erat, devenit homo ipsius, et fideliti-tatem ei juravit contra omnes homines; et pro amore ipsius habendo, dedit ei mille marcas argenti [et Dunicanum filium suum in obsidem de pace servanda]. Et sic facta pace sua, domum venit; et præcepit, quod omnes aliegenæ, qui in Galweia per regem Scotiae tenementum aliquod habebant, exulerent [l. exularent]: et qui huic diffinitioni consentire nollet, capitalem subiret sententiam.*

MCLXXVI. The king [Henry] about the feast of st. Dennis came as far as Feckham: and

there came to him William king of Scotland; and brought with him Gilbert the son of Fergus, who had killed his brother Uchtred. And this Gilbert, having made peace with the lord the king concerning the death of his brother, who was the king's cousin, became his man (i.e. did him homage), and swore fealty to him against all men; and for having his good will, gave him a thousand marks of silver [and Duncan his son as a hostage for keeping the peace]: And so, his peace being made, he came home, and commanded that all foreigners, who held any tenement in Galloway by the king of Scotland should be banished: and he who would not submit to this proclamation, should suffer capital punishment.

MCLXXXV. Die circumcisionis, morte sua obiit Gillebertus, filius Fergus, princeps Galualensium, inimicus regis Scotiæ domini sui; cujus filium et heredem Dunecanum dominus rex Angliæ in custodia Hugonis de Morwic tenuit obsidem, super pactis inter illos contractis, de pace servanda.*

MCLXXXV. On the day of the circumcision, died Gilbert, the son of Fergus, prince of the Gal-

* Benedictus, p. 435.
wegians, enemy of the king of Scotland, his lord; whose son and heir, Duncan, the lord the king of England held in the custody of Hugh de Morwic, upon the engagements contracted between them, for keeping the peace.

MCLXXXV. Rollandus, filius Uctredi, filii Fergus, statim post obitum Gilleberti, fratris patris sui, collecta sibi in auxilium copiosa equitum peditumque multitudine, invasit terram prædicti Gilleberti; et interfecit universis, qui sibi resistere volebant, totam terram illam sibi subjugavit: nec non et omnes potentiiores et ditiores totius Galwateræ interfecit; et terras eorum occupavit; et in eis castella et munitiones quamplures fecit, firmans regnum suum.*


Bowmaker, abbot of Inchcolm, the continuator of the Scotichronicon, says that the wife of Uchtred, and mother of Rowland, was Mariota, daughter of a “dominus de Allerdes” (L. 14, c. 12). We find, however, in the Monasticon Anglicanum, that “Alanus filius et hæres Waldevi [filii Cospatricii] dedit Ugthredo filio Fergus, domino Galwediae, cum
Rolandus bellum habuit contra Gillecolmum, in quo frater Rolandi occubuit, et Gillecolmus periiit.*

MCLXXXV. Rowland, the son of Uchtred, the son of Fergus, immediately after the death of Gilbert, his fathers brother, having collected to his assistance a copious multitude of horse and foot, invaded the land of the aforesaid Gilbert; and, killing all that willed to resist him, subjugated that whole land to himself; he, likewise, killed all the more powerful and rich inhabitants of all Galloway; and occupied their lands; and made therein a great many castles and fortresses, in order to strengthen his government.

Rowland had a battle against Gillecolm, in which the brother of Rowland fell, and Gillecolm perished.

Guynolda soreore sua Torhenhow [in Cumbria] cum advoca-
tione ecclesie." (To I, p. 400). Bowmaker, at the same
time, asserts Genlida, another daughter of this lord of Allerdes,
to have been the wife of David earl of Huntingdon; who, how-
ever, actually married Maud, daughter of Hugh Cyveliok earl
of Chester. The above Cospatrick, according to the Chronica
de Mairos, died in 1166.

* Chronica de Mairos.
In the moneth of August, at Cairluel, Rouland Talvaten, lord of Galway, did homage and fealtie to king Henry, withe al that held of hym.*

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* Lelands *Collectanea*, II, 5.
Jocelinus autem, episcopus Glascuensis, promisit in verbo veritatis coram omnibus, et sanctorum reliquiis, quod nisi Rolandus prædictam conventionem inconcussam servaverit, ipse in eum, et in terram suam, sententiam excommunicationis promulgaret.*

MCLXXXVI. William, king of Scotland, and David, his brother, at the command of the king [Henry], came to his court, bringing with them Josceline bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold abbot of Melros, and earls and barons from the kingdom of Scotland: whom the lord the king honourably received: and after a few days, having taken from the above-said earls and barons of Scotland security for keeping faith to him, and taken hostages from them, he sent them into their own country, and commanded them, that they should subdue Rowland the son of Uchtred; unless he would come to his court, and stand to right upon this, that against the prohibition of himself and his judges he had entered the land of Gilbert the son of Fergus, and other barons of Galloway, with a hostile hand, and

* Benedictus abbas, p. 447. V. etiam R. de Hoveden, p. 631.
had occupied or obtained it subject to himself. When the aforesaid Rowland had heard these things, collecting a large multitude of horsemen and footmen, he rendered unpassable, as much as he could, the entrances of Galloway, and the ways thereof, cut and half-cut trees being placed across the ways. Without delay, Henry king of England assembled a great army from all the provinces of England; and coming as far as Carlisle, sent thence William king of Scotland and David his brother, that they might bring Rowland to him. But when he would not come, he sent again for him the same messengers, and with them Hugh bishop of Durham, and Randal de Glanville the justiciary: who, giving hostages to the aforesaid Rowland, and making him security for safe conduct in going and returning, brought him to the king, unto Carlisle: which Rowland made peace with the lord the king, in this manner, to wit, That the land which was of Uch- tred the son of Fergus his father, should remain to him in quiet, as he had the same on the day in which he was alive and dead. And concerning the land, which was of Gilbert the son of Fergus his uncle, which Duncan the son of the aforesaid Gil- bert claimed against him, he should stand to right in the court of the lord the king of England at his summons. And for keeping these conditions Row-
land swore, and gave his three sons hostages. He also swore fealty to the king of England and his heirs, by the command of the king of Scotland, against all men. William king of Scotland and David his brother, and all the earls and barons of Scotland likewise swore, that if Rowland should go back from the aforesaid convention and from the king of England, they themselves with the king of England would faithfully hold to confound the same Rowland, until he should thereof satisfy the lord the king of England. Josceline also bishop of Glasgow, promised on the word of truth before all and on the relics of the saints, that unless Rowland kept the aforesaid convention unshaken, he himself against him and his land would publish the sentence of excommunication.

MCXCIII. Dunecanus, filius Gileberti de Galweia, dedit deo et sanctae Marie et monachis de Melros quandam partem terræ suæ in Karic, quæ dicitur Maybothel, in perpetuum eleemosynam, pro salute animæ suæ et omnium parentum suorum, coram episcopo Jocelino et aliis multis testibus, sicut ejus carta testatur.*

* Chro. de Mailros.
MCXCIII. Duncan, son of Gilbert of Galloway, gave to god and st. Mary, and the monks of Melros, a certain part of his land in Carrick, which is called Maybottle, in perpetual alms, for the welfare of his soul, and of all his relations, before the bishop Josceline, and many other witnesses, as his charter witnesseth.


Eodem anno Dunecan filius Gileberti filii Fergus rapuit Avelinam filiam Alani, filii Walteri, domini de Rainfriu, antequam Willielmus rex Scotiae rediret de Angliam terram suam. Unde idem rex plurimum iratus cepit de Alano filio Walteri viginti quatuor plegios de pace sibi, et terrae suae servando, et de jure faciendo super calumnia illa.†

† R. de Hoveden, p. 813.
MCC. In the month of December, Rowland, prince of Galloway, died in England at Northampton, the 14th of the kalends of January, on Tuesday, and was there buried at the abbey of St. Andrew.

In the same year Duncan, son of Gilbert, son of Fergus, ravished Aveline, daughter of Alan, son of Walter, lord of Renfrew, before William king of Scotland returned out of England: Whence the same king, greatly enraged, took from Alan the son of Walter 24 pledges for keeping the peace to him and his land, and doing right upon that calumny.

MCCIX. Obit episcopus Johannes Candidæ case, cui successit Walterus camerarius Alani filii Rolandi.*

Alanus [magnus de Galweya] filius Rolandi duxit filiam David comitis [de Huntingtona] fratris regis Scotiæ in uxorem [apud Dundæ.]†

MCCIX. John, bishop of Whithern, died, to whom succeeded Walter, chamberlain of Alan, the son of Rowland.

* Chro. de Mailros.  
† Ibi.
The great Alan of Galloway, the son of Rowland, married the daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, at Dundee.

MCCXVI. In occidentali parte Scotiæ, quæ Galewia dicitur, secundum quod scripsit dominus Willielmus abbas de Glenlus, ... domino priori et sacro conventui de Melros, apparuit visibiliter stupenda supra modum et nostris seculis inaudita luna transfiguratio.*

Minati sunt Philippus de Ullecotes et H. de Balliol, ut terram domini regis Scottorum ultionis causa devastarent; quo audito dominus rex cum summa festinatione generali exercitu, Anglorum scilicet et Scottorum et Galweiorum, III. nonas Julii versus 'Northumbriam' iter iterato arripuit.†

MCCXVI. In the west part of Scotland, which is called Galloway, according to what the lord William, abbot of Glenluce, wrote to the lord prior and sacred convent of Melros, appeared, visibly, an

* Chro. de Mailros. The Abbots letter is inserted.
† Ibi.
eclipse of the moon, stupendous above measure, and unheard of in our times.

Philip de Ullecotes, and H. de Baileol, threatened that they would, for the sake of revenge, waste the land of the lord the king of Scots; which being heard, the lord the king, with the utmost haste, with a general army, of English, to wit, and Scots, and Galwegians, the 3d of the nones of July, took his journey toward Northumberland.

MCCXVII. Obiit domina Eva de Galweia III. idus Junii.*

MCCXVII. The lady Eve of Galloway died the 3d of the ides of June.

MCCXXIV. Reginaldus [rex Insularum] assumpto secum Alano domino Galwediæ cum Man-nensibus ad insulanas partes profectus est: ut par-

* Chro. de Mailros. This lady Eve was the widow of Rowland, lord of Galloway.

MCCXXIV. Reginald [king of the Isles], taking with him Allan lord of Galloway with the Manks, proceeded to the insular parts: that the part of the land which he had given to Olave his brother he might take from him, and subjugate it to his own dominion. But forasmuch as the Manks did not choose to fight against Olave or the islanders, because they loved them, Reginald and Allan, doing no good, returned home. After a short time Reginald, under pretence of going to the court of the lord the king of England, received from the

* Chro. regum Manniæ.
people of Man one hundred marks, and proceeded to the court of Allan lord of Galloway. At the same time he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Allan: which the Manks hearing were very angry, and sending for Olave constituted him their king.


MCCXXVIII. Olave, with all the great men of Man, and the braver part of the people sailed to the Isles. Shortly after Allan lord of Galloway,

* Chro. regum Manniae.
and Thomas earl of Athol, and Reginald the king came to Man with a great army, wasted all the southern part of Man, and plundered churches, and killed as many men as they could take; and the southern part of Man was reduced almost into a desert: And after this Allan returned with his army into his own land, and left his bailiffs in Man, who should render him the tribute of the country.

MCCCXXXIII. Alanus de Galweia dedit filiam suam uxorem Johanni de Baiiol, et sororem suam Waltero Biseth.*

MCCCXXXIII. Allan of Galloway gave his daughter in marriage to John de Baileol, and his sister to Walter Bisset.

MCCCXXXIV. Obiit Alanus filius Rolandi dominus Galwethiae, et constabularius Scotiae, et sepultus est apud Dundraynan; et reliquit III. filias hæredes, et filium unicum bastardum.

* Chro. de Mailros. The daughters name was Dervorgill.
MCCXXXIV. Alan, son of Rowland, lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, died, and was buried at Dundraynan; and left three daughters his heirs, and an only bastard son: who, while his father lived, married the daughter of the king of Man.
APPENDIX.

THE

SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS

OF

CANDIDA CASA, OR WHITHERN.*

1. PRISTINÆ FUNDATIONIS.

CCCXCIV. Australes Picti, qui intra [arduos et torrentes] montes [quibus à septentrionalibus

* Hwit-herne, Saxon, implies the white-house; the signification, likewise, of Λυκός πικία, and Candida-casa. This famous mansion was situate upon the continental peninsula of Galloway, now Wigtonshire, where, or near which, Fergus, lord of Galloway, between seven and eight centuries afterward, founded a priory of the same name; and not (as has been asserted) upon the little island at the point of it. "Candida casa vocatur locus in extremis Angliæ juxta Scotiam finibus, ubi beatus Ninia requiescit, natione Britto, qui primus ibidem
eorum regionibus sequestrati sunt] habent sedes, ut perhibent, relicto errore idolatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia episcopo reverentissimo, et sanctissimo viro, de natione Brittonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus; cujus sedem episcopalem sancti Martini episcopi, nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi, ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit jam nunc [anno, scilicet, 731]

Christi prædicationem evangelizavit. Sanctum hunc Niniam præclarum virtutibus experta est antiquitas. Scribit Alcuinus, in epistola ad fratres ejusdem loci dicens: Deprecor vestrae pietatis unanimitatem ut nostri nominis habeatis memoriam in ecclesia sanctissimi patris vestri Niniae episcopi, qui multis claruit virtutibus, sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis, quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis ecclesiæ scholastica directa sunt, in quibus et facientis cognovi eruditionem, et facientis miracula sanctitatem.” (W. Malmes. De ges. pon. L. 3, p. 272.) His name is corrupted into Rinian, Trinian, and even Ringan. It is to this saint that frier John addresses his matins:

“Awake, O Reinian; ho, awake,
Awake, O Reinian, ho:
Get up, you no more sleep must take,
Get up; for we must go.”

1653, B. 1, p. 184.
Anglorum gens obtinet: qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgò vocatur Ad candidam casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Britonibus more, fecerit.*

1. OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDATION.

CCCXCVI. The southern Picts, who have their seats on this side of the high and dismal mountains, by which they are divided from the northern region of those people, as they report, having abandoned the error of idolatry, received the faith of the truth; Nynian, the bishop, a most reverend and holy man, of the nation of the Britons, who was regularly taught at Rome the faith and mystery of the truth, preaching to them the word: whose episcopal seat of saint Martin the bishop, famous by its name and church, where himself, also, in body, together with many saints, resteth, the English nation now possesses; which place, belonging to the province of the Romans, is vulgarly called Whithern, for that

* Beda, L. 3, c. 4. Bishop Keith says, that, after Ninian, Bede places one Octa, as bishop of this see, which is not true. No such name or circumstance is mentioned by Bede; and Ninians successor, if he had any, is utterly unknown.
he there made a church of stone, in a manner unusual to the Britons.

2. NOVÆ FUNDATIONIS.

DCCXXXI. Provinciae Nordanhymbrorum, cui rex Ceoluulf præest, quatuor nunc episcopi præsulatum tenent: Vilfrid in Eboracensi ecclesia, Ediuald in Lindisfarnensi, Acca in Hugustaldensi, Pechelm in ea que Candida-casa vocatur, que nuper multiplicatis fidelium pleibus, in sedem pontificatæ addita, ipsum primum habet antistitrem. *

* Beda, L. 5, c. 24. This is a decisive proof that there had been no bishop of this see since the departure of Ninian; and that Pechelm was the first of the new foundation. It is, in fact, the perfection of folly and falsehood to assert Trumwin, whose see was at Abercorn, to have been bishop of Whitern; because some simpleton has placed him at the head of a list in the continuation to Florence of Worcester, whence it has been inadvertently transcribed by Leland; because, forsooth, both Ninian and Trumwin had been bishops of the Picts at opposite sides of the island. See before, *Annals of the Picts*, under the year 681.

"Rex Northumbriae tenuit totam terram Northumbriae, videlicet à flumine de Humba, usque ad mare Scociae [æstu-
2. OF THE NEW FOUNDATION.

DCCXXXI. Of the province of the Northumbrians, over whom king Ceolwulf presides, four bishops now hold the prelacy: Wilfred in the church of York, Edilwald in that of Lindisfarn, Acca, in that of Hexham, Pechelm in that which is called Whit-hern, which lately, the people of the faithful, being multiplied, annexed to the pontifical see, hath himself its first bishop.

DCCXXXIII. [Sanctus Acca episcopus] episcopatus sui vigintesimo quarto de sede sua fugatus est, et, ut quibusdam videtur, postea octo annis vixit. Nam anno dominicae incarnationis 740, sicut historiae testantur, tredecim kalendas Novem-
arium, scilicet, Bodotriae, ad Agricolae et Taciti temporae, hodie le firth of Forth, cum territorio, sive comitatibus, Lancastriae, Westmorlandiae, et Cumberlandiae: et habuit in regno suo archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, ... et habet episcopatum Dunelmiae, ... et eciam isti regno episcopatus Candidae casa, sive Galewyeae est subjectus.” J. Bromton, co. 801.
APPENDIX.

bris de presenti seculo sublatus est... Sunt ta-
men qui dicunt, quod, eo tempore, episcopalem
sedem in Candida [casa] inceperit et præparave-
rit.*

DCCCXXXIII. Saint Acca the bishop in the
twenty-fourth year of his episcopacy was banish-
ed from his see, and, as it appears to some, lived
eight years afterward: for in the 740th year of the
lords incarnation, as histories witness, on the 13th
of the calends of November he was lifted up from
this present life... There are, nevertheless, those
who say, that in that time, he had begun and pre-
pared an episcopal seat in Candida-casa.

DCCCXXXV. Pectelmus Candidæ-casæ præsul
obiiit, cui Frithwaldus in pontificatus regimine
successit.†

* Richardus prior Hagustaldensis, co. 267, 298. Bede, it is
ture, mentions an Acca, who went to Rome with Wilfrid, and
was bishop of Hexham, in 731, when he finished his history.
Richards hearsay is no authority for so remote a fact.
† Flo. Wigor, 573.
APPENDIX.

DCCXXXV. Pechelm, bishop of Whit-hern died, to whom Frithwald succeeded in the regimen of the bishopric.

DCCLXIII. Frithewoldus Hwitternensis ecclesiæ antistes nonis Maii defungitur: pro quo Pechtwinus, 16 calendas Augusti, in regione quæ dicitur Ælfete consecratus episcopatu fungitur.*

DCCLXIII. Frithwald, bishop of the church of Whithern, departed on the nones of May: for whom Pechtwin being consecrated, on the 16th of the calends of August, in the region which is called Ælfete, performs the functions of the bishopric.

DCCLXXVII. Pecwine episcopus Candidæ-cæse migravit ad dominum, cui Ethelbrictth successit.†

* Flo. Wigor. 574. Ælfete is conjectured to be that part of the city of Durham which is now called Old and New Elvet.
† R. de Hoveden, 404. H. of Huntingdon calls the former bishop Wittwine, and places his death in 774.
APPENDIX.

DCCLXXVII. Pectwine, bishop of Whit-hern, migrated to the lord, to whom Ethelbert succeeded.

DCCLXXXIX. Ethelbert episcopus, sua sede relicta, sancto Gilberto defuncto, episcopatum Haugustaldensem in propriam accepit dominationem.*

DCCLXXXIX. Bishop Ethelbert, his see being left, saint Gilbert being defunct, received the bishopric of Hexham into his own domination.

* R. de Hoveden, 404. W. of Malmesbury, having enumerated, beside Ninian (as before) and Pethelm, Frethewald, Pecwine, Ethelbrith, Beadulf, says, "nec praeterea plures alicubi reperio, quod cito defecerit episcopatus, qui extrema Anglorum in ora est, et Scotorum vel Pictorum depopulatione opportuna." (De gestis pontificum, L. 3, p. 273.) In the ignorant and sophisticated list inserted, by some monk, in, or after, the continuation to Florence of Worcester, as Trumwin is the first, so Heathored is the last; Trumwin being bishop of Lothian, and Heathored bishop of Hexham (where, it is true, he had succeeded Ethelbert); and neither having ever had anything to do at Whit-hern. See R. prior Hagustal, C. 18.
DCCXC. Baldulph ad Candidam casam ordinatur episcopus, in loco qui dicitur Hearrahaldh, quod interpretari potest locus dominorum.

DCCXC. Baldulph is ordained bishop at Whithern, in a place which is called Hearrahaldh, which may be interpreted the place of lords.

MCXXIV-MCXXX. "Honorius episcopus servus servorum dei dilecto filio electo de Candida-casa salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cui alii à domine præesse conceditur, nulla sui digna subesse prelatis superbia communicatur; ideoque per presentia scripta tibi mandamus, ut ad carissimum fratrem nostrum Thomam Eboracensem archiepiscopum, tanquam ad proprium metropolitum tuum consecrandus accedas; et ab ipsius manu, presente sancti spiritus gratia cum humilitatis devotione consecrationem accipias. Data Laterani quinto idus Decembris."

Mo. Aug. III, 145.
APPENDIX.


MCXXXIV. The venerable man Thurstan archbishop of York ordained a bishop, namely, Gilaldan of the church of Whit-hern.

MCLIV. Christianus in episcopum Galwaiae eodem die, quo, et rex Angliae Henricus, ab archiepiscopo Rotomogensi, apud Bermundeseiam, consecratus est.†

MCLXXXVI. "Obiit piae memoriae Christianus episcopus de Candida casa, nonas Octobris, apud Holmcultram."‡

* Stubbs, co. 1720; Monasticon Anglicanum, III, 148.
† Chro. Sancta-crucis Edin.
‡ Chronica de Mailros. 1176. "Cardinalis Vivianus ad castellum Puellarum [sci. Edinburgh castle] veniens, concilium ibi cum episcopis et viris ecclesiasticis regni Scotiae..."
APPENDIX.

MCLXXXVI. Christian, bishop of Whithern, of pious memory, died on the nones of October, at Holmcultram.

MCXC. Apud abbathiam de Pipewell, die dominica, xvii. die Septembris, Johannes, electus Candidæ caseæ, consecratus est in episcopum à Johanne Dublenensi archiepiscopo.*

MCXC. At the abbey of Pipewell, on the lords day, the 17th day of September, John elect of Whithern, was consecrated bishop by John archbishop of Dublin.

de statulis ecclesiae celebravit: in quo concilio Christianum episcopum Candidæ caseæ ab officio episcopali suspendit, eo quod ipse ad illud concilium venire reclusavit. Dicebat enim idem episcopus episcopatum suum ad legantiam Eboracensis [archi]episcopi qui eum in episcopum consecraverat, secundum antiquam praedecessorum utriusque consuetudinem pertinere: et ipse Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus . . . episcopatus Candidæ caseæ juri suo et suæ ecclesiae vendicabat." (J. Bromton, co. 1111.)

* J. Bromton, co. 1162. He was suffragan of the church of York in the same year. (R. de Diceto, co. 653.)
APPENDIX.

MCCVI. Johannes Candidæ casæ episcopus, aëjecta sindone curæ pastoralis, ut expedicitius mundum fugeret, apud Sanctam Crucem, juxta castrum puellarum, habitum religionis suscepit.*

MCCVI. John, bishop of Whit-hern, the surplice of pastoral care being thrown away, that he might the more expeditiously fly the world, at Holy-rood, near Maiden-castle, took up the habit of religion.

MCCIX. Obiit episcopus Johannes Candidæ casæ, cui successit Walterus, camerarius Alani filii Rolandi.†

MCCIX. John bishop of Whit-hern died, to whom succeeded Walter, the chamberlain of Allan, the son of Rowland.

MCCXXXV. Obiit dominus W. episcopus Can-

* Scotichronicon, I, 520.
† Chro. de Mailros.

MCCXXXV. The lord Walter, bishop of Whithern, died; on the first sunday of quadragesima was elected Gilbert master of Melros, and, formerly, abbot of Glenlus, to be bishop, as well by the clergy, as by the universal people of Galloway, except the prior and convent of Whithern. On the sunday, however, on which is sung Oculi mei, the aforesaid prior, with his convent, namely, Odo, formerly abbot of Deretonsal, and next with him

* Chro. de Mairros.
to the archbishop of York, Walter Gray that is, requiring from him the reward of consecration, but by no means received it: For he had heard of the first election; whence, the reasons, on each side, being discussed, he reprobated Odo, and consecrated the aforesaid G. monk of Melros bishop.

MCCLIII. Obiti dominus Gilbertus episcopus Candidæ case; post quem electus est dominus Henricus electus... à Waltero Eborací archiepiscopo.

MCCLIII. Gilbert, bishop of Whit-hern died; after whom was elected the lord Henry by Walter archbishop of York.

MCCCIX. Thomas, bishop of Galloway, in 1296, was bishop here in this year: they were, apparently, different titles of the same bishoprick.

MCCCXXI. Simon, "divina miseratìone Candidæ caseæ humilis minister.”

* Chro. de Melros.  † Keith, 162.  ‡ Chro. de Melros.
MCCCXXXIV. Henry is bishop Candidæ casæ.*

MCCCCLI X. Michael bishop of Galloway.*

MCCCCLIX. Adam de Lanark "episcopus Candidæ casæ." He is, likewise, called "Magister Adam de Lanark de Galloway in Scotia;" which further proves Whitem and Galloway only different denominations for one and the same bishoprick.*

MCCCCLXII. Thomas is bishop of Galloway.*

MCCCCLXVIII-IX. Andrew is bishop Candidæ casæ.*

* Keith, p. 162.
APPENDIX.

MCCCCV. "Elisæus episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCXV. "Thomas episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCXXVI. "Alexander episcopus Candidæ casæ."*

MCCCCLI. Thomas Spence bishop of Galloway, or Candida casæ, is indiscriminately so called.*

MCCCCLIX. Ninian "episcopus de Galloway."*

MCCCCLXXXIX. George Vaus.*

* Keith, p. 162.
MDVIII. James Bethune, prior of Whit-hern, became bishop of the see of Galloway.*

MDXIX. David Arnòt, bishop of Galloway, is designed "Davide Candidae casae, &c. episcopo."*

MDXXVI. Henry was bishop of this see, and stiled bishop of Galloway, though one of his officers is designed "officialis Candidae casae."*

MDXLI. Andrew Drurie was the last popish bishop of Galloway; but the title of "episcopus Candidae casae" neither appears to have been used by him, nor was ever so afterward.* In a short time, after, there was no longer a bishop in Scotland, and it is much to be wished there were none anywhere else.

* Keith, p. 162.
Annals of Murray.
INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Thomas Innes, in his Critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain, or Scotland (p. 159), having observed that "Though the name [of Picts] came to be disused, yet the people themselves, of the Pictish race, still subsisted under the name of Galweyenses, from the province where they dwelt," adds, "so it probably happened in other provinces of Scotland, such as Moravia, Murray, whence the Picts of these parts have been called Moravienses, as those in Galloway were called Galweyenses;* and perhaps, from the Picts in Murray being so called may have taken rise that tradition mentioned by some writers of the Murray men, Moravienses, their coming into Albany at first,

* There is, at least, this difference in the two instances: the natives of Galloway are by ancient writers expressly called Picti as well as Galweyenses, which is by no means the case with respect to those of Murray.
under one Rodricus, and giving origine to, as some say, or rather joining the Picts in ancient times." The writers, or authorities, he quotes are "Boeth. l. 4, f. 54, 55, 56, n. 38;* Usser, p. 303;" and "Math. Westm. ad an. 75, p. 55." Pinkerton, also, in his Enquiry into the history of Scotland (volume I, p. 348) asserts that "The Moravians were Piks, as," he says, "Fordun tells, lib. II, c. 30." And, again (volume II, p. 231), that "the Moravientes or inhabitants of the large province of Moray, . . . . were not Scoti but Picti, down to the thirteenth century, as appears from Fordun and others." The original author, however, of this opinion, whom Matthew of Westminster implicitly transcribes, and whom Fordun expressly quotes, is no other than the notorious romancer Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose credit is not, at present, whatever it might be in the times of Bois, or Fordun, and Matthew of Westminster, a sufficient voucher even for a historical fact much nearer his own age, and of still less importance, than the establishment or continuance of Picts in Murray. See his Britannie regum origo, &c. Paris, 1508, L. 4, c. 17.

* In p. 176, however, he says, "The inhabitants of Murray are supposed by Boccce himself to be of a different extraction, both from the Picts and Scots;" and quotes "Boeth. lib. 12. fol. 56, edit. I." He is not worth looking into.
INTRODUCTION.

How far it is supported or countenanced by the few events recorded of the above province by authentic historians will be seen in the following extracts. The fact, however, that the Picts were actual possessors of this territory at an earlier period, is no way affected by the present enquiry, nor intended to be called in question.*

* "Moraviam et Rossiam Cantæ ... habitavere. Quod vero scribit Boethius, Moravos tempore Claudii imperatoris [ex Moravia, Pannoniae regione quadam juxta Danubii flumen] in Scotiam classe devectos, falsissimum esse ex historiis liquet. Nam Slavorum gens, e quibus Moravi initium summere, mundo usque ad tempus circa annum domini DC. incognita erat; et Marcomanni et Quadi illa loca incoluere, quæ postea anno DCCC. sub Arnulpho a Zuentebaldo, Slavorum rege, Moravie regnum appellari cepere." Ilwyd, p. 62.
ANNALS OF MURRAY.
ANNALES MORAVIENSES.

DCCCCIV. ‘Dovenaldus’ filius Constantini . . . opidum Fother occisum [l. Fores occisus] est a gentibus.*

ANNALS OF MURRAY.

DCCCCIV. Donald, the son of Constantine, was killed at the town of Fores by the gentiles (i. e. pagan Danes.)

DCCCXLV. Cum exercitu suo Maelcolm perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach.†


“In villa fertur rex iste perisse Forensi.”

Chronicon elegiacum.

“In Murrawe syne he murtherysyd was
In-till the town is calld Foras.”

Wyntown, (B. VI. c. ix.)

† Excerpta, &c. ut supra. Cellach is an Irish name.
DCCCXLV. Malcolm, with his army, marched into Murray, and killed Kellach.

DCCCCLIIII. Occiderunt viri na Moerne Malcolm in Fodresach. i. in Claideom.

DCCCCLIIII. The men of na-Morne slew Malcolm in Fodresach, that is, in Claideom.

DCCCCLXV. Duff Mac-Malcolm interfectus in Fores, et absconditus sub ponte de Kinlos; et sol non apparuit quamdiu ibi latuit.

* Excerpta, &c. ut supra. "Malcom Mac-Dovenald ... Interfectus in Ulurn a Moraviensibus [per dolum]." Nomina regum Scotorum, ut supra.

Interfecerunt in Wlru Moravienses
Gentis apostatice fraude doloque cadit.

Chro. elegiacum.

Fodresach is, possibly, a corruption of Fores; as, according to Mr. Macpherson, Moerne (which is also twice mentioned in the ancient tract De situ Albaniae) may be of Murray; rather, perhaps, of Mar, or Morven, as coupled with Angus.

† Nomina regum, &c.—966. Duv Mac Maolcolum, king of
DCCCCLXV. Duff, the son of Malcolm, was killed in Fores, and hid under the bridge of Kinlos; and the sun did not appear so long as he lay there.

MXXXII. Gilcomgan MacMaolbryd, murmur of Mureve, burnt with 50 men about him.*

MXXXVII. Donchath Mac-'Crini' abbatis de Dunkeld et Bethoc filia Malcom-Mac-Kinat ... Interfectus à Macbeth-Mac-Finleg in Bothgouan nan.†

Scotland, killed by Scotsmen themselves. Annales Utonienses, MS.

Hunc interfecit gens perfida Moraviensis,
Cujus erat gladiis cesus in urbe Fores.

Chro. elegiacum.

* An. Ul. Murmor is thane ox earl. See O'Flaherty, p. 383. Gilcomgan Mac Maolbryd is an Irish name, meaning the servant of st. Comgan, the son of the devotee of st. Bridget.

† Nomina regum, &c.

A Fynlake natus percussit eum Makabeda;
Vulnere letali rex apud Elgyne obit.

Chro. elegia.

Macbeth, as appears from Wyntown, was at this time "thayne of Morave."
MXXXVII. Duncan, the son of Crinan abbot of Dunkeld, and of Bethoc daughter of Malcolm, the son of Kenneth ... was killed by Macbeth the son of Finleg in Bothgouanan [near Elgin].

MLXXV. Maolsnechta Mac-Lulay king of Mureb [sic f. mortuus est].

MLXXXV. Maolsnechta Mac-Lulach king of Murray, died.

MCXVI. Logman Macdonald, sons son to the king of Scotland, killed by the men of Murray.

MCXXX. Angus, comes Muravensis, interfectus est, cum gente sua, à Scottis.

* An. Ul. Lulach, the father of this Maolsnechta, was king of Scotland, and the immediate successor of Macbeth.
† Ibi.
‡Crónica de Mailros.—“ 1130. A battle between Scots-men and the men of Moreb, where 4000 of the men of Moreb,
MCXXX. Angus, earl of Murray, was slain, with his people, by the Scots.

MCLXXXVII. Willelmus, rex Scotiae, magno congregato exercitu, prefectus est in Moraviam, ad debellandum quendam hostem suum, qui nominabantur Mach-Willam: qui etiam dicebat se regia stirpe genitum; et de jure parentum suorum (ut with their king, were slain. Eneas, son to Lulays daughter, killed 1000 Scots in a retyre." An. Ul.—According to Orde- ricus Vitalis, under this year, while king David, in the court of king Henry, warily sought after judgement, and, about the guilt of perfidy, which Geoffrey de Clinton, as they say, had agitated against the king, diligently discussed, Aragois [Angus] earl of Murray, with Melcolfus [Malcolm, bastard son of Alexander] and 5000 of armed men entered Scotland, and studied to subject the whole region to himself. Moreover Edward, the son of Syward, who, under king Edward [the con- fessor], was earl of the Mercians, chief of the militia, and cou- sin of king David, collected an army, and suddenly met that of the enemy. At length, the battle being fought, he slew Aragois [Angus] the earl, and prostrated, took, and put to flight, his forces. Afterward, with his cohorts, now elated with triumph, he eagerly followed the fugitives, and entered Murray, wanting its defender and lord: and obtained, god assisting, the whole duchy of that spacious region. (P. 702.) Lord Hailes, who professes to know nothing of this Malcolm the bastard, might easily have discovered something more about him in Ethelreds description of the battle of the Standard.

* 2 Sam. xviii, 2, 3, 4.
nutum omnium pendebat sententia. Cum vero appropinquasset exercitum præfati Willelmi, insul-tum fecerunt in illos, et interfecerunt ipsum Wil-lelumum, et multos de exercitu suo; et reliquam partem fugere compulerunt; et eorum spolia inter-se diviserunt; et caput prædicti Willelmi abscess-sum detulerunt secum, et præsentaverunt illud regi Scotiæ. Et sic prostrato illo, pax magna facta est in regno Scotiæ.*

MCLXXXVII. William, king of Scotland, having assembled a great army, went into Murray, to subdue an enemy, who was called Mac-William; who also said that he was born of the royal family; and in the right of his parents (as he asserted) claimed the kingdom of Scotland: and did often many and troublesome things to William king of Scotland, through the consent and counsel of the earls and barons of the realm of Scotland. The aforesaid king William, considering, therefore, that it would behove him to lose the kingdom of Scotland, or to kill the aforesaid Mac-William, or at least to expel him from the bounds of his kingdom; being come into Murray, constituted over his army tri-

* Benedictus abbas, p. 469.
bunes and centurions: and said unto the people, "I will surely go forth with you myself also:" But the people answered, "Thou shalt not go forth: for it is better that thou succour us out of the city:" To whom the king said, "What seemeth you best I will do." And the king remained in a castle, which is called Inverness; and sent his earls and barons, with the Scots and Galwegians, to subdue his aforesaid enemy. And when they were depart-ed, a sedition arose among the chiefs; for some of them loved the king not at all, but some did love him. And these wished to proceed, but the rest permitted it not. And when they had contended, it pleased them, that the chiefs of the army should remain, and should send before scouts, that they might take food. They, therefore, chose almost three thousand warlike youths, whom they sent to seek the aforesaid enemy of the king: among whom was the family of Rowland, the son of Uchtred; on whose will depended the opinion of all. Now, when he had approached the army of the aforesaid William, they made an attack upon them, and kill-ed William himself, and many of his army; and the remaining part they compelled to fly; and they divided their spoils among themselves; and, having cut off the head of the aforesaid William, they brought it with them, and presented it to the king.
of Scotland: And so, he being prostrated, great peace was made in the realm of Scotland.

MCXCVII. Ortum est praelium in Morevia, juxta castrum Invernis, inter homines regis, et Rodericum, et Thorphinum filium comitis Haraldi; sed, deo procurante, regis hostes in fugam versi sunt, et prædictus Rodericus, cum multis aliis, caesus interiit. . . . Postmodum idem rex Willielmus, cum exercitu suo, praefectus est in Mureviam, et in ceteras remotiores terræ suæ partes, ubi Haraldum comitem cepit, eumque in castello de Rokesburgh observavi fecit, donec Thorfinus, filius ejus, se pro patre suo obsidem daret.*

MCXCVII. A battle was arisen, in Murray, near the castle of Inverness, between the kings men, and Roderick and Thorfin, son of earl Harold; but, god superintending, the kings enemies were turned into flight, and the aforesaid Roderick, with many others, being wounded, perished. Afterward, the same king William, with his army,

* Chro. de Mailros.
marched into Murray, and into the other more remote parts of his land, where he took earl Harold, and caused him to be kept in the castle of Roxburgh, until Thorfin his son should give himself a hostage for his father.

MCCXV. Intraverunt in Moreviam hostes domini regis Scotiae, scilicet, Dovenaldus filius Macwielmi, et Kennauhtmacht, et filius cujusdam regis Hiberniae, cum turba malignantium copiosa: in quos irruens Machentagar, hostes regis validè prostravit, quorum capite detruncavit, et novo regimunera præsentavit, XVII. kalendas Julii, propter quod dominus rex novum militem ipsum ordinavit.*

MCCXV. The enemies of the lord the king of Scotland entered into Murray, to wit, Donald the son of Macwilliam, and Kennahmacht, and the son of a certain king of Ireland, with a copious multitude of malignants: upon whom Machentagart falling furiously, he stoutly prostrated the kings

* Chro. de Mairros. He was, afterward, created earl of Ross.
enemies, whose heads he cut off, and presented as gifts to the new king, the 17th of the calends of July, for which the lord the king created him a new knight.

THE END.