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SCOTTISH ANNALS FROM ENGLISH
CHRONICLERS

SCOTTISH ANNALS
FROM
ENGLISH CHRONICLERS
A.D. 500 to 1286

By
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M.A. Edinb.

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PREFACE

It is not clear to what extent the earlier chroniclers were misled by such errors in geographical direction as we see in Ptolemy's map, where Ireland extends to the N.N.W. of Cumberland, and northern Scotland is twisted round till north has become east. Thus the relative position of Bede's northern and southern Picts is uncertain.

Changes in the names of races add to the obscurity of their boundaries. The Welsh of Strathclyde are not always distinguishable from the Welsh further south, both being called Britons,—a name originally applicable to the Picts.

Scots settled in Pictland; and in time part of Pictland took the name of Scotia, and its inhabitants that of Scots. The name of Picts became limited to those dwelling south of the Forth. But no generic name is given to the district south of Forth and Clyde and north of Solway and Tweed; and it is probable that the different races inhabiting this area are not always very clearly distinguished.

When Ninian preached in Galloway he was, according to Bede, a missionary to the Southern Picts. At that time (before the Anglo-Saxon occupation of England) the Britons had lost ground before the Picts and Scots; Pictish territory was continuous from Galloway to Manau. Not till after the Anglo-Saxons had driven the Britons northwards did Dumbarton become a British stronghold. Then the Britons established themselves in Strathclyde, during a period of intense national feeling which may have given rise to the Arthur legends. Some of the twelve victories ascribed to Arthur may have been won in Scotland; cf. the *Historia Brittonum*, in M.G.H., AA., XIII, 199–200. (Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, 43–49; William of Malmesbury, G.R., I, 11–12.)

Henceforward Pictland south of the Forth was divided into Stirling and Manau on the one side, and Galloway on the other.

After the formation of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria the Picts of Manau held their own long enough to

give its English name to their boundary, the Pentland Hills. For a time they were under English rule, as long before they may have been under British rule. But in 685 they were reunited to their kindred north of the Forth. In the beginning of the eighth century Manau had still preserved its identity ; in the middle of the twelfth, Calatria was still known by name. As in 1093 at Margaret's death, so still in 1255 we are struck by the nearness to Edinburgh of a Celtic population.

The claim made in 1138 by Galloway to lead the Scottish van seems to have puzzled our chroniclers. Avoiding the name " Galwegians " Henry of Huntingdon calls them " men of Lothian " ; John of Hexham, " Scots " ; Richard of Hexham, " Picts." Galwegians are called " Welsh " by Benedict of Peterborough, Gervase of Canterbury, Roger Wendover. And no doubt Galloway had encroached upon the borders of Strathelyde. But the Galwegian war-cry " Albani," (if we may trust Henry of Huntingdon,) shows that these remote and turbulent provincials did not regard themselves as being distinct from their countrymen north of the Forth.

It is sufficiently probable that kings placed upon the Scottish throne by English aid should bind themselves by personal homage to the English king. But if early English historians were eager to record Scottish acts of homage less from knowledge than from a sense of fitness, we need not regard their statements as infallible. It is necessary to remember that the English claims to supremacy over Scotland rest upon the testimony of English witnesses.

* * * * *

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INTRODUCTORY

RALPH DE DICETO, *IMAGINES HISTORIARUM*, VOL. II, P. 35,
S.A. 1185.¹

WHEN earl Simon, son of Simon earl of Northampton, had died without children, king [Henry II] rendered the earldom of Huntingdon with all that pertained to it to William, king of Scots, who was the son of earl Henry, the son of king David, who was the son of Malcolm, son of Duncan, son of Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm, son of Kenneth, son of Malcolm, son of Donald, son of Constantin, son of Kenneth, son of Alpin, son of Eochaid, son of Eth Find, son of Eochaid. son of Donald Breac, son of Eochaid Buide, son of Aidan, son of Gabran, son of Domangart, son of Fergus Mor, son of Erc, son of Eochaid Muin-remor, son of Angus Fith, son of Fedelmid Aislingech, son of Angus Buidnech,² son of Fedelmid Romach, son of Senchormac, son of Cruitlinde, son of Findacha, son of Achircir, son of Eochaid Andoit, son of Fiacha Cathmhil,³ son of Eochaid Riada,⁴ son of Conaire, [son of] Mog Lama, son of Lugaid Ildathach,⁵ son of Coirbre Crom-chenn, son of Daire Dorn-mor, son of Coirbre Find-mor, son of Conaire Mor, son of Eterscel, son of Eogan, son of Oilill, son of Iar, son of Degad, son of Sen, son of Before-Sen,⁶ son of Ther, son of Before-Ther,⁷ son of Roin, son of Arandil, son of Maine, son of Forgo,⁸ son of Feradach, son of Oilill Erann, son of Fiacha Fer-mara, son of Angus Tuirmech, son of Fir-cetharocht, son of Firrocht, son of An-roth, son of Firalmai, son of Lamcure, son of Liethan, son of Eochaid Alt-lethan, son of Oilill Cas-fiaclach, son of Conla, son of Ireto,⁹ son of Meilge, son of Cobthach Cael Bregh, son

¹ Cf. Stubbs, *ibid.*, note. This genealogy must be compared with the genealogy in Skene, P. & S., 133-134; the Pictish Chron., *ibid.*, 8-10; Fland Manistrech, *ibid.*, 18-22; and the genealogies *ibid.*, 148-149, 151-152; 171-172, 174-176.

² In text *Buthini*; P. & S., 133, *buiding*.

³ In text, *Catinail*; P. & S., 134, *Cathmhail*.

⁴ The same as Cairbre Riada: cf. the *Cóir Anmann*, 61, 63, 65, which assigns to him the invasion of Dalriada in Scotland; *Irische Texte*, iii, 214, 316.

⁵ In text *Etholach*; P. & S., 134, *Ellatig*.

⁶ In text *Rosin*.

⁷ In text *Rether*.

⁸ In text *Forgso* as if for *Ferguso*.

⁹ *Iarunn-gléo* in *Cóir Anmann*, 95; u.s., 328.

of Ugaine Mor, son of Eochaid Buadach,¹ son of Duach Lodgrach, son of Fiacha [Tolgach, son of Muredach]² Bolgrach, son of Simon Brec, son of Eon Duf, son of Aidan Glas,³ son of Nuada Fail, son of Oilill Olchain,⁴ son of Sirna, son of Dian, son of Demail, son of Rothechtaid,⁵ son of Ogmaen, son of Angus Olmucaid, son of Fiacha Labrainne, son of Smirnai, son of Sinrecha, son of Emboth, son of Tigernach, son of Faleg, son of Etheor, son of Iair Ol-faith,⁶ son of Eremon, son of Mil Espaine, son of Bile, son of Neande, son of Brige, son of Bregan, son of Bratha, son of Deatha, son of Erchatha, son of Aldoith, son of Node, son of Nonael, son of Eber Scot, son of Goidel Glas, son of Niul, son of Fenias Farsaid, son of Eogan,⁷ son of Glonin, son of Lamin, son of Etheor, son of Achman, son of Thoe, son of Boib, son of Rein, son of Mair, son of Etheth, son of Abiur, son of Artheth, son of Haoith, son of Aora, son of Jara, son of Israu, son of Esrau, son of Richaith Scot, son of Gomer, son of Japheth, son of Noah.

JOHN OF EVERSDEN, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, PP. 252-253.⁸

And it is to be noted that these are the names of the kings of Scots, who reigned in Scotland after the Picts :

Kenneth son of Alpin, first after the Picts, 16 years ;

Donald son of Alpin, 3 ;

Constantin son of Kenneth, 19 : ⁹

Kenneth son of Kenneth, 1 ;

Tirged son of Dugal, 12 ;

Donald son of Constantin, 11 ;

Constantin son of Beth, 45 : ¹⁰

¹ In text *Rothai*.

² Omitted in text ; cf. P. & S., 134.

³ In text "*Etheon* son of *Glachs*."

⁴ In text *Elchatha Olchain*.

⁵ In text, *Rothotha* ; P. & S., 134, *Rodchada*.

⁶ *Irél Fáidh* in *Cáir Annaman*, 79 ; u.s., 326.

⁷ From here to the end there is considerable divergency from the Chr. of the Scots, in P. & S., 134. The Irish genealogists derive Fenias Farsaid through Baath from Magog, brother of Gomer (Genesis X, 2.) The names given by the His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 160-161, are:—Hessitio, Alanus, Fetebir, Ougomun, Thoi, Boib, Símeon, Mair, Ethach, Aurthach, Eethet, Oth, Abir, Ra, Ezra, Izrau, Baath, Iobaath, Iovan, Iafeth, Noah. Cf. also Filius Urbagen (Mommson's MS. Z ; His. Britt., u.s., 119.) in *Revue Celtique*, xv, 177-178.

⁸ Cf. the Chr. of the Scots in Skene, P. & S., 130-131 ; the Pictish Chr., *ibid.*, 8-10 ; Fland. *Manistrech*, *ibid.*, 21-22 ; Chr. of the Sc. & P., *ibid.*, 151-152.

⁹ Read 14, xii for ix.

¹⁰ Read 42, xlii for xli.

Malcolm son of Donald, 9 ;
 Indolf son of Constantin, 9 ;
 Duf son of Malcolm, 3 years and six months ;
 Culen son of Indolf, 4 years and six months ;
 Kenneth son of Malcolm, 22 years and two months ;
 Constantin son of Culen, 1 year and a half ;
 Kenneth son of Duf, 1 year and three months ;
 Malcolm son of Kenneth, 30 years ;
 Duncan grandson of Enis, 5 years and nine months ;
 Macbeth¹ son of Finlay, 17 years ;
 Lulach,² 4 years and a half ;
 Malcolm, son of Duncan, received as wife St. Margaret, and
 reigned 37 years ;
 Donald, his brother, invaded the kingdom for 3 years ;
 Duncan, base-born son of Malcolm, 1 year and a half ;
 Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret, 9 years ;
 Alexander, his brother, 17 years three months ;
 David, most glorious brother of the same, 29 years ; and he
 begot Henry, earl of Huntingdon ;
 Malcolm, son of earl Henry, 12 years and a half ;
 William, son of earl Henry aforesaid, 49 years ;
 Alexander, son of the aforesaid William, 35 years ;
 Alexander, son of Alexander. He received as wife Margaret,
 daughter of Henry, king of England, and begot Margaret,
 queen of Norway.

¹ In text *Macheth*.

² In text *Lusach*. The four and a half years assigned to him seem to be repeated under the names of Donald and Duncan, successors of Malcolm III.

PART I

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, I, 1: VOL. I, PP. 12, 13.¹

BUT as time went on, Britain received a third race, after the Britons and Picts; that of the Scots, in the region of the Picts. And they advanced from Ireland, led by Reuda,² and claimed for themselves, whether by friendship or by the sword, the settlements which they have still: and from this leader, to wit, they are even yet called Dalreudini, for in their tongue *Daal* signifies "a part." . . .

[Ireland] is properly the country of the Scots: they left it as we have said, and added a third nation in Britain to the Britons and the Picts.³

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers. i, 28: 30. A.S.C., Pref., MSS. D.E.F. H. of H., 14, 15-16.

² Cairbre Riada (cf. supra, note) is the eponymous founder of Dalriada in Antrim, ca. 200 A.D. Cf. Ann. of the Four Masters, in O'Conor, Scriptorum, iii, 78.

The first king of Dalriada in Scotland was Fergus Mor, son of Ere; cf. supra, pedigree of the kings. He became king in 502; cf. Skene, P. & S., 17, 18, 59, 130, 66.

³ For the earlier invasions of Southern Britain by Picts and Scots v. Bede, the *Historia Brittonum*, and Gildas.

For the distribution of races cf. Gildas, *De Exc. Brit.*, XI, in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 33:—"Thenceforth [?] 396] Britain was abandoned by all her armed soldiers and by her warlike forces, and by her rulers [the Romans.] cruel though they were: and despoiled of a great number of her youth, who had followed the footsteps of the aforesaid tyrant [Maximus] and never again came home; and, being wholly ignorant of every warlike practice, she suffered for many years, groaning and stupefied, to be trampled upon at first by two exceeding cruel foreign nations,—of the Scots from the west-north-west, and of the Picts from the north."—(A marginal note in one MS., M.H.B., 10, note:—"Because the Scots at that time dwelt in Ireland, and the Picts in Scotland, that is, to the north.")

Cf. Bede, H.E., I, 12, i, 25-26:—"Now we call these nations foreign not because their place was outside of Britain, but because they were separated from the district of the Britons, two gulfs of the sea lying between: and of these gulfs the one runs into the lands of Britain far and widely from the eastern, the other from the western sea, although they cannot meet.

"The eastern gulf has in its midst" (*in medio sui*; not necessarily on an island) "the city of Giudi: the western has above it, that is on its right side, the town of Alcluith, which means in their tongue the Rock of Clyde; for it is near a river of that name."

This passage is omitted by the A.S. Vers. For Giudi MS. IV has *Guidi*; so H. of H., 34. MS. C² has *iudi*. Cf. infra, aa. 655-658.

Of the wall built, according to Gildas, XII, u.s., by the Britons between

Now there is a very great gulf of the sea, which anciently separated the nation of the Britons from the Picts. And it runs inland for a long space from the west, where stands even to-day the very strong city of the Britons, which is called Alcluth.¹ And to the northern side, to wit, of this gulf came the Scots, as we have said, and made for themselves the place of their abode.

547

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, V, 24, RECAPITULATIO. VOL. I, p. 353.

In the year 547 Ida began to reign;² and from him the royal line of the Northumbrians takes its origin. And he continued in the kingdom for twelve years.

the two gulfs, Bede says (H.E., I, 12, i. 26):—"And of the work there built—that is, of a very broad and high rampart,—even to-day the surest traces may be seen. It begins at a distance of nearly two miles westward from the monastery of Abercorn, in a place which is called in the Pietish speech Peanfahel, and Pemeltun in the English tongue; and running westwards ends near the town of Alcluth."

E. W. B. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, 22-24, understands Peanfahel as *Pinna valli*, and identifies it with Blackness.

Bede, H.E., I, 11; i, 25:—"And [the Romans] dwelt within the rampart" [A.S. Vers. reads:—"the Britons dwelt to the south of the dyke,"] "which we have related that Severus made across the island, to the district in the south, as cities, watchtowers [*farus*], bridges and roads there made still testify to-day. But by right of dominion they possessed the farther parts of Britain, and indeed the islands which lie beyond Britain."

¹ Dumbarton.

² Ida was the founder of the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia (cf. Bede, H.E., I, 15; i, 31;) A.S.C., MSS. A,B,C,D,E,F, s.a. 547; Fl. of W., i, 5. His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 130 (Nen.), 201, 205. Ethelw., in M.H.B., 504. R. of D., V.S. Osw., in S. of D., i, 338-339. H. of H., 50.

Bernicia included Lothian and Teviotdale, extending in Bede's day as far as to Abercorn on the Forth (H.E., IV, 26, infra s.a. 685) and westwards to Whithorn (H.E., III, 4, infra s.a. 565. Cf. Fl. of W., i, 279, 280; W. of M., G.P., 256, 257; infra, s.a. 731, notes.)

Genealogies of Ida's predecessors are given by His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 202. Ser. Reg. North., in S. of D., ii, 389; A.S.C., MSS. B,C, s.a. 547; Fl. of W., i, 5. H. of H., 50. Cf. J. of E., in Fl. of W., ii, 250-251.

For his successors cf. His. Britt., u.s., 206-208; and in agreement with it the Northumbrian Annals, in M.H.B., 290 (cf. S. of D., H.R., 14):—"After him Clappa [reigned] one year: Adda, 8; Ethelric, 4 [in S. of D., 7]; Theodric, 7 [in S. of D., 4]; Frithwald, 6 [in S. of D., 7]; Hussa, 7; Ethelfrid 24 [in S. of D., 28]; Edwin, 17. . . ."

De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 374; R. of D., V.S.O., in S. of D., i, 339; and S. of D., H.D.E., i, 40, give the series thus:—Adda, 8; Clappa, 1; Hussa, 7; Frithulf, 7; Theodric, 7; Ethelric, 4; Ethelfrid, 24. Different accounts are given by Ser. Reg. North., in S. of D., ii, 390, and by Fl. of W., i, 6.

For a list of Ida's sons see S. of D., H.D.E., i, 40; De Pr. Sax. Adv., *ibid.*, ii, 374. Cf. His. Britt., u.s., 202.

REGINALD OF DURHAM, *VITA S. OSWALDI*, IN *S. OF D.*, VOL. I,
P. 339.

The kingdom of the Deirans was of old from the river Humber to the bed of the source of the Tyne; and that of the Bernicians extended at once its border and its area from the source of the Tyne to the Scotwad,¹ which is called Forth² in the Scottish tongue.

But all that lies between the rivers Tyne and Tees was at that time but a desert waste, and therefore subject to no man's dominion, and therein was but the den and dwelling-place of wild and woodland beasts.

JOHN OF EVERSDEN, IN *FL. OF W.*, VOL. II, P. 250.

Hyring was the first king who reigned after the Britons in Northumbria.³

Northumbria is from the great river Humber . . . to the Frisian sea, which is now called the Scottish Sea,⁴ because it separates the Angles and the Scots. It was called the Frisian sea of old, because the Frisians with the Danes often and most frequently were wont to land there with their ships, and afterwards to ravage Northumbria along with the Picts and Scots. Afterwards this district was divided, upon diverse occasions and various misfortunes, in many ways. And no long time afterwards it was divided into two districts:—into Deira, to wit, and Bernicia. . . .

And Bernicia is the district in which reigned the holy king and martyr, Oswald; to wit, from the Tyne to the Sea of Scotland.

Thereafter Northumbria meant sometimes from the Humber to the Tees, sometimes to the Tyne, sometimes to the Tweed; but now only so much as is between the Tyne and the Tweed.

565

BEDE, *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA*, III, 4; VOL. I, PP. 133–135.⁵

How the nation of the Picts received the faith of Christ.

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 565, at which time

¹ "Even when the Picts dwelt there," Bk. of H., 15: i.e., south of the Forth.

² In text *Froch*.

³ *Ibid.*, 251, after a genealogy:—"For all these kings from Hyring to king Ida have been either omitted by or unknown to all the historians, and their records have been either burned in the land or carried from the land."

⁴ The Forth.

⁵ This chapter is omitted in the *Capitula*, and by the A.S. Vers. Cf., s.a. 565: Bede, H.E., *Recapit.*, V, 24: i. 353: A.S.C., MSS. A,B,C;

after Justinian Justin the younger received the helm of the Roman Empire,¹ there came to Britain from Ireland a priest and abbot notable for the habit and life of a monk, Columba by name, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts; that is, to those which are shut off from their southern districts by steep and rugged mountain chains.²

For the southern Picts who have their seats to this side of the same mountains had, as they relate, a long time before forsaken the error of idolatry and received the faith of truth, when the word was preached to them by Ninian,³ a most reverend

Ethelw., in M.H.B., 504; Fl. of W., i, 7; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 503; H. of H., 92-93. Cf. Tighernach, s.a. 563; Ann. of Ulster, s.a. 562, both of which say that Columba was in his forty-second year. Cf. Ann. Cambr., s.a. 562.

A.S.C., s.a. 565, MSS. E,F, and insertions in A:—"And Columba the mass-priest came to the Picts, and turned them to Christ's faith" ["to the right faith," E]; "they are dwellers [lit. "warders"] to the north of the mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Iona: in it are five hides, as men say. There this Columba built a monastery; and there he was abbot thirty-two winters. And there he died, when he was seventy-seven winters old. Even yet his successors have a place there." MSS. E,F:—"The South Picts were baptized much earlier; bishop Ninian, who was taught at Rome, preached baptism to them. His church and his monastery are at Whithorn, consecrated in Martin's name. There he rests with many holy men." [A] does not mention the church:—"his monastery is Whithorn," etc.

For Whithorn cf. *infra*, s.a. 731.

¹ Justin II became emperor on the 15th November, 565. (Gibbon.)

² Cf. Bede, H.E., V, 9; i, 297:—"Now Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the Picts beyond the mountains toward the north, and the first founder of the monastery which in the island of Iona long remained venerable to many peoples of the Scots and Picts. And this Columba to wit is now by some called by a name composed from *cella* and *Columba*, 'Columville.'

Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 410:—"This Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith in the mountains (*mórloulum*) which are to the north of the Pictish kingdom."

³ See A. of R.'s Life of St. Ninian, in Forbes's Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern. Ninian's church was built in ? 397 A.D. (*ibid.*, 27); the date of his death is given as September 16, 432.

Palladius, sent as first bishop to Ireland, (Bede, H.E., I, 13, s.a. 431; V, 24, s.a. 430,) after some seasons "departed from Ireland and came to Britain, where he died in the land of the Picts": His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 194-195. The Irish Nennius reads:—"Palladius was expelled from Ireland, and came and served God in Fordun in the Mearns." *Ibid.*, 194. Todd Lec. Ser. vi, 15.

W. of M., G.P., 256-257:—"Candida Casa [Whithorn] is the name of the place on the extreme borders of England, close to Scotland, where rests St. Ninian the confessor: by race a Briton, he first preached there the gospel of Christ.

"The name was given to it for this cause that he made there a church of smoothed stone, to the marvel of the Britons.

"Antiquity found this St. Ninian remarkable for his virtues; as Albinus writes in a letter to the brethren of that place, saying, 'I beseech all your devout assembly that you preserve the memory of our name in the church of

bishop and very holy man of the race of the Britons ; and one who had been regularly trained at Rome in the faith and the mysteries of truth. And even now¹ the English nation obtains the see of his episcopate, notable for the name and church of the bishop St. Martin ; and there also [Ninian] rests in the body, along with very many saints. And this place, pertaining to the province of the Bernicians, is commonly called *Ad Candidam Casam* [Whithorn], because he made there a church of stone, after a custom strange to the Britons.²

Now Columba came to Britain while Brude, son of Maelchon, a most powerful king, reigned over the Picts, in the ninth year of his reign ;³ and he turned that nation by word and example to the faith of Christ. And hence also he received in possession from them the aforesaid island [of Iona], to make a monastery. For it is not large, but as it were of five families, according to the reckoning of the Angles ;⁴ and his successors hold it to this day ; and there he himself was buried, when he was seventy-seven⁵ years old, about thirty-two⁶ years from the time when he came to Britain to preach.⁷

But before he came to Britain he had made a noble monastery in Ireland ; and it is called in the Scottish tongue, from the abundance of its oak-trees, *Dearmach*,⁸ that is, the plain of oaks.

your most holy father, bishop Ninian, who shone with many virtues [i.e. miracles] 'as has been recently brought to my knowledge by some verses of poetry sent to us by our faithful disciples the scholars of the church of York. And in them I discovered the learning of a worker, and the holiness of a worker of miracles.'" This letter (782 × 804) of Alcuin or Albinus is in Migne, *100*, 511-512 ; H. & S., ii, 8.

¹ I.e. shortly before 731 A.D. ; v. *infra*, s.a. 731.

² Cf. Finan's wooden church in Lindisfarne ; Bede, H.E., III, 25, *infra*, s.a. 651.

³ Cf. the continuation of Marc. Com., in Migne, *51*, 948, s.a. 557 :—" In Britain Bridus became king of the Picts."

Brude's father Maelchon may have been the king of North Wales who died in 547. Of him the His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 205-206, says :—" The great king Maelchon reigned among the Britons, that is to say in the region of Guenedota : because his ancestor (*atarus*), that is Cunedag, had formerly come with his sons, whose number is eight, from the northern region, that is to say from the district which is called Manau Guotodin, 146 years before Maelchon reigned : and they expelled the Scots with the greatest slaughter from these districts [of Guenedota] ; and never again did [the Scots] return to dwell there." For Manau cf. *infra*, 710 × 711, note.

⁴ So A.S.C., n.s. :—" Therein are five hides."

⁵ " Seventy-six," MS. X.

⁶ " Thirty-four," MS. X.

⁷ Little light is thrown upon the chronology by the His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 158-159.

Columba died on the 9th June, 597 ; v. Reeves, Adamnan, 309-312.

⁸ I.e. Durrow ; in Adamnan, 23, *Dairmag*.

And out of each of these monasteries thenceforth very many monasteries were multiplied by his disciples, both in Britain and in Ireland; so that over all of them the same island monastery in which he rests in the body held the principate.¹

Now that island is accustomed to have as its ruler ever an abbot-priest, to whose right both the whole province and the bishops also themselves must be subject, in uncustomary order, after the example of its first teacher, who was no bishop, but a priest and monk.²

And of his life and words some writings are reported to be in the possession of his disciples. But whatever manner of man he was himself,³ this we hold for certain concerning him,

¹ Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 3, *infra*, after 635 A.D. : III, 21, *infra*, s.a. 655, note ; V, 22, *infra*, s.a. 716. In each of these passages Bede uses a past tense of the verb in speaking of the authority of Iona. The control of the Columbite monasteries in Britain was removed to Dunkeld by Constantine I, who reigned from 789 to 820 A.D. Later, the monastery of Iona was abandoned owing to the Norwegian invasions : but it was rebuilt by queen Margaret. Cf. O.V., VIII, xx, *infra*, s.a. 1093. Kenneth mac Alpin (who reigned 844-860) "in the seventh year of his reign transferred the body of St. Columba to the church which he had founded," at Dunkeld. Chr. of the Piets, in Skene, P. & S., 8. The monastery of Abingdon claimed to possess one of Columba's ribs : Chr. of Ab., ii, 158. For his relics' wanderings v. Ann. of Ulst., s.a.a. 828, 830, 848, 877.

² This is misunderstood by A.S.C. MSS. A,E,F.—s.a. 565 :—"Now there must ever be in Iona an abbot, not a bishop ; and to him must be subject all Scottish bishops ; because Columba was an abbot, not a bishop."

Cf. Bede, H.E., IV, 27 ; i, 270 :—"For at that time the same most reverend father [Eata] ruled this place also [Lindisfarne], in the rank of abbot. For indeed from ancient times both the bishop was wont to dwell there with the clergy, and the abbot with the monks ; although they too pertained as a family to the care of the bishop. Because of course Aidan, who was the first bishop of that place, himself a monk came with monks thither, and established there monastic life : even as we know the blessed father Augustine also to have done before in Kent, when the most reverend pope Gregory wrote to him what we have set down above also, [H.E., I, 27 ; i, 48-49.] saying :—"But because thou, my brother, hast been trained in the rules of the monastery, and oughtest not to be separated from thy clergy ; in the church of the English, which lately by God's guidance has been brought to the faith, that manner of life ought to be established which was to our fathers the beginning of the church at its birth ; for among them was none who said that anything of what they possessed was his own, but they had all things in common." Cf. Bede, V.S.C., XVI ; E.H.S. ed., ii, 79-80. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 26.

Nevertheless Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne in 661 (Bede, H.E., III, 26, *infra*.) but was not bishop till 678 (H.E., IV, 12 ; i, 228-229.) In the Scottish system the bishops were members of monasteries, and subject to their abbot.

³ A still plainer insinuation against the character of Columba occurs among Wilfrid's arguments at the Synod of Whitby ; Bede, H.E., III, 24 ; i, 187-188 :—"Now of your father Columba and his followers, whose sanctity you profess to imitate, and whose rule and precepts, confirmed by signs from heaven, you profess to follow, I might be able to answer that when in the Judgment many say to the Lord that they have prophesied in His name, and

that he left successors notable for great continence, and for love of God, and regular training. In the time of the chief festival, it is true, they followed doubtful orbits, inasmuch as no one had brought to them, situated far beyond the world, the Synodal decrees for the observance of Easter; but they observed diligently those works of piety and chastity which they were able to learn in the prophetic, evangelic and apostolic writings. But the observance of Easter after this fashion remained with them for no short time; that is, for a hundred and fifty years, till the year of the Lord's incarnation 715.

But then came to them the most revered and holy father and priest Egbert, of the race of the Angles. He had lived very long in exile for Christ in Ireland, and was both most learned in the Scriptures and distinguished for the long-continued perfection of his life. And they were corrected by him, and brought over to the true and canonical day of Easter; though even before then they celebrated it not, as some imagined, always on the fourteenth day of the moon, with the Jews, but on Sunday, although in other weeks than they ought. For, being Christians, they knew that the Lord's resurrection which took place on the first day of the week must always be celebrated on the first day of the week; but, being barbarians and peasants, they had by no means learned when that first day (which is now called the Lord's day) arrived. And because they omitted not to burn with the grace of charity they merited to receive perfectly the knowledge of this matter also, according to the promise of the apostle who says:—"And if anything ye understand otherwise, even that also shall God reveal to you."¹

But of this we must speak more fully below, in its place.²

597

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, S.A. 597, MSS. A,B,C,E.³

At this time Ceolwulf began to reign in Wessex, and con-

cast out devils, and done many miracles, the Lord will reply that he never knew them. But forbid that I should say this of your fathers: for it is far juster to believe good than evil of men unknown. And therefore I do not deny that they also were servants of God, and beloved of God, who loved God with rustic simplicity, but with pious intention."

¹ Philippians, III, 15.

² V. infra, s.a. 716.

³ Cf. Ethelwerd, s.a. 597, in M.H.B., 505; Fl. of W., 10; H. of H., 54-55.

stantly he fought and strove against the Angle race, or against Welsh, or against Picts, or against Scots.¹

603

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, I, 34; VOL. I, PP. 71-72.²

How Ethelfrid, king of the Northumbrians, crushed the nations of the Scots in battle, and expelled them from the territories of the Angles.

In these times Ethelfrid, a most powerful king, and very eager for glory, reigned over the kingdom of the Northumbrians; and he more than all the princes of the Angles wasted the nation of the Britons, so that he seemed comparable with Saul, at one time king of the Israelite nation—with this exception only, that he was ignorant of the divine religion.—For no one among tribunes,³ no one among kings, after expelling or subduing the inhabitants made more of their lands either tributary to the English nation or habitable by them. And to him deservedly might that saying be applied which the patriarch pronounced, blessing his son, upon the person of Saul: "Benjamin is a ravening wolf; in the morning shall he devour the prey, in the evening shall he divide the spoil."⁴

Wherefore Aidan, king of the Scots who dwell in Britain, was disturbed by his advance,⁵ and came against him with a huge and mighty army; but he was conquered, and fled away with few. For almost all his army was slain in a most renowned place which is called Degsastán; that is, Degsa stone.⁶

¹ Coolwulf reigned for fourteen years, according to the A.S.C., MSS. A, B, C, E, and Fl. of W.; seventeen years, according to the Pref., MSS. A and ?B (v. E. and Pl., i, 2; ii, 2-3), where, however, the chronology is different.

This annal seems highly improbable as regards Scotland.

² A.S. Vers., i, 92. Cf. Bede, H.E., V, 24, Recapit., i, 353. A.S.C. MS. E, MSS. A, B, C, s.a. 603. Fl. of W., i, 11. W. of M., G. R., i, 47. H. of H., 53.

³ "More than all English-kind and aldermen," A.S. Vers.

⁴ Genesis XLIX, 27.

⁵ "And drew him into a war against his will," says W. of M., G. R., u.s.

⁶ Perhaps Dawstane, near Jedburgh.

A.S.C., MS. E, foolishly reads:—"In this year Aidan, king of Scots fought against the Dalriada and against Ethelfrid, king of the Northumbrians, at Degsastan." Aidan, the son of Gabran, became king of Dalriada in 574. His name is spelt *Aedan* by Bede; *Egthan* by A.S.C., MS. E, and insertion in MS. A; *Edan* by W. of M.; *Ean*, Sigebert of Gemblours, in M.G.H., SS., vi, 322. (Cf. Plummer, Bede, ii, 64-66.)

The place of the battle is named *Degsan stane*, by A.S.C., MS. E; *Dagstane*, ins. in MS. A; at *Egesan stane*, MSS. B, C.

And in this battle also Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, was slain with almost all the army which he led.¹

And Ethelfrid accomplished this battle to wit in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 603, and the eleventh year of his kingship, which he held for four and twenty years; moreover in the first year of Phocas, who then held the summit of the Roman realm.²

And never from that time has any of the kings of Scots even to this day dared to come to battle in Britain against the nation of the Angles.³

616 × 617

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, II. 9; VOL. I, P. 97.⁴

And for this king [Edwin], to wit, the power of his earthly empire also had increased, in token of his receiving the faith and the heavenly kingdom: so that he received under his sway (as none of the Angles before him) all the territories of Britain, where dwelt the provinces either of [the Angles] themselves or of the Britons. And also the Mevanian isles . . . he reduced to the empire of the Angles.

616 × 617

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III. 1; VOL. I, P. 127.⁵

. . . For the whole time that Edwin reigned, the sons of the aforesaid king Ethelfrid, who had reigned before him, were

¹ "With all his band," A.S.C., MS. E.

² Phocas succeeded on the 23rd November, 602 (Gibbon.) Ethelfrid's father Ethelric, king of Bernicia, had annexed Deira upon the death of Elle; A.S.C., MSS. A,B,C,E, s.a. 588. Ethelfrid succeeded in 593 (A.S.C., MS. E) and ruled both kingdoms. Elle's son Edwin did not gain the kingdom till 616 × 617.

³ A.S.C., MS. E. — "Since then no king of the Scots dared lead an army into this nation."

"Hering, son of Hussa, led the army thither."

⁴ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 118, 120.

Alcuin, Carmen, in Raine's York, i, 353:—"And now with bowed necks passed under king [Edwin's] yoke the people of the Saxons, the Pict, the Scot, the Briton."

This is amplified by W. of M., G.R., i, 49-50:—" . . . not only the nations of Britain,—the Angles, Scots and Picts,—but also the Orkney and Mevanian isles . . . both feared his arms and bowed to his authority." Ibid., 49:—" . . . there was no province of Britain which did not look for his behest, ready to obey: except the men of Kent alone."

⁵ A.S. Vers., i, 152. Cf. R. of D., V.S.O., in S. of D., i, 341. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 375. W. of M., G.R., i, 51. Life of Eata, in Raine's Hexh., i, 211. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 503, s.a. 617.

in exile ¹ with many youths of the nobles ² among the Scots and Picts; and there were instructed in the doctrine of the Scots, and regenerated by the grace of baptism. . . .

633

REGINALD OF DURHAM, *VITA S. OSWALDI*, IN *S. OF D.*, VOL. I,
PP. 341-342.

But when king Edwin, [Oswald's] uncle, was slain by Cadwallon, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians,³ Anfrid, the firstborn son of king Ethelfrid, returned from Scottish exile, and took possession of his father's kingdom of the Bernicians,⁴ but only for one year.

634

And when after a year [Anfrid] was slain, St. Oswald, second of the sons, succeeded him; ⁵ but he reduced to himself the empire of the kingdoms not of the Bernicians and Deirans alone, but also of the Picts and of the Scots. And he joined Deira and Bernicia into one united kingdom.

And these realms he held all his days. And in the tongues which he had formerly learned he was for many days interpreter, when Aidan preached the word of God to the rude peoples on all sides subject to him.

¹ "Along with their mother [Acha]." *V.S. Osw.*, u.s.

According to *A.S.C.*, *MS. E.* s.a. 617, Ethelfrid had seven sons, "Anfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, and Othla"; cf. *Fl. of W.*, i, 10 s.a. 593, who adds "and one daughter called Ebba." Cf. *W. of M.*, *G.R.*, i, 48:—"Ethelfrid . . . had had two sons by Acha, the daughter of Elle [king of the Deirans,] and sister of Edwin:—Oswald, aged twelve years, and Oswy, four years. And by the care of their guardians they escaped by flight, and retired to Scotland."

During his sojourn in Scotland Oswald "completely learned" the Scottish tongue, and was able to interpret when Aidan preached; *Bede*, *H.E.*, III, 3; i, 132. Cf. *R. of D.*, *V.S. Osw.*, in *S. of D.*, i, 341-342, *infra*, *W. of M.*, *G.R.*, i, 51-52. *S. of D.*, *H.D.E.*, i, 18.

His brother Oswy was "very well versed in their language," *Bede*, *H.E.*, III, 25; i, 182.

Anfrid may have been the father of the Pictish king Talorg mac Anfrith. Cf. *Skene*, *P. & S.*, pp. cii, cxviii, f. Cf. *infra*, s.a. 685, note.

² "With twelve men," *V.S. Osw.*, in *S. of D.*, i, 367.

³ Edwin was slain in the battle of Hatfield, 633, October 12; *Bede*, *H.E.*, II, 20, i, 124; October 14, *A.S.C.*, *MS. E.*; "along with . . . the king of the Orkneys, Godbold, who had come to [the Northumbrians'] aid," says *G. of M.*, xii, 8.

⁴ At the same time Osric, son of Edwin's uncle Elfric, had Deira; *Bede*, *H.E.*, III, 1, i, 127; *A.S.C.*, *MS. E.* s.a. 634; *Ser. Reg. North.*, in *S. of D.*, ii, 390.

⁵ Before his victory over Cadwallon at Denisesburn (*Bede*, *H.E.*, III, 1; i, 128) Oswald had a vision of St. Columba, foretelling his success; *R. of D.*, *V.S.O.*, in *S. of D.*, i, 367.

634

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 3 ; VOL. I, P. 131.¹

How the same king [Oswald] asked a bishop of the Scottish nation, and received Aidan ; and granted to him the seat of his episcopate in the island of Lindisfarne.

The same Oswald, therefore, so soon as he received the kingdom, desired that the whole nation over which he began to rule should be imbued with the grace of Christian faith, of which he had now made most thorough trial in the conquest of barbarians ; and sent to the elders ² of the Scots, among whom while in exile he had attained to the sacraments of baptism with the knights who were with him, asking that there might be sent to him a bishop, by whose teaching and ministry the nation of Angles which he ruled might both learn the gifts of faith in the Lord, and receive the sacraments.

And not at all more slowly did he obtain what he asked ; for he received as bishop Aidan, a man of the highest meekness, and piety, and moderation, and one having the zeal for God, although not wholly according to knowledge. For he was accustomed to observe Easter Sunday after his nation's custom, which we have very often made mention of, from the fourteenth day of the moon to the twentieth. For still at that time the northern provinces of the Scots [of Ireland] and the whole race of the Picts celebrated the Lord's Easter in this manner, considering that in this observance they followed the writings of the holy father and worthy of praise, Anatolius. But if this be true every man of training can most easily learn.³

634

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 5 ; VOL. I, PP. 136-137.⁴

Now they say that when king Oswald craved from the province of the Scots a bishop who should administer to him and to his nation the word of faith, there was sent first another man, of austerer character ; and when for some while he had preached to the nation of the Angles and profited nothing, and

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 158. Life of Eata, Raine's Hexh., i, 211-212. Fl. of W., i, 17, s.a. 635. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 7 ; 17-20, s.a. 635.

² "To the aldermen of the Scots," A. S. Version.

³ "Although . . . learn," omitted by A.S. Version. Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 17 ; infra, p.a. 651.

In a letter to Wiered (Giles's Bede, i, 161) Bede alleges that the text of Anatolius had been deliberately altered in some copies. Cf. references in Plummer, Bede, ii, 191.

⁴ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 162 ; 164.

was not willingly heard by the people, he returned to his own land, and related in the assembly of the elders that he had been unable in any way to benefit by his teaching the nation to which he had been sent; because they were intractable men, and of a hard and barbarous disposition.¹

But [the elders], as is said, began to hold a quiet discussion in council as to what should be done; while desiring to save the nation, as was besought of them, yet grieving that the preacher whom they had sent had not been received.

Then said Aidan (for he too was present in the council) to the bishop about whom the discussion turned: "Meseemeth, brother, that thou hast been harder than was just for unlearned hearers, and hast not offered them according to apostolic precept first the milk of milder doctrine, until gradually nourished in God's word they were able to receive the more perfect and to keep the higher commandments of God."

Hearing this, all who sat there gave heed to him with ears and eyes, and diligently discussed what he said; and decided that he was worthy of the bishopric, that he should be sent to teach the unbelieving and the unlearned, since he was proved before all things to be imbued with the grace of discretion, which is the mother of the virtues. And so they ordained him and sent him to preach.

And when he had opportunity, as before by his controlling discretion, so afterwards he appeared adorned by the other virtues also.²

635

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 5; VOL. I, PP. 135-136.³

From this island, then, from the brotherhood of these monks, Aidan was sent, after receiving the rank of bishopric, to instruct the province of the Angles in Christ. And at

¹ Cf. Augustine's mission, put off from 596 to 597 A.D.: Bede, H.E., I, 23; i, 42-43.

² Pleased with king Oswald's generosity to the poor, Aidan blessed his hands. After Oswald's death they were cut off by order of Penda, but remained incorrupt: Bede, H.E., III, 6; i, 138. III, 12; i, 151-152. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 20-21.

When the priest Utta set out (soon after 642) to fetch from Kent king Oswy's bride Anflæd, daughter of Edwin, Aidan prophesied a storm, but gave him consecrated oil, which stilled it: Bede, H.E., III, 15; i, 157-158; Metr. Life of St. Cuthb., V, ed. E.H.S., ii, 8-9.

Aidan's prayers changed the wind and prevented Penda from burning Bamborough: Bede, H.E., III, 16; i, 158-159.

³ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 160, 162. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504,

this time the abbot and priest Seghine¹ ruled that monastery.

And hence in addition to other rules of life he left the clerics a most wholesome example of abstinence or continence; and this chiefly commended his teaching to all, that he taught not otherwise than as he lived, and his followers also. For he endeavoured to ask nothing, to desire nothing of this world. Everything that was given to him by the kings or the rich men of the world he rejoiced to bestow immediately upon the poor whom he chanced to meet.

It was his custom to travel about through the whole district, both of town and of country, not riding on horseback, but going on foot; unless perchance some greater need constrained him: to the end that wherever on his way he should see men, rich or poor, he might turn aside to them at once, and either invite them to the sacrament of the adoption of the faith, if they were unbelievers; or, if they were believers, strengthen them in their faith, and incite them both by words and deeds to acts of charity and the performance of good works.²

Now his life differed so much from the sloth of our times that all who went with him had to study, whether tonsured or lay; that is, to employ themselves either in reading scriptures, or in learning psalms.³ This was the daily work of [Aidan] and of all who were with him, in whatever place they came to.

And if it ever fell out (what yet seldom chanced) that he was called to the king's banquet, he entered with one cleric,

s.a. 635. Fl. of W., i, 245-246. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 10, s.a. 634.

Aidan's bishopric cannot have begun before 635. Twice, in H.E., III, 17 (infra, s.a. 651.) and III, 26 (infra, s.a. 664.) Bede in the same chapter counts his bishopric from both 635 and 634; though two MSS. of III, 17, count it from 635 only. It is reckoned from 634, e.g. by S. of D., H.D.E., i, 57 (though *ibid.* his reckoning places Cuthbert's death in 686 instead of 687;) but from 635, *ibid.*, i, 7; cf. i, 24.

Bede, H.E., III, 3, i, 132:—"To the bishop therefore when he came to him the king assigned the place of the episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne, as he himself desired. As the tide ebbs and flows this place is twice each day, like an island, washed round by the waves of the sea; and twice the beach is bared again, and contact with the land restored."

A list of the bishops of Lindisfarne is given by Fl. of W., i, 246.

¹ Seghine was abbot of Iona from 623 to 652. He may be the Seghine among the Scots to whom the pope-elect John addressed a bull on the Easter question, in 740: Bede, H.E., II, 19; i, 123, ii, 113. Cf. Adamnan, 16, 26, 111; Reeves, *ibid.*, 373. Cf. Cummián's letter to Seghine on the Paschal controversy, in Migne, 57, 969-978.

² Cf. the diocesan journeys of Boisil and Cuthbert: Bede, V.S.C., IX, infra, s.a. 661.

³ The A.S. Version adds:—"or, thirdly, to stand in holy prayers."

or with two : and after partaking of very little hastened to depart with speed, to read with his followers or to pray.

Following his example at that time all the religious—men, and women also—made it a custom throughout the whole year, (excepting the abatement of fifty days after Easter,) to prolong their fast to the ninth hour on the fourth and sixth days of the week.¹

Never did he hide from the rich, through respect or fear, whatever they had done amiss, but corrected them with sharp rebuke. Never was it his wont to give any money to the powerful of the world, but only food, if he entertained them in the hospice ; but the rather those gifts of moneys which were bestowed upon him by the rich did he either distribute in benefits to the poor, as we have said, or employ for the ransom of those who had been unjustly sold. Indeed many whom he had redeemed for a price, ransomed he afterwards made his disciples, and advanced by teaching and training even to the rank of priesthood.

635

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA. III. 3 ; VOL. I, P. 132.²

Thenceforward very many began to come to Britain day by day from the district of the Scots, and to preach the word of faith with great devotion to those provinces of the Angles over which Oswald reigned ; and to administer (as many as were possessed of episcopal rank³) the grace of baptism to the believing. Churches therefore were built throughout the land, and the people flocked to hear the word, rejoicing ; and possessions and territories were granted by royal gift for the establishment of monasteries : along with their parents the children of the Angles were instructed by the Scots their teachers in the studies and observance of regular discipline.⁴

For they were monks chiefly who had come to preach.

¹ The Gaelic names for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday still bear witness to this custom : they are " day of the first fast," " day between the two fasts," " day of the fast."

² Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 158, 160. Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 19–20.

³ *Sacerdotali . . . gradu.*

⁴ Cf. the six monasteries founded in Deira, and six in Bernicia ; Bede, H.E., III, 24 ; i, 178.

" From the church [of Lindisfarne] all the churches and monasteries of the province of the Bernicians took their origin." S. of D., H.D.E., i, 7. For the extent of the diocese in Scotland, cf. S. of D., i, 199 ; infra, ca. a. 830, note.

Bishop Aidan was himself a monk, inasmuch as he was sent from the island which is called Iona,¹ whose monastery held sway for no short time over almost all the monasteries of the northern Scots [of Ireland] and of all the Picts, and controlled the rule over their inmates.

And this island, it is true, pertains to the jurisdiction of Britain, being separated from it by a narrow channel; but ² by gift of the Picts who dwell in those regions of Britain it was long ago given up to the Scottish monks, because through their preaching [the Picts] received the faith of Christ.

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 6; VOL. I, PP. 137-138.³

By this bishop's teaching therefore King Oswald was instructed, along with that nation over which he ruled; and not only learned to hope for heavenly realms unknown to his ancestors, but also acquired from the same one God who made heaven and earth earthly realms beyond any of his forefathers.⁴

Indeed, he received under his sway all the races and provinces of Britain, divided as they are among four languages; ⁵ that is, the language of the Britons, of the Picts,⁶ of the Scots, and of the Angles.

¹ Hii. Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 21; i. 171, *infra*, s.a. 655, note.

² "It is true . . . but," not in A.S. Vers.

³ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 164. H. of H., 93.

⁴ According to Bede, H.E., II, 5; i. 89, Oswald's kingdom had the same limits as his uncle Edwin's had had.

⁵ Cf. His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 147. A.S.C., Pref., MS. F. A fifth language, Latin, is added to the tongues of Britain by Bede, H.E., I, 1; i. 11. Cf. A.S.C., Pref., MSS. D.E. H. of H., 12. G. of M., I, 2.

Before ?1130 the Pictish language had ceased to exist, according to H. of H., 12-13:—"Although the Picts seem now to have been wiped out, and their language so wholly destroyed that now it seems a fable when mention is found of them in the writings of the ancients.

"And to whom will it not suggest the love of heavenly things and the dread of earthly things, when he considers that not only their kings and princes and people have perished; but even their whole stock, their language and the recollection of them have failed together?—And if of the rest it were no wonder, yet it seems marvellous of the language, which from the beginning of languages God established one among the rest."

Cf. H. of H., 15:—" . . . This is certain, that [the Scots] came from Spain to Ireland, and that thence a section of them departed and added a third race in Britain to the Britons and the Picts. For a part of them also which remained there still uses the same tongue; and they are called Navarri." (Traces of a former Celtic language still linger in the dialects of northern Spain.)

⁶ Nevertheless cf. Bede, H.E., III, 24; *infra*, s.a. 655.

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BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 17 ; VOL. I, PP. 159-160.¹

When the day of death compelled him to depart from the body, after he had completed seventeen ² years of his bishopric, [Aidan] was in the royal vill not far from the town [of Bamborough] of which we have been speaking. For having in this [vill] a church and a bedchamber he had been accustomed very often to turn aside and stay there, and to go out thence in all directions to preach.—And this he used to do also in other royal vills, inasmuch as he had nothing of his own possession excepting his church and the plots of ground adjoining it.—

When [Aidan] fell ill, therefore, they set up for him a tent on the western side of the church, so that the tent was made fast to the wall of the church. And hence it happened that he was leaning upon a buttress ³ placed against the outside of the church as a support when he breathed out the last breath of life.

He died in the seventeenth ⁴ year of his bishopric, on the day ⁵ before the Kalends of September. And his body was presently carried over thence to the island of the monks of Lindisfarne, and buried in the graveyard of the brethren.

But after some considerable interval of time, when a greater church ⁶ had been built there, and dedicated in honour of the most blessed prince of the apostles, [Aidan's] bones were carried over thither and bestowed, according to the reverence due to so great a bishop, to the right of the altar.

And Finan succeeded him in the bishopric, he also being

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 202, 204. A.S.C., s.a. 651 (MS. E, s.a. 650). Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504, s.a. 651. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 21.

King Oswin gave a fine horse to Aidan, and afterwards apologized for having been angry when Aidan had given it in alms to the poor : whereupon Aidan foretold his death, because the nation was not worthy of him. Bede, H.E., III, 14 : i, 156-157.

Oswin was slain by treachery on the 20th August, 651 ; *ibid.*, i, 155. Cf. Life of Oswin, Misc. Biog., II.

Bede, u.s., i, 157 :—" But bishop Aidan himself was removed from the world and received from the Lord the eternal reward of his labours no later than the twelfth day after the slaying of the king whom he loved : that is, on the day before the Kalends of September." [August 31.]

² "Sixteen," MSS. M and N. So below, "in the seventeenth year."

³ The church was burned down twice, but neither time was this wooden prop consumed : when the church was again rebuilt, the prop was preserved inside, and worked many miracles : Bede, H.E., III, 17 : i, 160-161.

⁴ The A.S. Vers., 204, has "fourteenth," misreading *xiiii* as *xiii*.

⁵ August 31.

⁶ *basilica major*.

sent thither from Iona, the island and monastery of the Scots ; and he continued no short time in the episcopate.¹

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BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 17 ; VOL. I, PP. 161-162.²

Now I have written these things of the person and works of the man aforesaid, by no means praising or approving in him that he knew less perfectly about the observation of Easter ; nay, detesting it much, as I have most clearly shown in the book which I have written *De Temporibus* ;³—but as a truthful historian relating frankly the things which were done by him or through him, and praising in his actions what things are worthy of praise, and placing them on record for the benefit of the readers :—namely the cultivation of peace and of charity, of continence and of humility ; a mind victorious over anger and greed, and scorning pride as well as vainglory ; diligence in keeping as in teaching the divine commands ; assiduity in reading and in vigils ; authority, befitting a bishop, in exposing the proud and the powerful, as also in comforting the sick ; and mercy in refreshing or defending the poor. And,—to include much in few words, —in so far as we have learned from those who knew him, he endeavoured to neglect nothing of all the things which in evangelic, apostolic or prophetic writings he had learned should be done, but to fulfil them all, to the extent of his strength, in works.⁴

These things in the aforesaid bishop I greatly esteem and love, because I doubt not they were truly pleasing to God. But that he kept Easter not at its right time,—either not knowing the canonical time for it, or prevailed upon by the authority of his own nation not to follow what he knew,—this I do not approve nor commend. And yet in it I approve of this, that in the celebration of his Easter he held in his heart, and venerated, and preached, nothing other than do we : that is, the redemption of the human race through the passion, resurrection and ascension to the skies of the mediator

¹ Finan died probably in 661. Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 26 ; i, 189, *infra*, s.a. 664.

² This part of the chapter is omitted by two MSS. of the A.S. version ; q. cf., i, 206, 208.

³ Cf. Plummer, Bede, i, pp. xxxix ff. ; ii, 167. The *De Temporibus Liber Major* or *De Temporum Ratione* is in Giles's edition of Bede, vi, 141-342.

⁴ Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 20.

between God and men, the man Jesus Christ. And hence also he kept it not, as some falsely imagine, on the fourteenth [day of the] moon, on whatsoever day of the week, as the Jews do ; but always on the Lord's day, from the fourteenth to the twentieth [day of the] moon : because, that is, of his faith in the Lord's resurrection, which, with holy church, he believed to have taken place on the first of the week ; and because of his hope in our resurrection, which with truth he believed would be upon the same first of the week, which now we call the Lord's day.¹

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BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 25 ; VOL. I, p. 181.²

Meanwhile, bishop Aidan being lifted up from this life,³ Finan had received in his stead the rank of the bishopric, being ordained and sent by the Scots.

And he made on the island of Lindisfarne a church befitting the episcopal see ; and yet he constructed it, after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but wholly of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds.⁴

And on a subsequent occasion ⁵ the most reverend archbishop Theodore dedicated it in honour of the blessed apostle Peter.

But also Edbert,⁶ bishop of the same place, removed the reeds, and had it wholly covered with plates of lead ; that is, both its roof and even its walls also.

¹ Because of this, in the Synod of Whitby (according to Bede, III, 25 ; i, 186) Wilfrid refuted the Scottish claim to the authority of St. John :—" For John kept the paschal season according to the decrees of Mosaic law, and cared naught about the first day of the week ; but this you do not, since you observe the Sunday of Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth [day of the] moon : so that very often you begin Easter on the thirteenth [day of the] moon, in the evening. . . ."

² This chapter is not in the *Capitula* nor in the A.S. Vers. Cf. H. of H., 99. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 4, 23.

³ 31st August, 651.

⁴ Of the previous church, His. de S.C., in S. of D., i, 201, says :—" At this time died St. Cuthbert, and bishop Egred succeeded him ; and he transported a certain church, formerly built by St. Aidan in the time of king Oswald, from the island of Lindisfarne to Norham, and there rebuilt it. . . ."

Egred became bishop of Lindisfarne in 830 ; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 506. Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 52.

⁵ Possibly in 678 ; cf. H.E., IV, 12 ; i, 229 ; ii, 188.

⁶ Edbert was Cuthbert's successor as bishop of Lindisfarne. He died on the 5th May, 698 ; Bede, H.E., IV, 30 ; i, 277.

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BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 27 ; VOL. I, PP. 168-269.¹

. . . From his earliest boyhood [Cuthbert] was ever fired with zeal for the religious life ;² but from the beginning of his youth he assumed both the name and the habit of a monk.

Now he entered first the monastery of Melrose,³ which is placed on the banks of the river Tweed, and which was then ruled by its abbot Eata, the most meek and simple of all men.⁴ And [Eata] was afterwards made bishop of the church of Hexham or Lindisfarne, as we have mentioned above.⁵ And at this time his prior was Boisil, a priest⁶ of great virtues and of a prophetic spirit. Into [Boisil's] discipleship Cuthbert humbly entered, and gained from him both knowledge of the Scriptures and examples of good works.

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 360-362. Bede, V.S.C., VI ; E.H.S. ed., ii, 59-60. Anon. Life of St. C., § 8, *ibid.*, 262-263. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504. His. de S.C., in S. of D., i, 196, ff. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 21-23.

² In his boyhood, Cuthbert excelled at sports ; but he was rebuked by an infant of three for taking part in childish games. "Why," said he, "doest thou these things, at variance with thy nature and rank, Cuthbert, most holy bishop and priest ? To play among children becomes thee not, whom the Lord has consecrated as teacher of virtue even to the elders." Bede, V.S.C., I ; in E.H.S. ed., ii, 51. (Cf. Metr. Life, *ibid.*, ii, 5 ; Anon. Life, *ibid.*, ii, 261.) Bede attributes this story to bishop Trumwin (cf. *infra*, s.a. 681), who got it from Cuthbert himself ; Anon. Life, *ibid.*, ii, 261 ; V.S.C., *ibid.*, ii, 50.

Anon. Life, § 20, in E.H.S. Bede, ii, 269-270 :—"At the same time [661 × 664] the holy man of God, [Cuthbert,] was invited by a certain woman who is called Kenswith [in the text "Kenspid"] : a widow and nun, still living, who had brought him up from his eighth year to adult age, when he undertook the service of God. He therefore called her 'mother,' and often visited her.—He came on a certain day to the vill in which she dwelt, which is called Hruingalam. . . ." His prayers extinguished a fire which threatened to destroy the village ;—"probably Wranghohn, Bleau's Wrangum, between the rivers Leader and Tweed" ; Stevenson, *ibid.*, 270, note.—Cf. Bede, V.S.C., XIV, *ibid.*, ii, 75-76 ; Metr. Life, XII, *ibid.*, 17.

³ Cf. Fl. of W., i, 20 ; S. of D., i, 21-23, 129.

⁴ Bede, H.E., V, 12, i, 304 :—" . . . the monastery of Melrose, which is enclosed for the most part by a loop of the river Tweed." (A.S. Vers., i, 424.) Such is the situation of Old Melrose.

⁵ Cf. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 24 :—"Now this Eata was a man of great sanctity and religion, and abbot of the monastery of Melrose ; and he was held in great reverence and authority both by the servants of God and by the powerful of the world. There were also in the brotherhood over which he ruled very many holy men ; but outstanding among the rest of the brethren was Boisil, who held below him the office of prior, excelling in the highest virtues and in the spirit of prophecy." Cf. the Life of Eata, in Raine's Hexh., i, 212-213.

⁶ H.E., III, 26 ; i, 190.

⁷ *Sacerdos*. The A.S. Vers. has "mass-priest" ; while Elfric calls Boisil a bishop : Hom., ii, 148. Cf. Plummer, Bede, ii., 268, 55.

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BEDE, *VITA S. CUDBERTI*, CHAP. VI; IN ENGL. HIS. SOC.'S EDITION, VOL. II, PP. 59-61.

What manner of testimony the holy man Boisil prophesied in the spirit concerning [Cuthbert] when he came to the monastery.

Meanwhile the venerable servant of the Lord left behind the things of the world, and hastened to undergo monastic discipline, as being incited by the heavenly vision¹ to seek after the joys of eternal bliss, to endure for the Lord temporal hunger and thirst, being invited to the heavenly banquets.

And while he knew that the church of Lindisfarne had many holy men by whose teaching and example he could be instructed, yet he was prevented by the renown of Boisil, a monk and priest of lofty virtues, and preferred to go to Melrose. And by accident it chanced that when upon his arrival there he had leapt from his horse and, before entering the church to pray, had given to the attendant both the horse and the spear which he held in his hand, (for not yet had he laid aside the secular habit,) Boisil himself, standing before the doors of the monastery, saw him first. Foreseeing in the spirit how great in his manner of life he whom he beheld would be, he said this one word to those standing by, "Behold a servant of God"; imitating him who perceived Nathaniel coming to him, and said, "Behold a man of Israel, in whom is no guile." Thus is Sigfrid wont to declare, a religious and aged servant of God and priest, who among others stood beside Boisil when he said these words; at that time a youth in that monastery, instructed as yet in the first rudiments only of monastic life, but now leading his life as a perfect man in Christ in our monastery, that is, of Jarrow,—and in the painful breathings of his last spirit thirsting for the joyful entry into the other life.

Saying no more, Boisil received Cuthbert kindly, when presently he came to him; and when [Cuthbert] explained the cause of his journey,—that he preferred the monastery to the world,—[Boisil] kindly kept him with him. For he was prior of that monastery.

And after a few days, upon the arrival of Eata, a man of

¹ "On the mountains near the river which is called Leader," where he tended his master's sheep, Cuthbert had a vision of Aidan's soul being conducted to heaven; Anon. *Life of St. C.*, E.H.S. ed. of Bede, ii, 262-263. Cf. Bede, *V.S.C.*, IV, *ibid.*, 55-56; *Metr. Life*, IV, *ibid.*, 7-8. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 21-22.

blessed memory, (then a priest and abbot of the monastery ; afterwards of the church of Lindisfarne, as well as being bishop of that place,) [Boisil] related to him ¹ concerning Cuthbert, and explained to him that he had a mind of good purpose ; and obtained from him that [Cuthbert] should receive the tonsure and be united to the congregation of the brethren.²

And he entered the monastery and straightway took heed to hold with the rest of the brethren an equal observance of the regular life, or even to surpass them in his zeal for stricter discipline, being more proficient to wit in reading, working, watching and praying. But also, after the example of Samson, former very powerful Nazarene, he sedulously abstained from everything which can inebriate ; but he was not able to sustain so great abstinence from food, lest he should become less fit for necessary works. For he was robust in body and sound in strength, and fit for whatever exercise of labour he would.³

655—658

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 24 ; VOL. I, P. 180.⁴

Now for three years after the slaying of king Penda⁵

¹ Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 22.

² In A.D. 651, according to S. of D., u.s.

³ When he appeared to king Alfred before the battle of Ethandune Cuthbert had "black hair, but an exceedingly pleasing countenance," De Mir. et Tr. in S. of D., i, 231—232 ; cf. His. de S.C., *ibid.*, i, 204. His skull is depicted in profile and described in Raine's St. Cuthbert, pp. 214—215.

⁴ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 238. H. of H., 98, 52.

⁵ In the battle of the Winwæd, 655, November 15. Cf. His. Britt., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 208 :—" And [Oswy] slew Penda in the plain of Gai, and now was made the 'Slaughter of Gai plain' ; and the kings of the Britons were slain, who had gone out with king Penda in the expedition as far as to the town which is called Iudeu.

" Then Oswy rendered all the riches which were with him in the town, as far as to Manau, to Penda ; and Penda distributed them to the kings of the Britons : that is, the 'Restitution of Iudeu.' . . ." (The text reads *manu* ; but the important MS. K (cf. *ibid.*, 119) reads *manau*.)

In the first paragraph Penda is *Pantha*, in the second, *Penda* ; but these are the same : v. *ibid.*, 204. The account is disjointed, unless we may read "Peada" in the second paragraph.

Cf. Bede's account, H.E., III, 24 ; i, 177 :—" In these times king Oswy, suffering cruel and unbearable invasions of the oft-named king [Penda] of the Mercians, who had slain [Oswy's] brother, at last by force of necessity, promised that he would bestow upon him innumerable royal ornaments and gifts, and greater than can be believed, as the price of peace, if but he would return home and cease to ravage the provinces of his realm to extermination." Penda refused, and the battle followed : *ibid.*, 177—178. Cf. A.S.C., MSS. A.B.C. s.a. 655 ; E.F. s.a. 654. Penda was slain "near the river Winwæd" ; Bede, u.s., 178 : "in the district of Loidis," *ibid.*, 179 ; in Bernicia, Fl. of W., i, 23.

The eastern boundary of Manau was probably Dalmeny. Iudeu may

this same king Oswy ruled over the nation of the Mercians¹ and also over the other peoples of the southern provinces: and he also reduced the nation of the Picts for the most part to the kingdom of the Angles.²

661

BEDE, VITA S. CUDBERCTI, VIII, ENGL. HIS. SOC. ED., VOL. II, PP. 64-66.

How when about to die Boisil foretold to Cuthbert, cured of his sickness, what was to come.

Meanwhile, because unstable and fickle like the sea is every condition of the world when a sudden storm arises, the aforesaid abbot Eata with Cuthbert and the other brethren whom

be the same as Bede's Giudi, on or in the Firth of Forth. It has not been identified. We might expect it to pass through some such form as Duniuden. Cf. the name *muir n-Giudan*, for the Firth of Forth; Book of Lecan, fo. 43, bb. (Reeves, Culdees, 124, note.)

In 658 Mercia rebelled against Oswy's rule; Bede, u.s. 180.

¹ Peada, king of the Middle Angles, was accompanied by four priests on his return after being baptized by Finan, A.D. 653. Of the four, Diuma alone was a Scot. Bede, H.E., III, 21; i, 170. A.S. Vers., i, 222. (Cf. H. of H., 96, 98; S. of D., H.D.E., I, 4, i, 23; Fl. of W., i, 21.)

Bede, H.E., III, 21; i, 170-171:—"Now when [Penda, king of the Mercians] was slain, and the Christian king Oswy received his realm, . . . Diuma, one of the four priests aforesaid, became bishop of the Midland Angles and also of the Mercians, being ordained by bishop Finan [? 656 A.D.]. For the scarcity of priests compelled one bishop to be placed over two peoples. And when in a short time he had won much people to the Lord, he died among the Midland Angles, in the district called In Feppingum." He was "the first to become bishop in the province of the Mercians, as well as of Lindsey and the Midland Angles": Bede, H.E., III, 24; i, 179. A.S. Vers., i, 238.

Bede, H.E., III, 21; i, 171:—"Ceollach received the bishopric in his stead," [probably in 658.] "he too being of the race of the Scots. But not long afterwards he returned to the island of Iona, where the Scots had the head and citadel of very many monasteries.

"Trunhere succeeded him in the bishopric," [probably in 659:] "a religious man, and trained in the monastic life: of the race, it is true, of the Angles, but ordained bishop by the Scots. And this took place in the time of king Wulfhere" [658-675]. Bede, H.E., III, 24; i, 179, says of Trunhere that he was ". . . taught and ordained by the Scots. And he was abbot in the monastery which is called Gilling."

² Bede, H.E., II, 5; i, 189-190:—"The seventh [Bretwalda], Oswy, brother [of Oswald], controlled his kingdom for some time with almost equal boundaries, and for the most part subdued the nations also of the Picts and of the Scots, which held the northern territories of Britain, and made them tributary." A.S. Vers., i, 110.

Rhys (Celtic Brit., 140) thinks that Celts from Cornwall, Ireland and Scotland may have assisted Penda at the battle of the Winwæd. On the other hand, Oswy was apparently the uncle of the Pictish king Talorg mac Anfrith; and this fact might have influenced interregal relations: cf. supra, 616 × 617, note.

With civil went ecclesiastical authority; Bede, H.E., IV, 3; infra, s.a. 664.

he had brought with him was sent home again, and the place of the monastery which he had founded ¹ was given to other monks to dwell in. But the said soldier of Christ [Cuthbert] changed not his mind with the change of place from his once adopted purpose of divine warfare; but, as he had been accustomed to do formerly also, he gave most diligent heed to the words as well as to the actions of St. Boisil.

And at this time, as his friend Herefrid, a priest, and formerly abbot of the monastery of Lindisfarne, testifies that [Cuthbert] was wont to relate, he was seized by the sickness of a pestilence by which very many were carried away at that time far and wide through Britain. But the brethren of that monastery passed a whole night waking in prayer for his life and health. For they all regarded as still necessary to them the presence in the flesh of [Cuthbert], as of a holy man. And when one of them told this to him in the morning,—for they had done it without his knowledge,—he said, “And why do I lie still? For it is not to be thought that God has despised the prayers of so many and so excellent men. Give me my staff and my shoes.” And immediately he rose, and began to try to walk, leaning upon his staff; and day by day the virtue increased, and he recovered health: but because the tumour which had appeared in his thigh, while subsiding gradually from the surface of his body sank into the interior of his entrails, he ceased not for almost the whole period of his life to feel some slight pain internally, to wit that, according to the word of the Apostles, “strength should be perfected in weakness.”

And when the servant of the Lord, Boisil, saw that he was healed of his infirmity, he said, “Thou seest, brother, that thou art freed from the affliction in which thou didst labour; and I say to thee that thou shalt not again be touched by it, nor shalt die at this time. And at the same time I counsel thee not to omit to learn from me somewhat so long as I am able to teach, because death approaching threatens me. For there are not more than seven days in which health of body and strength of tongue remain for me to teach.”

Cuthbert replied, doubting nothing of the truth of his words, “And what, I ask, is best for me to read, that I may yet be able to complete it in one week?”

¹ So Fl. of W., i, 25:—“Eata, a most reverend man, who by king Aldfrid’s choice was formerly founder of the monastery of Ripon.” Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 25; *infra*, s.a. 664. See Bede, V.S.C., VII, E.H.S. ed., ii, 61; Anon. Life of St. C., § 12, *ibid.*, 265.

And he said, "John the Evangelist. And I have a text which has seven folded sheets, one of which we can go through each day, with God's help, reading and, in so far as is needful, discussing it between us."

It was done as he had said. And they were able to fulfil this reading thus rapidly, because in it they treated only of the simplicity of the faith which works by love, and not of the depths of controversy.

When therefore after seven days the reading was completed, caught by the said disease the man of the Lord, Boisil, came to his last day, and passed it with great exultation, and entered the joys of perpetual light.¹

They relate that in these seven days he expounded to Cuthbert everything which remained for him in the future; for he was a man of prophecy, as I have said, and of marvellous sanctity. Indeed he predicted that the bitterness of the aforesaid pestilence lay before his abbot Eata, three years before it came, and concealed not that he should himself be removed by it; but that his abbot should not die of it but rather of that disease which the physicians call dysentery, he foretold in truthful words, as the issue of affairs disclosed.

But to Cuthbert also among other things he told that he should be ordained as bishop. . . .

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIAE,
VOL. I, P. 22.

St. Boisil loved [Cuthbert] beyond the others, for the purity and pious devotion native to him. And he taught him in the knowledge of the Scriptures, as the book still shows, in which he taught and [Cuthbert] learned; preserved in this church, after so great a period of years marvellous in its original freshness and beauty.

¹ Fl. of W., i. 27, erroneously ascribes Boisil's death to the plague of A.D. 664. Cuthbert had been prior of Melrose "for some years" before being transferred to Lindisfarne in A.D. 664: Bede, V.S.C., IX, E.H.S. ed., ii, 67.

Boisil's interment was upon the 7th of July, according to the Durham obituary in L.V.E.D., 144. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 88, describes how Alfred of Durham was inspired to elevate and pilfer Boisil's bones ("body and vestments," List of relics, in S. of D., i, 168-169.) after A.D. 1122. Cf. the A.S. poem *De Situ Dunelmi*, in S. of D., i, 224.

Boisil appeared twice in a vision (ca. 690) to a former attendant of his, bidding him tell Egbert to desist from foreign missions and go to Iona instead; Bede, H.E., V, 9: i, 296-298.

The parish and town of St. Boswells are named after Boisil.

661

BEDE, VITA S. CUDBERTI, IX; IN ENGL. HIS. SOC. ED.,
VOL. II, PP. 67-68.¹

How zealous Cuthbert was toward the ministry of the word.

After the death therefore of the priest Boisil, beloved of God, Cuthbert received the said office of prior; ² and employing spiritual industry, as befitted a saint, for some years not only offered to the monastery precept as well as example of regular life, but also laboured to turn the populace in the neighbourhood far and wide from the life of foolish custom to the love of divine joys. For both many profaned the faith which they had by works unworthy of it; and some, at a time of pestilence, even neglected the sacrament of the faith with which they had been imbued, and betook themselves to false remedies of idolatry, as though they could check a scourge sent by God its author by incantations, or amulets, or any other charms of diabolic art.³

Therefore to correct the error of both classes he went forth frequently from the monastery, sometimes on horseback, but oftener going on foot; and came to the villages in the neighbourhood, and preached to the wandering the way of truth, as in his time Boisil also had accustomed him to do.

It was indeed a custom at that time of the peoples of the Angles, when a cleric or a priest came to the village, for all to flock together at his command to hear the word; to listen willingly to what was said, and more willingly to follow in practice what they were able to hear and understand. Moreover Cuthbert had so great skill in teaching,⁴ so great love of persuading when he had begun [to teach], such light in his angelic countenance, that none of those present dared to conceal from him the secrets of his heart; and all in confession declared openly what they had done, because they thought that by no means were these things hidden from him; and removed what they had confessed, as he commanded, by fitting fruits of penitence.

¹ Cf. Bede, H.E., IV, 27; i, 269-270. So also in his life as prior of Lindisfarne: references s.a. 664, note.

² "And strove by daily progress in virtue to emulate or even to surpass him"; S. of D., H.D.E., i, 23. Bede, H.E., IV, 27; i, 269:—"and trained very many to the regular life, both by his authority as teacher and by the example of his own performance."

³ Cf. the hostility to the monks betrayed by the populace of Tynningham (Tynemouth?) in Bede, V.S.C., III; E.H.S. ed., ii, 53-55.

⁴ "In speaking," Bede, H.E., IV, 27; i, 269.

Now he was wont to journey through those places chiefly, and to preach in those villages, which were remotely situated among steep and rugged hills; places which others dreaded to visit, and which forbade the approach of learned men by their poverty as well as their rusticity. Yet these he cherished with so great assiduity of teaching,—giving himself up gladly to pious labour,—that he often left the monastery and did not return home for whole weeks, sometimes for two or three, occasionally even for a whole month, but stayed among the mountains and called the peasant folk to divine things, by the word of preaching as well as by the example of virtue.¹

664

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 25; VOL. I, PP. 181, 182-183.²

In these times a great and frequent dispute arose about the observance of Easter, those who had come from Kent or from France protesting that the Scots celebrated Easter Sunday contrarily to the custom of the universal church.

Among these the most eager defender of the true Easter was called Ronan; a Scot, it is true, by race, but one trained in the rule of ecclesiastic truth in districts of France or of Italy. And he, striving with Finan, corrected many others, or fired them to a more intelligent searching of the truth; but Finan he could by no means reform. Nay rather,

¹ Boisil's example inspired Cuthbert to his diocesan journeys; and through Cuthbert Turgot, S. of D., H.D.E., i, 129.

On one of these journeys Cuthbert "was proceeding southward along the river Teviot among the mountains, teaching the countryfolk and baptizing. He had also a boy in his company, walking with him; and he said to him, 'Thinkest thou who to-day has prepared a meal for thee?' And [the boy] replied that he knew no relative upon that route, and hoped not for any kind of compassion from unknown strangers. . . ." They were miraculously fed by an eagle. Anon. Life of St. C., §§ 17-18, E.H.S. Bede, ii, 268-269. (The text has *Tesqeta*; read *Tergeta*?) Cf. Bede, V.S.C., XII, *ibid.*, 72-73; Metr. Life, X, *ibid.*, 15.

Storm-stayed in mid-winter at *Mulpiaralegis* (Bede has *Niluari*) in the land of the Piets he was miraculously fed with dolphin cutlets: Anon. Life, § 15, u.s., 267. (Cf. Bede, V.S.C., XI, *ibid.*, 70-72; Metr. Life, IX, *ibid.*, 13-14.) The place of this legend is uncertain. There is a Niddrie not far inland from Abercorn in Manau, at this time (661 × 664) subject to Anglian rule.

On two occasions of a visit to Tynningham (Tynemouth?) he performed miracles: Bede, V.S.C., III, E.H.S. ed., ii, 53-55, and Metr. Life, III, *ibid.*, 6-7; V.S.C., XXXV, *ibid.*, 113-114.

² This is omitted by the A.S. Version. The A.S.C. also has no mention of the Synod of Whitby. Cf. Eddi, V.W.Ep., X, in Raine's York, i, 14-16. Fridegoda, V.S.W., *ibid.*, i, 116-118. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504, s.a. 664.

because he was of a headstrong temperament, [Ronan] rendered him the more bitter by reproof, and an open adversary of the truth. . . .

Now while Aidan lived this discord in the observance of Easter was patiently endured by all, because they clearly understood that, although he could not keep Easter contrarily to the custom of those who had sent him, yet he laboured zealously to perform the works of faith, piety and love, after the custom common to all saints. And hence he was deservedly beloved by all, even by those who thought differently about Easter; and not only by the commonalty was he held in veneration, but even by the bishops also, Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Angles.

But after the death of Finan,¹ who came after him, when Colman succeeded to the bishopric,—he also being sent from Scotland,—a more serious controversy arose about the observance of Easter, as well as about other points of discipline of ecclesiastic life. And hence deservedly this question roused the feelings and hearts of many, who feared lest perchance, though they had received the name of Christianity, they were running or should have run in vain. It reached even to the ears of the rulers, that is, of King Oswy and of his son Alehfrid. Because naturally Oswy, having been taught and baptized by the Scots, and being very well versed in their language, considered nothing better than what they had taught; but Alehfrid² had as teacher of Christian lore Wilfrid, a most learned man . . . and knew that his doctrine must rightly be preferred to all the traditions of the Scots.

And hence also he had given to [Wilfrid] a monastery of forty hides³ in the place which is called Ripon. And this place to wit he had given a little before to them who followed the Scots, in possession for a monastery. But because afterwards, when they were given the choice, they preferred to

¹ A.D. 661; Bede, H.E., III, 26; i, 189, *infra*. Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., I, 5; i, 24:—"Now when Finan died in the tenth year of his bishopric, Colman succeeded to the rule of the church, he too being sent from Scotland. And after he had passed three years in the bishopric discord arose about the observance of Easter; and he, preferring to follow the custom of his nation, left the bishopric and returned to his country in the thirtieth year of the Scottish episcopate, which they held in the province of the Angles." Ann. of Lind. place Finan's death in 660, but say that Colman held the bishopric for three years; M.G.H., SS., xix, 504.

Eddi strangely refers to Colman as "metropolitan bishop of the city of York," X, n.s., i, 14.

² The son of Oswy, and under-king of Deira; cf. *infra*, and Fl. of W., i, 25.

³ "Of thirty hides," Bede, H.E., V, 19; i, 325. Cf. Eddi, VIII, "of thirty dwellings"; n.s., 12.

leave the place rather than to change their customs, he gave it to him who had both a doctrine and a life worthy of it.¹

. . . The question being raised there concerning Easter and the tonsure and other ecclesiastical matters, it was decided that a synod must be held in the monastery which is called Streaneshalch [Whitby,] . . . over which then ruled the abbess Hild, a woman devoted to God ;² —and that this dispute must be terminated.

And there came thither both kings, the father, that is, and the son ; the bishops Colman, with his clerics from Scotland, and Ethelbert,³ with the priests Agatho and Wilfrid. Jacob⁴ and Romanus⁵ were on the side of these latter ; the abbess Hild with her followers was on the side of the Scots,⁶ as also was the venerable bishop Cedd, long before ordained by the Scots, as we have shown above.⁷ And he was a most careful interpreter in that council for either side.⁸

¹ Cf. Bede, V.S.C., VIII, supra, s.a. 661.

Bede, H.E., V, 19 ; i, 325 :—“ . . . and this place to wit he had given long ago to those who followed the Scots, to construct a monastery therein. But because afterwards, when the choice was given them, they chose rather to leave the place than to receive the catholic Easter and the other canonical rites according to the custom of the Roman and apostolic church, he gave it to him whom he saw to be imbued with better teachings and customs.”

² Hild was daughter of Hereric, the nephew of king Edwin ; Bede, H.E., IV, 23 ; i, 252. Recalled by Aidan from her purpose of going to Chelles, she received a small monastery to the north of the Wear, and afterwards became abbess of Hartlepool, where she was often visited by Aidan and other religious men. Ibid., 253.

³ Ethelbert was bishop of the West Saxons ; afterwards of Paris. Cf. Bede, H.E., III, 7, i, 140–141 ; ii, 144, 146 ; III, 26, 28, i, 189, 194.

⁴ Jacob was a former deacon of Paulinus ; cf. Bede, H.E., II, 16, 20 ; i, 117–118, 126.

⁵ Romanus, a priest from Kent, was queen Anflæda's chaplain ; Bede, III, 25 ; i, 181–182.

⁶ Edm., V.W.Ep., X, in Raine's York, i, 171 :—“ And against these came Colman with his clerics, and brought with him to the synod abbess Hild, a supporter of his sect.”

⁷ Cedd was bishop of the East Saxons ; Bede, H.E., III, 22 ; i, 172–173. He had been one of Peada's four priests : cf. supra, s.a. 655, note. His brother Ceadda (St. Chad) had been a disciple of Aidan : Bede, H.E., III, 28 ; i, 195.

⁸ Bede reports the conference (H.E., III, 25 ; i, 183–189) as an argument between Colman and Wilfrid. Colman claims tradition and the authority of St. John ; the doctrine of Anatolius, and the practice of Columba. Wilfrid replies by citing the practice of Rome and all Christendom, denying the Scottish interpretation of the meaning of St. John and of Anatolius ; referring to the Council of Nicea (cf. Eddi, X ; u.s., i, 15.) sneering at the sanctity of Columba, (v. supra, s.a. 565, note ;) and finally quoting Matt. XVI, 18–19, for the authority of Peter as gate-ward of heaven. The last argument is conclusive with king Oswy and the assembly ; so also in Eddi, X, u.s., i, 15–16.

For a discussion of the controversy see Plummer, Bede, ii, 348–354.

664

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, III, 26; VOL. I, P. 189, 190-191.¹

. . . Colman seeing that his doctrine was spurned and his sect despised took with him those who wished to follow him,—that is, those who refused to receive the Catholic Easter and the tonsure of the crown, (for the question concerning this also was not the least important.)—and returned to Scotland² to discuss with his followers what he should do regarding these things.

Cedd forsook the way of the Scots and returned to his see, as having acknowledged the observance of the catholic Easter.³

Now this dispute took place in the year of the Lord's incarnation 664, which was the twenty-second year⁴ of King Oswy; and the thirtieth year of the Scottish episcopate, which they held in the province of the Angles: for Aidan held the episcopate for seventeen years, Finan for ten, and Colman for three. . . .

And over the brethren who preferred to remain in the church of Lindisfarne when the Scots departed was placed in the rank of abbot the most meek and reverend man Eata, who was abbot in the monastery which is called Melrose.⁵

¹ This chapter also is omitted by the A.S. Vers.—Cf. H. of H., 99-100, S. of D., H.D.E., i, 24-25. A.S.C. MSS. A, B, C, E, s.a. 664:—"and Colman with his companions went to his own land."

Eddi, V.W.Ep., in Raine's York, i, 16:—"But bishop Colman, hearing what was to be done, through fear of his own land spurned the tonsure and the manner of Easter, [preferring] to depart and leave his see to be occupied by one better than himself; and thus he did." Edm., V.W.Ep., *ibid.*, i, 173:—"because he refused to prefer to his traditions the traditions of the church."

² Here, as above, "Scotland" (i.e. Ireland) includes Iona: see Bede, H.E., IV, 4, *infra*.

³ Bede, H.E., III, 28; i, 195:—"And hence it happened that, as catholic instruction increased daily, all the Scots who dwelt among the Angles either submitted to [Wilfrid's regulations] or returned to their own land." Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 246, 248, which expands the passage, because of its omission of chapters 25 and 26.

So Eata and Cuthbert had left Ripon in 661, *supra*: but now they yielded.

⁴ Oswy succeeded upon the death of Oswald on the 5th August, 642. Bede, H.E., III, 9, 14; i, 145, 154. The conference took place some time before the death of Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury: H.E., 28; i, 194-195; his death took place on the 14th July, 664; H.E., IV, 1; i, 201.

⁵ Eata transferred Cuthbert as prior to Lindisfarne, Bede, H.E., IV, 27; i, 270. V.S.C., XVI, E.H.S. ed., ii, 79. Anon. Life of St. C., § 23, *ibid.*, 271. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 25-26. Life of Eata, in Raine's Hexh., i, 213-214.

In 676 Cuthbert became an anchorite on Farne island: Bede, V.S.C., XVII u.s., 83. H.E., IV, 28; i, 271. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504. He had long desired to have "a very small cottage upon a rock, and to hide

And this they say that Colman, when about to depart, had asked and obtained of King Oswy, because this Eata was one of Aidan's twelve boys of Anglian race whom he had received to train up in Christ, in the first period of his episcopate.¹ For the king much loved this bishop Colman, for the prudence natural to him.

Eata is he who not long afterwards was made bishop of the same church of Lindisfarne.

Now when Colman went home he took with him part of the bones of the most reverend father Aidan; but part he left in the church which he had ruled, directing that they should be buried in the sacristy.²

And of how great frugality and of what continence were Colman and his predecessors, even the place which they ruled bore testimony. For when they departed very few houses were found there, excepting the church; that is, those only without which social intercourse could not exist at all.³ Apart from flocks they had no moneys. For if they received any money from the rich, they gave it straightway to the poor. For it was not necessary either that moneys should be

where the waves of swelling ocean might surround me on all sides from both the sight and the knowledge of all mortal men"; V.S.C., VIII, u.s., 66. Cf. V.S.C., XXII, u.s., 93.

Cuthbert was against his will elected bishop of Hexham in 684; Anon. Life, § 28, u.s., 274. Bede, V.S.C., XXIV, u.s., 97-98; H.E., IV, 28; i, 272. He was consecrated on the 26th March, 685, and transferred to Lindisfarne, changing places with Eata; V.S.C., u.s.; H.E., u.s., 273.

He died in 687, March 20, V.S.C., XXXVII, XXXIX, u.s., 116-118, 123-125; H.E., IV, 29, i, 275. His body was still incorrupt in 698; Anon. Life, § 42, u.s., 282; Bede, V.S.C., XLII, u.s., 129; Chron., E.H.S. ed., ii, 200-201; H.E., IV, 30, i, 276. So still in 1104, when transferred to the new cathedral at Durham; De Mir. et Tr. S.C., in S. of D., i, 247-259; on which occasion "Alexander, brother of Edgar, king of Scots, shortly afterwards to be his brother's successor in the kingdom," was one of the witnesses; *ibid.*, 258. Nevertheless, that this was a prolonged and impious fraud is shown by Raine's description of the investigation in 1827 into the condition of Cuthbert's remains; Saint Cuthbert, 184-228. The fraud made an extremely successful advertisement.

¹ So the life of Eata, in Raine's Hexh., i, 213;—"For the Scots also greatly revered this abbot Eata, because he was, as has been said above, one of bishop Aidan's twelve boys." Eata died 685×687; Bede, H.E., V, 2; i, 282-283; ii, 273.

² When the monks took up the body of Cuthbert and fled from Lindisfarne through fear of Halfdane, they carried with them Aidan's remains also; S. of D., H.D.E., II, 6; i, 57;—" . . . and in a compartment of the same reliquary were placed (as we find in old books) the relics of the saints, namely the head of the king and martyr Oswald, . . . and part of the bones of St. Aidan also (for, as has been said above, Colman had carried with him the other part when he returned to Scotland.) . . ."

W. of M., G.P., 198; G.R., i, 56, falsely asserts that his relics were brought to Glastonbury.

³ *conversatio civilis esse nullatenus poterat.*

gathered or that houses should be provided for the entertainment of the powerful of the world, since they never came to church except only for the sake of prayer or of hearing God's word. The king himself, when occasion required, came with only five or six attendants; and departed when his prayer in the church was ended. And if perchance it happened that they were refreshed there, they were content with only the simple and daily food of the brethren, and asked for nothing more.

For then the whole anxiety of those teachers was to serve God, not the world; their whole care to cherish their hearts, not their stomachs. And hence also the habit of religion was at that time in great veneration; insomuch that wher-ever any cleric or monk arrived, he was joyfully received as a servant of God by all. Yea, if he were discovered as he went upon the way, they ran to him, and, bowing their necks, rejoiced to be either signed by his hand or blessed by his mouth. And they diligently offered a hearing also to their exhortatory words. But on Sundays they flocked emulously to the church or to the monasteries, for the sake not of refreshing the body, but of hearing discourse of God. And if any of the priests chanced to come into a village, straightway the villagers gathered together and endeavoured to learn of him the word of life. For the priests or clerks had themselves no other reason for visiting the villages than to preach, to baptize, and to visit the sick; and, to speak briefly, to care for souls. For they were to such extent chastened from all taint of avarice that none received territories or possessions for the construction of monasteries, unless compelled by the authorities of the world. And this custom was preserved in all things for some considerable time afterwards in the churches of the Northumbrians.¹

But of this enough said.

¹ Bede's desire to hold up a pattern to the present must be allowed for in his estimation of the past.

W. of M., G.P., 211 :—" Paulinus was the first archbishop of York; and he received the *pallium* from pope Honorius, as is known." Cf. *ibid.*, 134. The *pallium* was sent from Rome on 11th June, 634; Bede, H.E., II, 18; i, 122; II, 17; i, 118. Paulinus fled to Kent (H.E., II, 20; i, 125) immediately after the battle of Hatfield, 12th October, 633 (*ibid.*, i, 124.) G.P. continues :—" When he was expelled, the Scots—Aidan, Finan, and Colman,—wished to be exalted neither by the *pallium* nor by the dignity of a town, but hid in the island of Lindisfarne." Cf. *ibid.*, 67-68, 183, 266. Cf. Anon. His., in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i, 65, 66.

W. of M., G.P., 135 :—" For the Scots also who, by favour of the kings of the Northumbrians, had filled that province were accustomed rather to hide ingloriously in swamps than to dwell in lofty towns." Cf. of Cedd, Bede, H.E., III, 23; i, 175. W. of M., G.P., 307.

664

1320415

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 4; VOL. I. PP. 213-214.¹

How bishop Colman left Britain and made two monasteries in Scotia, one for the Scots, the other for the English, whom he had brought with him.

Meanwhile² Colman, who was bishop from Scotland, left Britain and took with him all the Scots whom he had collected in the island of the monks of Lindisfarne, and also of the nation of the Angles about thirty men, both parties of whom were imbued with the studies of monastic life. And he left several brethren in his church, and came first to the island of Iona, whence he had been sent to preach the word to the nation of the Angles.

Then he departed to a certain small island which, far sundered from Ireland on the western side, is called in Scottish speech Inishboffin; that is, the island of the white cow-calf.³ Arriving in this island, therefore, he built a monastery, and placed therein the monks whom he had brought, gathered from either race.

And when they in turn could not agree,—because that the Scots in the summer time, when the harvest was to be gathered, left the monastery and wandered about, scattered through districts known to them; but yet returned when winter came, and desired to use in common the things which the English had prepared,—Colman sought a remedy for this discord, and going about everywhere near and far found in the island of Ireland a place called Mayo in the Scottish tongue, suited for the building of a monastery. And he bought a small part of it from the earl to whose possession it belonged, to establish a monastery there; this condition being added, that the monks abiding there should offer prayers to the Lord also for him who allowed them the place.

And immediately he built a monastery, the earl also and all the neighbours helping; and placed there the Angles, leaving the Scots in the aforesaid isle. And this monastery to wit is held to this day by Angles as its residents. . . .

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 272, 274.

² I.e. before A.D. 672. Colman settled in Inishboffin in 668, according to Tigh., (667 according to Ann. of Ulst. and Four Masters;) and died in 676 (Tigh.; but cf. Ann. of Ulst., s.a. 675; F.M., s.a. 674.)

³ More correctly "the island of the white heifer" as in A.S. Vers., i, 272. Inishboffin lies off Aghros Point, in Galway.

664

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 3 ; VOL. I, P. 206.¹

. . . Wilfrid administered the episcopate of the church of York, and also of all the Northumbrians ;² but of the Picts also, so far as King Oswy could extend his empire.³

671 × 672

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA PONTIFICUM, P. 218.

And not less worthily [than Wilfrid] did King Egfrid fill his office, extending his kingdom over the Picts and protecting it against the Mercians.

For the Picts after the death of King Oswy made light of the tender infancy of the kingdom, and came forth unprovoked and united against the Northumbrians. But the royal youth met them with his under-king Beornheth, and with his few knights so destroyed the innumerable army of the Picts that the plains strewn with corpses lost their flatness, and the rivers were checked, being blocked in their course.

671 × 672

EDDI, VITA WILFRIDI EPISCOPI, XIX ; IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. I, PP. 29-30.⁴

. . . For even as the young man Joash, king of Judah, while the high priest Jehoiada yet lived, pleased God and

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 260. Cf. Eddi, XXI, infra, s.a. 671. Cf. A. of R. V.S.N., in Pinkerton, II.

² W. of M., G.P., 215 :—“ But [Wilfrid] persisted in refusing to receive consecration from the Scottish bishops, or from those whom the Scots had ordained ; because the apostolic see rejected their fellowship.” Ibid., 213 :—“ The Psalter which [Wilfrid] had received from the Scots in the translation of St. Jerome he collated and kept, after the Roman custom, in the fifth edition.” Cf. *ibid.*, 211, note, MSS. B and C.

W. of M., G.P., 214 :—“ The kings and warriors rejoiced and the province exulted in having a native preacher : for they now vomited their surfeit of the Scots.”

³ R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 22 :—“ At that time, therefore, [Wilfrid] was the only bishop in the whole realm of king Oswy : that is, in the whole nation of the Deirans and the Bernicians, and also over the Britons, and over the Scots from the island of Lindisfarne : and over the Picts, because Whithorn had not yet obtained a bishop of its own.”

Cf. Eddi, V.W. Ep., in Raine's York, i, 79, 193 ; Cf. also Bede, H.E., V, 19 ; i, 327.

W. of M., G.P., 266 :—“ Of all the episcopates which formerly were placed in Northumbria and were under the supremacy of the [bishops] of York, that only which was in the island of Lindisfarne remained.”

⁴ Cf. Fridgeda, V.S.W., 539-552, in Raine's York, i, 127 :—“ With

triumphed over his enemies, but when the priest was dead displeased God and ceased to triumph over his enemies, and diminished his kingdom; ¹ so while king Egfrid lived in harmony with our bishop [Wilfrid,] according to the testimony of many his kingdom was everywhere increased through triumphant victories; but when harmony flagged between them, and the aforesaid queen [Etheldreda] was separated from him and dedicated to God, ² triumph ceased in the days of the king.

For in his first years and yet tender kingdom ³ the bestial peoples of the Piets with savage mind despised subjection to the Saxons, and threatened to cast from them the yoke of slavery; gathering on all sides from the hollows and cavities ⁴ of the north innumerable nations, like swarms of ants in summer sweeping from the hills built up a mound against their falling house.

When he heard this, king Egfrid,—humble among his own peoples, courageous against his foes,—knowing no slow endeavours straightway prepared an army of cavalry, and like Judas Maccabeus, trusting in God, ⁵ with a small band of the people of God advanced with Beornheth, a bold under-king, against an enormous and upon an invisible enemy, and made an immense slaughter of the people, filling two rivers with corpses of the dead: so that (as is wonderful to relate) they walked over upon dry feet and pursued, slaying a multitude of the fugitives. And the peoples were reduced to slavery, and lay subject to the yoke of captivity till the day of the slaying of the king. ⁶

heavy ramparts the Pictish nation in rebellion strove even then to throw off the accustomed English chains. . . . Therefore with courage fired the prince [king Egfrid] moved forward light cohorts, and slew with unconquered sword the guilty ones. They dammed two streams with slain enemies: the king's companies came back laden with spoil. They made slaughter far and wide. Chains returned upon their necks: long did the victorious king enjoy his great triumph. For he conquered with few soldiers, not with arms; but by the virtue of God, and the merits of the gracious prince, he gained the nations which with empty bombast threatened him." Cf. Edm., V.W. Ep., XX, XXI, *ibid.*, i, 182-183.

¹ Cf. 2 Chron., XXIV, 2, 17-18, 23-24.

² In 672 A.D. Cf. Bede, H.E., IV, 19; i, 243. Cf. *infra*, s.a. ? 683, note.

³ Oswy died and was succeeded by his son Egfrid in February, 671; although Bede (H.E., IV, 5, V, 24; i, 214, 354) twice gives the date as 670; v. Plummer, Bede, ii, 211.

⁴ Lit., "sacks and bags."

⁵ Cf. 2 Maccab. XV, 7, 21-28.

⁶ *Infra*, s.a. 685.

671 × 672

EDDI, VITA WILFRIDI EPISCOPI, XXI; IN RAINE'S YORK, I, 31.

Therefore even as the kingdom of the most religious king Egfrid was increased by his triumphs to the north and south, so was the kingdom of churches increased to bishop Wilfrid, of blessed memory, to the south over the Saxons, to the north over the Britons, and the Scots and Picts.

681

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 12; VOL. I, P. 229.¹

And Eadhaed, Bosa and Eata were ordained² at York by archbishop Theodore; and he also added two bishops to their number, three years after the departure of Wilfrid,³—Tunbert to the church of Hexham. (Eata remaining at the church of Lindisfarne,) and Trunwin⁴ to the Pietish province⁵ which at that time was subject to the empire of the Angles.

? 683

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 25; VOL. I, PP. 262–263, 264–266.⁶

What manner of vision appeared to a certain man of God before the monastery of Coldingham was consumed by fire.

¹ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 300. Ann. of Lind., s.a. 681, in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504. Fl. of W., i, 37. H. of H., 101. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 213.

A.S.C., s.a. 681:—"This year was consecrated . . . Trunwin bishop of the Picts, because then they belonged here," MS. E; MS. F (written at Canterbury) "because they belong there." Cf. Plummer, SC., ii, p. lxx.

² In place of Wilfrid; Bede, H.E., IV, 12; i, 229; V, 19, 24; i, 326, 355, ii, 324.

³ Wilfrid was expelled by king Egfrid in 678; H.E., IV, 12; i, 228–229. Eddi, XXIV, in Raine's York, i, 34–36. De Arch. Ebor., in S. of D., i, 223. W. of M., G.P., 219–220.

⁴ Trunwin's name is shortened to Tuma in the Anon. Life of St. C., §§ 4, 30; E.H.S. Bede, ii, 261, 275. He is given as the authority for certain information concerning Cuthbert; supra, s.a. 651, note. He was one of those who persuaded Cuthbert to accept the bishopric; Anon. Life of St. C., u.s., 275. Bede, V.S.C., XXIV, *ibid.*, ii, 98; H.E., IV, 28, i, 272. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 31.

⁵ In H.E., IV, 26 (*infra*, s.a. 685) his see is located at Abercorn. So in H. of H., 106, who calls him "abbot of Abercorn." But Fl. of W., i, 246, erroneously imagines him to have been the first bishop of Whithorn. He was in fact bishop of the Pietish province south of the Forth; i.e. Manau.

⁶ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 348–357. A.S.C., MSS. E, F, s.a. 679:—"and Coldingham was burned by heaven-sent fire"; S. of D., i, 59, "a few years only before [Cuthbert's] bishopric," in A.D. 685.—Cf. Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504, s.a. 678.

Coldingham was a monastery of both monks and nuns. Cf. S. of D., i,

In these times¹ the monastery of virgins which they name Coldingham,² and of which we have made mention above,³ was consumed by fire through fault of carelessness. And yet all who know have been very easily able to perceive that it happened from the wickedness of them who dwelt in it, and especially of those who seemed to be the greater

But there lacked not a reminder to the guilty of God's mercy, that corrected by it they might like the Ninevites

59:—"For there were in the same place congregations of monks and of nuns, though dwelling apart in different abodes: and they had gradually declined from the state of regular discipline, and by dishonourable [in text *inponesta*: read *inhonesta*] familiarity on either side had offered to the enemy opportunity of laying hold upon them."

Cuthbert visited Ebba in Coldingham (661 × 664.) On the sands there he passed the night in prayer, in the sea: when he came out, two others followed him and warmed his feet: Anon. Life of St. C., § 13, in E.H.S. Bede, ii, 266; Bede, V.S.C., X, *ibid.*, ii, 68-70; Metr. Life, VIII, *ibid.*, ii, 12-13.

When Wilfrid was thrown into prison through his quarrel with king Egfrid and queen Eormenburg, (Eddi, XXXIV, in Raine's York, i, 49-50.) Ebba helped to procure his release, in 681; Eddi, XXXIX, *ibid.*, 56. Wilfrid had been placed in custody of Tydlin, prefect of Dumbar; Eddi, XXXVIII, 54. (W. of M., in G.P., 231, confuses the names.) Egfrid and Eormenburg visited Coldingham. The queen was suddenly tormented by a devil, and Ebba turned this incident to Wilfrid's account. Eddi, XXXIX, 55-56. (Cf. Fridegoda, V.S.W., in Raine's York, i, 137-141; Edm., *ibid.*, i, 197-201.)

The conflagration took place after Ebba's death. She is said to have died on the 25th August, 683, (cf. the Durham obituary in L.V.E.D., 145.) four years before the death of Cuthbert. She was the daughter of Acha (cf. *supra*, 616 × 617, note.) being the "uterine sister" of Oswy and Oswald; Bede, V.S.C., X, u.s. Thus she was Egfrid's aunt, Bede, H.E., IV, 19, 25; i, 243, 264. When Egfrid's queen Etheldreda took the veil she passed her first year as a nun under Ebba in Coldingham, A.D. 672-673; Bede, H.E., IV, 19. Cf. Fl. of W., i, 30; Eddi., XXXVIII; R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh. i, 23.

Ebba was buried at Coldingham. Her bones were pilfered by Alfred of Durham, after A.D. 1022, according to S. of D., i, 88, 168. Nevertheless 150 years later Hugo Candidus, in Sparke, iii, 40, says:—"And in Coldingham [rests] St. Ebba the abbess."

The form *Ebbe* would better represent Bede's spelling (i, 243, 264); cf. also Eddi, Raine's York, i, 55; Fridegoda, *ibid.*, i, 140; A.S. Vers. of Bede, i, 352. S. of D., i, 59.

Before coming to Coldingham she had founded the monastery of Ebchester, which is named after her. For works on the life of Ebba v. Hardy, Cat., i, 288-290. Cf. Bk. of Ely, 36-44. Her name is preserved in St. Abb's Head, Berwickshire.

¹ The previous chapter relates the story and death of Cædmon.

² Lit. "Colud's town:" so H.E., IV, 19, i, 243; V.S.C., X, ed. E.H.S., ii, 68, *Coludi urbem*. The A.S. forms, "Colud's burgh," appear variously spelt in Eddi, XXXIX, Raine's York, i, 55; Anon. Life of St. C., § 13; A.S. Vers. of Bede, i, 318, 348; A.S.C., s.a. 679, MS. E. Coldingham ("the dwelling of the descendants of Colud") occurs early, as in S. of D., i, 59; B. of P., i, 96; L.V.E.D., 59, 67. Cf. also Lawrie, Charters, 17, 18, 55. All this may, however, be but folk-etymology: for the name Colud seems not to occur elsewhere.

³ H.E., IV., 19; i, 243.

turn from them the anger of the just Judge by fasting, tears and prayers.¹

For there was in that monastery a man of the race of the [Irish] Scots, Adamnan by name, who led a life in continence, and greatly devoted to prayers to God; so that except on Sunday and on the fifth day of the week he never partook of any food or drink, and often passed whole nights wakefully in prayer. And this discipline of so strict a life he had acquired at first from the necessity of mending his evil ways; but as time went on he had turned the necessity into a custom. . . .²

And when for a long time he had diligently persevered in this, it chanced that on a certain day he had gone out a considerable way from that monastery, one of the brethren accompanying him, and was returning after finishing his journey. And when he approached the monastery and beheld its buildings rising aloft, the man of God burst into tears, and betrayed in the expression of his face the sorrow of his heart. And his companion perceiving it asked him why he did thus. But he replied, "All these buildings which thou seest, public and private, very soon is it that fire shall consume them and turn them to ashes."

And hearing this [his companion,] so soon as they entered the monastery, took heed to relate it to the mother of the congregation, Ebba by name. But she was naturally disturbed by such a prediction, and called the man to her, and very diligently inquired the matter of him, and how he knew of this.

¹ Cf. Jonah, III.

² The priest who had laid this penance upon him had died without having released him: *ibid.*, 263-264.

Asceticism was frequent in the Irish church. Cf. the extreme ease of Drythelm of Melrose, ca. 696, in Bede, H.E., V, 12: i, 303-310. He died, and returned to life after a remarkable vision of the other world; and, although formerly he had led a religious life in Cunningham (*ibid.*, 304,) he now became a monk in a separate dwelling at Melrose (*ibid.*, 304, 310): "and because this place was situated above the bank of the river [Tweed], he used frequently, for the great desire of chastising his body, to enter it, and very often to be immersed in it, the waves flowing over him; and thus continue there in psalms or prayers so long as he seemed able to endure it; and to remain stationary while the water of the river rose to his loins, sometimes even to his neck. And when he came out thence to the shore he never troubled to lay off his garments, wet and cold, until they were warmed and dried by his body." He kept this up in the winter also, even when there was ice in the river. *Ibid.*, 310. This story was vouched for by one Hængils, a priest, "who is still alive; and, living solitarily in the island of Ireland, supports the last age of his life on coarse bread and cold water," *ibid.*, 309; and Drythelm was personally known to king Aldfrid, 309-310. Hugo Candidus, in Sparke, iii, 40:—"And in Melrose [rests] St. Drythelm, the confessor."

And he said :—“ Recently, while occupied by night with vigils and psalms, I saw suddenly standing before me one of unknown countenance. And since I was terrified by his presence, he told me not to fear ; and addressing me as in a friendly voice he said, ‘ Thou dost well, who hast chosen in this time of the quiet of night not to indulge in sleep, but to continue in vigils and prayers.’ And I said, ‘ I know that it is very needful for me to continue in salutary vigils, and to pray to God industriously for pardon for my sins.’ And he rejoined, ‘ Thou sayest truth, because both for thee and for many others there is need to atone with good works for their sins, and, when they cease from the labours of temporal things, then the more freely to labour for the desire of eternal possessions : but yet very few do this. For indeed I have visited in order all this monastery, and have looked into the houses and beds of each, and have found no one of all save thee busied with the welfare of his soul ; but all of them, both men and women, are either sunk in dull sleep or awake for sin. For even the small houses which were made for prayer or for reading are now turned into lairs of banquettings, potations, gossipings and other allurements. Also the virgins dedicated to God, spurning respect for their profession, so often as they have leisure employ themselves in the making of fine raiment with which either to deck themselves like brides, to the danger of their condition, or to attract to themselves the friendship of strange men. And hence deservedly a heavy punishment has been prepared in raging flames for this place and its inhabitants.’ ”

And the abbess said :—“ And wherefore wert thou not willing sooner to reveal to me this discovery ? ” And he answered, “ I was afraid, through respect for thee, lest perchance thou shouldst be too greatly distressed. And yet thou hast this consolation, that this disaster will not arrive in thy days.”

And when this vision was made known, for a few days the inhabitants of the place began somewhat to be afraid, and to chastise themselves, pausing in their crimes. But after the death of the abbess they returned to their former defilements, nay they did more wickedly. And when they said “ Peace and security,”¹ suddenly they were visited by the penalty of the aforesaid retribution.

And that all this so happened was related to me by my most reverend fellow-priest Ædgils, who was living in that

¹ 1 Thess. V. 3.

monastery at the time. But afterwards, when because of the desolation most of the inhabitants departed thence, he abode for a very long time in our monastery, and died there. . . .

685

HISTORIA BRITTONUM, § 57, IN MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, AUCTORES ANTIQUISSIMI, VOL. XIII, PP. 202-203.

Egfrid [son of Oswy] is he who made war against his cousin,¹ called Brude, the king of the Picts, and who fell there with all the strength of his army; and the Picts with their king were victorious.

And the Saxons of Northumbria² never succeeded in exacting tribute from the Picts. From the time of that battle it is called *Gueith linn Garan*.³

685

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, IV, 26; VOL. I, PP. 266-267, 268.⁴

For in the next year after this⁵ the same king [Egfrid], who had rashly led an army to ravage the province of the Picts,—although his friends greatly opposed it, and especially Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had been recently ordained bishop,⁶—was led on by the enemy's feigning flight into the

¹ *fratruclēm*. Brude's mother may have been a daughter of Talorg the son of Anfrid, Oswy's eldest brother. Cf. *supra*, 616 × 617, note.

² *Saxones ambronnum*. Cf. *genus ambronnum* in Nen., § 63, u.s., 206. But *ambro* has the sense of "lascivious man, glutton" in Fl. His., i, 198; iii, 200 (Luard:) with which sense cf. *ambrones* in Gildas, M.G.H., AA., xiii, 34.

³ Apparently "battle of the pool of Garan."

⁴ Cf. A.S. Vers., i, 356, 358. A.S.C., MSS. E (infra, note.) A, B, C, s.a. 685. Aleuin, Carmen, in Raine's York, i, 374. Ethelw., Carmen, in S. of D., i, 265. Fl. of W., i, 38-39. H. of H., 106. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 32. W. of M., G.R., i, 57. Anon. Life of St. C., §§ 28, 37, 39, in E.H.S. ed., ii, 274-275, 279-281. Bede, V.S.C., XXIV, XXVII, *ibid.*, 95-98, 101-104; Metr. Life, XXI, XXIX, *ibid.*, 23-25, 28-29. Edm., V.W.Ep., in Raine's York, i, 205, 206. Brev. V.S.W., *ibid.*, i, 234.

North. Ann., in M.H.B., 290, blunderingly, "The battle of Egfrid was 63 years ago," i.e. in 674.

(Cf. Gaimar, ll. 1496-1500, i, 61.)

⁵ I.e. after 684, when Egfrid had sent an army under Bert to ravage Ireland, and was cursed by the Irish saints; Bede, H.E., IV, 26; i, 266. The date is given explicitly near the end of the chapter:—"In the same year, to wit, which is from the Lord's incarnation 685, . . ." *ibid.*, 268.

⁶ Cuthbert was consecrated on the 26th March, 685; v. *supra*, s.a. 664, note. Cf. A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 685; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS, xix, 504, Cf. Bede, H.E., IV, 27; i, 268.

The result of the battle was revealed to Cuthbert at the time when it

defiles of inaccessible mountains, and was killed along with the chief part of the troops which he had brought with him ;¹ in the fortieth year of his life, and the fifteenth of his reign, on the thirteenth day² before the Kalends of June.

And indeed, as I have said, his friends protested against his entering upon this war ; but since in the previous year he had refused to hear the most reverend father Egbert and refrain from attacking Scotland [Ireland], a country which did him no harm, it was given to him in punishment of his sin not to hear those who wished to call him back from destruction.

And from this time the hope and valour of the kingdom of the Angles began to "ebb, recede and sink."³ For both the Picts and the Scots who were in Britain recovered the land of their possession which the Angles held ;⁴ of the

was lost, while he was at Carlisle with queen Eormenburg ; Bede, V.S.C., XXVII, E.H.S. ed., ii, 101-104 ; Anon. Life of St. C., § 37, *ibid.*, 279. A year before, Cuthbert had prophesied the death of Egfrid and the succession of Aldfrid ; V.S.C., XXIV, u.s., 96-98 ; Anon. Life, § 28, u.s., 274-275. Neither of these events therefore appeared probable in 684. Aldfrid " was then in exile among the islands of the Scots for the study of letters," V.S.C., u.s., 97 ; " he was then in the island which they call Iona," Anon. Life, u.s., 274. He was a pupil (Three Frag. of Ir. Ann., 111) and a friend (Reeve's Adamnan, 185) of Adamnan. But " for no short time he had applied himself to reading in the districts of the Scots, suffering voluntary exile for the love of wisdom," V.S.C., u.s., 98 ; cf. Metr. Life, XXI, *ibid.*, 25 ; and had been in Ireland also, W. of M., G.R., i, 57.

He wrote poems in Gaelic ; cf. Plummer, Bede, ii, 263. His mother, Fina, was an Irish princess ; cf. Reeve's Adamnan, 185 ; Ann. of Inmsf., s.a. 694 ; while his father was apparently the great-grand-uncle of Brude mac Bili, the reigning Pictish king, who was the son of the daughter of Talorg mac Anfrith.

The campaigns first in Ireland, then in Pictland, might suggest that Egfrid suspected a conspiracy to put Aldfrid in his place ; and the suggestion is not contradicted by the result.

¹ A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 685 :—" . . . and in the same year on the thirteenth before the Kalends of June king Egfrid was slain, to the north of the sea [i.e. of Forth], and a great army with him."

W. of M., G.R., i, 57 :—" a few escaped by flight and reported it at home." S. of D., i, 32 :—" But king Egfrid . . . was killed, with the chief part of the forces which he had led with him to harry the land of the Picts, . . . at Nechtansmere, which is the swamp of Nechtan ; . . . and his body was buried in Iona, Columba's island." *Stagnum Nechtani* is located in Dunnichen Moss (pronounced *Dun-nechan*.) near Forfar.

² 29th May. So A.S.C., MS. E ; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 504 ; S. of D., i, 32.

This was a Saturday ; Ann. of Ulst., s.a. 685. Tigh., s.a. 686.

³ Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 169.

⁴ " For the Picts recovered their land, part of which the Angles held " ; H. of H., 106.

John of Tynemouth, in Raine's York, i, 503, understands this as follows :—" For then the Angles of that province were driven out and slain ; and the part of the kingdom of the Bernicians from the Scottish sea to the Tweed, till then subject to the kings of the Northumbrians, was altogether taken from them. And not even to our day has it been possible to bring it

Britons also considerable part recovered their liberty ;¹ and they have it even yet, after about forty-six years.

And there among very many of the English race who were slain by the sword, or given up to slavery, or who escaped by flight from the land of the Picts, the most reverend man of the Lord Trunwin also, who had received the bishopric over them, retreated with his followers who were in the monastery of Abercorn,—placed, it is true, in the district of the Angles, but in the neighbourhood of the firth which separates the lands of Angles and of Picts. And he commended them to his friends among the monasteries, wherever he could ; and himself chose the place of his dwelling in the oft-mentioned monastery of the servants and handmaids of God, which is called Whitby. And there for a very long term of years with a few of his [monks] he lived a life in monastic discipline useful not to himself alone, but to many others also. And there too he died, and was buried with the honour due to both his life and his rank, in the church of the blessed apostle Peter.² . . .

And Aldfrid succeeded Egfrid in the kingdom ; a man most learned in the Scriptures, who was said to be [Egfrid's] brother and the son of king Oswy.³ And he nobly restored, though within narrower bounds, the ruined state of the kingdom.

685

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY. *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. I, p. 58.

Yet [Aldfrid] held not the kingdom with the same bounds as did his father and brother ; because the Picts had insolently abused their recent victory, and attacked the Angles, who were the less warlike after the long peace, and had curtailed their territories from the north.

back to its former condition and subjection, through opposition of the secret judgment of God." John of Tynemouth flourished about the middle of the 14th century.

¹ Probably Strathclyde is meant. At this time English Cumbria was separated ecclesiastically from Scottish Cumbria ; cf. *H. & S.*, ii. 5, 6.

² Trunwin's bones were " found recently [in Whitby.] and brought forth into eminence," says *W. of M.*, *G.P.*, 254 : i.e., at Glastonbury.

³ Aldfrid is said to be Oswy's illegitimate son : *Bede*, *V.S.C.*, XXIV, *E.H.S. ed.*, ii. 97, 98 ; *Metr. Life*, XXI, *ibid.*, 25.

A.S.C., *MS.*, *E. s.a.* 685 :—" And, after [Egfrid.] his brother Aldfrid succeeded to the kingdom." Cf. the account of his succession in *W. of M.*, *G.R.*, i. 57, where he is said to have been older than Egfrid : but cf. *Bede*, *Metr. Life of St. C.*, XXI, *u.s.*, 25 :—" And like a new Josiah he rules our world with renown, mature in faith and in mind rather than in years." Aldfrid died in 705, according to *Bede*, *H.E.*, V, 18, i, 320 : *A.S.C.*, all *MSS.*, *s.a.* 705.

686 × 704

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, V, 15; VOL. I, PP. 315-317.¹

How at the instance of Adamnan very many of the churches of the Scots received the catholic Easter; and how he wrote a book about the holy places.

And at this time² the chief part of the Scots in Ireland, and some part also of the Britons in Britain,³ received, God granting it, the rational and ecclesiastical time of the observance of Easter.

For when Adamnan, priest and abbot of the monks who were in the island of Iona,¹ had been sent as a legation by his nation and had come to Aldfrid, king of the Angles; and staying for some time in that province saw the canonical rites of the church, and also was wisely exhorted by very many who were better trained not to presume with his extremely few followers, placed in an uttermost corner of the world, to live contrarily to the universal custom of the church, either in the observance of Easter or in any other decrees whatsoever, he changed his mind; so that he very gladly preferred the things which he had seen and heard in the churches of the Angles to the custom of himself and his. For he was a good man and wise, and very notably trained in the knowledge of the Scriptures.

And when he had returned home he endeavoured to lead his [monks] who were in Iona or who were subject to that monastery to this path of truth which he had learned and which he had adopted with his whole heart, but could not.

He sailed to Ireland, and by preaching to them, and with temperate exhortation declaring to them the lawful time of Easter, he brought over very many of them to catholic unity,

¹ Not in A.S. Vers.

² The previous chapter describes a vision which had been seen "recently," V, 14, i, 315. The last date given is of the consecration of Wilbrord in 696; V, 11, i, 303.

³ I.e. the Cumbrians of Strathclyde; v. H. & S., ii, 6-7.

⁴ Adamnan was abbot of Iona from 679 to 704. He visited Aldfrid (cf. supra, s.a. 685, note) twice; first (probably in 686) after the battle of Nechtansmere, to obtain the release of sixty Irish prisoners taken by Bert in 684 (Tigh., s.a. 687; Ann. of Ulst., s.a. 686;) and secondly two years later. Ad., V.S.C., 185, 186. Bede speaks of him as if he were a civic legate, (V, 15; V, 21,) suggesting that he speaks of Adamnan's first visit; but if Adamnan at the end of *De Locis Sanctis* (in Migne, 88, 814) means by "ecclesiastical anxiety" the Easter controversy, his manner of expression might suggest that the work was written after his conversion to the Roman Easter, and therefore presented to Aldfrid on Adamnan's second visit. Cf. Plummer, Bede, ii, 303.

corrected from their ancient error, and nearly all who were free from the dominion of the monks of Iona; and persuaded them to observe the lawful time of Easter.

And after celebrating the canonical Easter in Ireland, when he had returned to his island, and preached most persistently to his monastery the catholic observance of the time of Easter, and yet could not accomplish what he attempted, it happened that he departed from the world before the cycle of the year was completed: the divine grace manifestly disposing that the man most zealous for unity and peace should be removed to eternal life before the Easter time returned when he would have been compelled to have more grievous strife with them who refused to follow him to the truth.¹

The same man wrote a book upon the Holy Places, most useful to many readers; its author by instruction and dictation was Arcwulf, bishop of Gaul, who for the sake of the holy places had gone to Jerusalem, and after traversing all the land of promise had visited Damascus also, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many islands of the sea. And returning by ship to his own land he was carried by the violence of a storm to the western shores of Britain; and after many things came to the said servant of Christ, Adamnan; and there he was found to be a man learned in the Scriptures and acquainted with the holy places, and was most gladly received by him, and more gladly heard; insomuch that everything worthy of mention that he testified he had seen in holy places, [Adamnan] took care immediately to commit it all to writing.

And he made a work useful to many, as I have said; and especially to those who, separated a long way from these

¹ Cf. in the letter of abbot Ceolfrid to Nechtan, king of the Picts: Bede, H.E., V, 21, i, 344:—"But do not imagine that I pursue this so far as to judge that those who have this tonsure are to be damned, if they have favoured catholic unity in faith and works: nay, I profess confidently that very many among them have been holy men and worthy of God; and among these is Adamnan, chief abbot and priest of the Columbite monks. When he was sent to king Aldfrid as legate of his nation, and wished to see our monastery also, [Wearmouth and Jarrow,] and showed in his customs and words wonderful prudence and humility and religion. . . ." Ceolfrid argued with him about his bearing the Celtic tonsure. i, 345:—"These things I said to Adamnan at that time; and he proved how much he had profited by seeing the statutes of our churches when he returned to Scotland [Ireland], and afterwards corrected by his preaching many multitudes of that nation to the catholic observance of the time of Easter. Nevertheless those monks who dwelt in the island of Iona, and over whom he was placed in the special office of ruler, he was not yet able to bring over to the way of the better statute. The tonsure also he would have remembered to amend, if he had had so much authority."

places in which the patriarchs or the apostles were, know them only from the things which they have learned by reading.

Now Adamnan offered this book to king Aldfrid, and through his bounty it was given to lesser men also to read. Of [his bounty] also the writer was himself presented with many gifts, and sent back to his country.¹

698

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, RECAPITULATIO, V, 24 ;
VOL. I, P. 355.²

In the year 698 Beretred, royal leader³ of the Northumbrians, was slain by the Picts.

? 710

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, V, 21 ; VOL. I, PP. 332-333,
345-346.⁴

How abbot Ceolfrid sent to the king of the Picts architects for a church, and also a letter concerning the catholic Easter and the tonsure.

At this time⁵ Nechtan, king of the Picts who inhabit the northern parts of Britain, warned by frequent study of the ecclesiastic writings, renounced the error by which he and

¹ The following chapters, 16 and 17 (i, 317-319,) are devoted to extracts from Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*, which is based upon Adamnan's: cf. *Ad.*, D.L.S., I, 2, 3, 7, 22, 23; II, 1, 2, 8, 9, 10. Adamnan's work is printed in *Migne*, 88, 779-814. For other editions, v. *Plummer*, *Bede*, ii, 303-304.

² This annal is omitted by MSS. C, W, O₂-4, D, etc. *Plummer*, *ibid.*, note 13).

³ *Tighernach*, s.a. 698, and *Ann. of Ulst.*, s.a. 697, say that Beretred was the son of Beornheth; cf. *Eddi*, XIX, *supra*, 671 × 672.

⁴ Cf. *A.S.C.*, s.a. 699, MSS. D, E:—"In this year the Picts slew Bert the alderman," intending apparently to identify Beretred with the Bert (*Berctus*) who led an expedition into Ireland in 684; *Bede*, H.E., IV, 26; i, 266; v. *supra*, s.a. 685, note.

⁵ *H. of H.*, 109, expands this idea:—"In the eleventh year of Ine's reign, Bert, the aforesaid consul of Egfrid, felt the curses of the Irish whose churches he had destroyed, even as his lord had felt them. For as king Egfrid entered the land of the Picts and there met his destruction, so he also entered the land of the same people to avenge his lord, and was slain by them.

"About this time were 700 years from the Lord's incarnation."

⁶ Ine became king of the West Saxons in 688: *A.S.C.*, MSS. A, B, C, E, F, 3 *dux*; alderman?

⁷ Cf. *A.S. Vers.*, i, 468, 470. Cf. *H. of H.*, 112.

⁸ The previous chapter relates the death of abbot Hadrian, placing it in 709; V, 20; i, 330. Perhaps 710 is the correct date; cf. V, 19, 24; i, 322, 356; ii, 329.

⁹ Nechtan mac Derilli succeeded his brother Brude, who died in 706. Nechtan was deposed in 726, but regained the kingdom for a short time two years later. He died in 732. *Tigh.*

his nation had been held hitherto in the observance of Easter, and persuaded himself and all his subjects to celebrate the catholic time of the Lord's resurrection.

And to accomplish this the more easily and with the greater authority he sought aid of the nation of the Angles, whom he knew to have long ago established their religion after the example of the holy Roman and apostolic church. For he sent messengers to the venerable man Ceolfrid, abbot of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, at the mouth of the river Wear and near the river Tyne in the place which is called Jarrow, which he ruled most gloriously after Benedict, of whom we have spoken above; ¹ requesting him to send him exhortatory letters, with which the more effectively he might be able to confute those who presumed to observe Easter not at its time: as also concerning the manner or fashion of the tonsure with which it was fitting that clerics should be marked out: excepting that he was himself also to no small extent skilled in these matters.

And he also asked that architects should be sent to him, to make a church of stone among his people after the manner of the Romans, promising to dedicate it in honour of the blessed prince of the apostles, and also that he himself and all his subjects would always imitate the custom of the holy Roman and apostolic church; in so far at least as they had been able to learn it, being so far separated from the speech and race of the Romans.

And favouring his pious vows and prayers the most reverend abbot Ceolfrid sent the architects for whom he was asked, and sent to him also a letter written in this fashion: . . . ²

When this letter had been read in presence of king Nechtan and of many very learned men, and had been diligently interpreted by those who were able to understand it into his own tongue, ³ he is said to have rejoiced greatly in its exhor-

¹ H.E., IV, 18, i, 241. Benedict Biscop founded the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow; *ibid.*; cf. the Anon. His. Abb., in Plummer's Bede, i, 389, 390, 391-392: Bede, His. Abb., *ibid.*, i, 364, 367-368, 370.

Benedict and Ceolfrid were teachers of Bede: H.E., V, 24, i, 357

² This letter (Plummer's Bede, i, 333-345) deals at some length with the usual subjects of the controversy: it is omitted by the A.S. Vers. It is really composed by Bede: cf. Plummer, ii, 332-334.

It begins:—"To the most excellent lord and most glorious king Nechtan, abbot Ceolfrid sends greeting in the Lord": and ends:—"May the favour of the eternal King keep thee safely reigning for a very long time, for the peace of us all, most beloved son in Christ."

³ With this statement of the Pietish king's ignorance of Latin, compare W. of M., G.P., Life of St. Aldhelm (bishop of Sherborne, 705-709, *ibid.*, 385.)

tation; insomuch that he rose up from the midst of the assembly of his nobles, and bowed his knees to the ground, giving thanks to God that he should be worthy to receive such a gift from the land of the Angles.

“And indeed I knew even before,” said he, “that this was the true celebration of Easter; but now I know so well the reason for the observance of this time that I seem to myself in all ways to have understood before but little of these things. And hence I profess openly and protest to you present who sit here that I will ever observe, with my whole nation, this time of Easter; and decree that all clerics who are in my realm must receive this tonsure, which we have heard to be wholly reasonable.” And without delay he fulfilled by his royal authority what he had said. For immediately by public command the nineteen-year cycles of Easter were sent throughout all the provinces of the Picts to be transcribed, learned and observed; the faulty cycles of eighty-four years being everywhere suppressed. All servants of the altar and monks were tonsured in the manner of the crown; and the nation corrected rejoiced that it had been devoted as it were to a new discipleship of Peter, the most blessed prince of the apostles, and placed under the protection of his patronage.

710 × 711

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, RECAPITULATIO, V, 24;
VOL. I, P. 356.¹

In the year 711 Bertfrid the prefect² fought with the Picts.

336-337: “I am silent about his fellow-countrymen, who emulously sent their writings to [Aldhelm] to submit to the criticism of his judgment. I pass over the Scots, then most deeply learned: they are known to have done the same. But I could name some of them of no mean literary gift: especially Artwil, the son of the king of Scotland. Whatever he produced in the art of literature,—and this was not at all trifling,—he committed to Aldhelm’s judgment, that by the revision of his accomplished mind might be scraped off the Scottish roughness.”

¹ Cf. A.S.C., MSS. A, B, s.a. 710, MS. C, s.a. 709.

Fl. of W., i, 48, s.a. 710:—“Bertfrid, king Osred’s prefect, fought with the Picts and was victorious.”

² Bertfrid, “second prince from the king,” Eddi, LX, in Raine’s York, i, 90, (cf. *ibid.*, i, 91.) was the supporter of king Osred, the son of Aldfrid, against Adulf: cf. Eddi, LIX, u.s., i, 88-89. Cf. W. of M., G.P., 242.

Bertfrid is the same name as Berctred, *supra*, s.a. 698. The bearers of these and the allied name Bert (*supra*, s.a. 685, note,) may have belonged to the same family.

710 × 711

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, S.A. 710.¹

. . . And in the same year Bertrid the alderman fought against the Picts, between Avon and Carron.²

716

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, V, 22; VOL. I, PP. 346-347.³

How the monks of Iona with the monasteries subject to them began at the preaching of Egbert to celebrate the canonical Easter.

And not long afterwards⁴ those monks of the Scottish race also who dwell in the island of Iona, along with the monasteries which were subject to them, were persuaded by God's providence to the canonical rite of Easter and of the tonsure. For in the year from the Lord's incarnation 716,⁵ in which Osred was slain and Coenred received the helm of the Northumbrian kingdom, when Egbert, of whom we have often made mention above,⁶ had come to them from Ireland,—a father and priest beloved of God, and to be named with all honour,—he was received by them honourably and with great joy.

And since he was both a most gracious teacher and a most devoted doer of the things which he taught should be done, he was gladly heard by all, and changed by pious and assiduous exhortations that inveterate tradition of their fathers, concerning whom we may quote the apostolic saying

¹ H. of H., III, s.a. 710:—"Then also the consul Bertrid resisted the pride of the Picts, fighting between Avon and Carron. And there a great host of the Picts was laid low; and he became avenger of king Egfrid and of the consul Bert."

² *Harje and Curre*, D. E. *Here et Cere*, H. of H.

"In the plain of Manau," Tigh., s.a. 711; Ann. of Ulst., s.a. 710. According to Skene, C.S., i, 270 (P. & S., lxxxii; F.A.B. of W., i, 91.) the Plain of Manau is between these two rivers. Manau extended further; the name is preserved in Slanaman, Clackmannan and Dalmeny.

³ A.S. Vers., i, 470-475. Cf. Bede, H.E., Recap., V, 24, i, 356; A.S.C., all MSS., s.a. 716; in the same year also Fl. of W., i, 48; H. of H., 112.

Bede, Chron., in E.H.S. ed., ii, 203:—"Egbert, a holy man of the nation of the Angles,—and one who adorned the bishopric (*sacerdotium*) with monastic life also, in pilgrimage for the sake of the heavenly fatherland,—in the year from the Lord's incarnation 716 by pious preaching turned very many provinces of the Scottish [Irish] nation to the canonical observance of the time of Easter, from which observance they had too long deviated."

⁴ I.e. after the proclamation of Nechtan. H.E., V, 21; supra, s.a. ? 710.

⁵ So in H.E., V, 24, i, 356. In H.E., III, 5, i, 134, (supra, s.a. 565,) Bede says that the Celtic Easter was still celebrated in Iona in 715.

⁶ Cf. III, 4, supra, s.a. 565; III, 27, i, 192-194. In H.E., V, 9, i, 296-298, Bede relates how Egbert wished to set out from Ireland, where he lived as

that they had zeal for God, but not according to knowledge ;¹ and he taught them, as we have said, to hold the celebration of the chief festival in the catholic and apostolic manner, under the figure of an endless crown.²

And clearly it happened by a wonderful dispensation of God's mercy that since this nation had laboured to impart to the peoples of the Angles, gladly and without grudging, such knowledge as they had of the comprehension of God, should itself also afterwards attain to the perfect rule of life through the nation of the Angles, in those things which it had lacked. So on the contrary the Britons, who refused to extend to the Angles what knowledge they had of the Christian faith, when now the peoples of the Angles believe and are in all things instructed in the rule of catholic faith, are themselves still antiquated and halting from their paths ; and display their heads without the crown, and celebrate the festivals of Christ without the fellowship of Christ's church.

Now the monks of Iona received the catholic rites of life through the teaching of Egbert, under abbot Duncan,³ about eighty years from the time when they had sent Aidan as bishop to preach to the nation of the Angles. And the man of the Lord, Egbert, remained for thirteen years in the afore-said island, which he had himself consecrated to Christ, as though new grace shone forth of ecclesiastic fellowship and peace. And in the year of the Lord's incarnation 729, in which the Lord's Easter was celebrated on the eighth day⁴ before the Kalends of May, when he had celebrated the solemnities of mass in memory of the same resurrection of the Lord, on the same day he too departed⁵ to the Lord :

exile (III. 27, u.s.) for missionary enterprise on the continent. But Boisil of Melrose appeared to a former attendant of his, bidding him tell Egbert that "whether he will or not, he must come to the monasteries of Columba, because their ploughs do not go straight ; and it is meet for him to bring them to a straight course" ; *ibid.*, 297-298. A storm followed, and Egbert at last desisted. This happened previously to 690 ; cf. H.E., V, 10, i, 298-299 ; ii, 291-292.

Egbert appears to have been a bishop ; Bede, H.E., III, 27, i, 193 ; V, 9, i, 296 ; Ethelwerd, in M.H.B., 507 ; Ethelwulf, *De Abb.*, in S. of D., i, 270, and note ; cf. Plummer, Bede, ii, 285.

¹ Rom. X, 2.

² I.e., the crown-tonsure.

³ Duncan was abbot of Iona from 707 to 717, according to Tigh. ; who, however, places in 717 the "expulsion of the family of Iona across Drumalban by king Nechtan," and says that in 718 "the crown-tonsure was put upon the family of Iona."

⁴ 24th April.

⁵ Cf. Bede, H.E., Recap., V, 24 ; i, 356. A.S.C., all MSS., s.a. 729.

Bede, H.E., III, 27 ; i, 193-194 :—" . . . [Egbert] departed recently to

and the joy of the chief festival, which he had begun with the brethren whom he had turned to the grace of unity, he completed with the Lord and the apostles, and the other citizens of heaven ; or rather he ceases not endlessly to celebrate the same.

And it was a wonderful dispensation of God's providence that the venerable man passed to the Father not only on Easter-day, but also while Easter was celebrated upon that day, upon which it had never before been accustomed to be celebrated in those places.

The brethren therefore rejoiced in the sure and catholic recognition of the time of Easter ; and they were glad in the patronage of their father, by whom they had been corrected, and who departed to the Lord. And he rejoiced that he had been so long preserved in the flesh until he should have seen his hearers receive and hold with him that day for Easter which they had ever before avoided. And thus sure of their correction the most reverend father exulted to see the day of the Lord ; he saw it and was glad.

73^I

BEDE, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, V, 23 ; VOL. I, PP. 350-351.¹

But over the province of the Northumbrians, which king Ceolwulf ² rules, four bishops now hold sway :—Wilfrid ³ in the church of York ; Ethelwald ⁴ in that of Lindisfarne ;

the heavenly realms ; that is, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 729, when he was ninety years of age. Now he had lived his life in great perfection of humility, meekness, continence, simplicity and justice. And hence he did much good to his own nation and to those races of the Scots and Picts among whom he lived in exile, by the example of his life, and the persistency of his teaching, and the authority of his reproof, and the kindness of his distribution of the things which he had received from the rich." Particulars are given of his abstemiousness ; *ibid.*

Gaimar, v. 1664, says that Egbert was buried at "Mirmartin," which may be a confusion for St. Martin's, Whithorn ; Plummer, S.C., ii, 40. Cf. *supra*, s.a. 685, note.

¹ Cf. A. S. Vers., i, 478, 480. H. of H., 116. S. of D., H.R., ii, 28-29.

² Cf. Bede, H.E., Pref., i, 5.

Ceolwulf became a monk in Lindisfarne in 737 ; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F ; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 505 ; S. of D., i, 47, 201 ; H.R., ii, 32, 375-376. There he relaxed the rule imposed by the Scots of drinking nothing but water or milk, and permitted the monks to drink wine or beer. S. of D., H.R., ii, 102. Hoved., i, 8, 45.

³ Cf. Bede, H.E., V, 6 ; i, 292.

⁴ Ethelwald succeeded Edfrid in 725, according to Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 505 (cf. *ibid.*, 504, s.a. 722.)

Ethelwald had been an attendant of Cuthbert ; afterwards prior (Anon. Life of St. C., § 33, in E.H.S., Bede, ii, 277) and later abbot (Bede, V.S.C.,

Acca¹ in that of Hexham; Pechthelm² in that which is called Whithorn, and which, through increase of the ranks of the faithful, has recently been raised to the see of an episcopate, and has him as its first bishop.³

At this time the race of the Piets also both has a treaty of peace with the nation of the Angles,⁴ and rejoices to participate with the universal church in catholic peace and truth.

The Scots who dwell in Britain are content with their own territories, and plan no snares or deceits against the nation of the Angles.

The Britons, although for the most part they oppose the nation of the Angles with the hatred natural to them, and less rightfully with their evil customs the appointed Easter

XXX, *ibid.*, ii, 107) of Melrose (S. of D., H.D.E., i, 39. Cf. Bede, H.E., V, 12; i, 310.)

Ethelwald caused a sculptured stone cross to be erected and inscribed to Cuthbert's memory; S. of D., u.s. He died in 740. Contin. of Bede's H.E., i, 363.

He wrote (with bishop Edfrid and the anchorite Bilfrid) part of the precious volume of gospels lost in a storm at sea by the bearers of St. Cuthbert's body, ca. 880, and miraculously recovered at low tide at Whithorn, S. of D., H.D.E., i, 64-68. This is believed to be the Durham Book preserved in the British Museum, Cottonian MS. Nero. D. iv.

¹ Cf. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 35, s.a. 732:—"But by what pressure of necessity [Acca] was driven [from his see], or whither he went, I have not found written. There are however some who say that at this time he inaugurated and prepared the episcopal see in Whithorn." Cf. Bede, H.E., Contin., i, 361, s.a. 731, which is probably the correct date. But his expulsion is placed in 732 by S. of D., H.R., ii, 30; cf. W. of M., G.P., 225; and in 733 by A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F; Fl. of W., i, 53.

R. of H., u.s., 34:—"As some think, he lived for eight years afterwards." His death is placed in 737 by A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

² Pechthelm had been a monk and deacon of Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne; Bede, H.E., V, 18; i, 320. Cf. W. of M., G.P., 257. He testified to miracles wrought at Haedde's tomb: Bede, *ibid.*; and is named as Bede's authority for a vision, H.E., V, 13; i, 311-313.

³ W. of M., G.P., 257:—" [Pechthelm's] successors were Frithwald, Pechtwin, Ethelbert, Bakdulf. And beyond these I find no more anywhere; for the bishopric soon failed, since it was, as I have said," [*ibid.*, 256; *supra*, s.a. 565, note.] "the farthest shore of the Angles, and open to the raidings of the Scots and Piets."

Whithorn is spoken of as being in England: cf. *supra*, s.a. 547, note.

Cf. Fl. of W., i, 279-280:—"The kings of the Northumbrians ruled over the whole district which is beyond the river Humber. There were in this district the archbishop of York, the bishops of Hexham, of Ripon, of Lindisfarne and of Whithorn. . . . [Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 101.]

"And the archbishop of York had all the bishops beyond the Humber subject to his control:—the bishops of Ripon, of Hexham, of Lindisfarne; him of Candida Casa, which is now called Whithorn; and all the bishops of Scotland and the Orkneys, even as the archbishop of Canterbury has the bishops of Ireland and the Welsh." Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 352-353, 350.

⁴ Yet in his letter to Egbert of York (written in November, 734.) Bede speaks of danger "from barbarians," "from the incursion of barbarians." i, 414, 415.

of the whole catholic church, are yet wholly withstood by the power of both God and man, and can in neither respect obtain the purpose of their desires ; inasmuch as they, although in part they are independent, are yet in some part reduced to the servitude of the Angles. . . .

This is at present the state of all Britain, in about the two hundred and eighty-fifth year from the arrival of the Angles in Britain, and in the year of the Lord's incarnation 731. . . .

PART II

735

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, VOL. I, P. 54.

Pechthelm,¹ bishop of Whithorn, died; and Frithwald succeeded him in the rule of the bishopric.

735, Aug.

CONTINUATION OF BEDE'S HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VOL. I,
P. 361.

In the year 735 . . . bishop Egbert received the *pallium* from the apostolic see, and was the first after Paulinus to be confirmed in the archiepiscopate [of York];² and he ordained Frithbert³ and Frithwald⁴ as bishops. And Bede the priest died.

740

CONTINUATION OF BEDE'S HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VOL. I,
P. 362.

In the year 740 . . . Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, by a wicked deceit wasted part of Northumbria; and their king Edbert⁵ was occupied with his army against the Picts.

¹ For Pechthelm v. supra. s.a. 731.

² Cf. supra, s.a. 664, note.

³ Bishop of Hexham; 8th September, but s.a. 734, S. of D., H.R., ii., 31. So R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i., 37. Frithbert died in 766; Contin. of Bede, i., 363; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, according to which he had been bishop for thirty-four years.

⁴ A.S.C., MSS. D, E, s.a. 762 (cf. infra, s.a. 763) says that Frithwald died on the 5th May, 763, and had been bishop for twenty-nine winters: "He was consecrated at Chester on the eighteenth before the Kalends of September, in the sixth winter of Ceolwulf's king-ship"; that is, 734, Aug. 15. Ceolwulf succeeded Osric in 729; A.S.C., D, E, F (although MSS. A, B, C, D say in 731); 729, May 9, Bede, H.E., V., 23, i., 349.

But Egbert did not receive the *pallium* till 735; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

⁵ Edbert was the successor of Ceolwulf; Contin. of H.E., s.a. 737, i., 362. He was tonsured in 758, and succeeded by his son Osulf; *ibid.*, 363. (Cf. s.aa. 737, 757, A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F; Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 505).

S. of D., H.D.E., i., 48:—" [Edbert] was, as we have said, the son of Eata, uncle of king Ceolwulf,"—*ibid.*, II, I, i., 47; so A.S.C., D, E, s.a. 737;

744

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 38.

In the year 744 was fought a battle between the Picts and the Britons.¹

750

CONTINUATION OF BEDE'S HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VOL. I,
P. 362.²

In the year 750 Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, rose against king Ethelbald and Angus.³

Theodor⁴ and Enred died.

Edbert added to his kingdom the plain of Kyle, with other districts.

756, Mar.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, VOL.
I, P. 48, S.A. 757.⁵

In the seventeenth year of [Cynewulf's] episcopate,⁶ and the twentieth of Edbert's reign,⁷ the man of the Lord and priest Baldred, who had led in Tynningham the life of an anchorite, trod the way of the holy fathers, departing on the day⁸ before the Nones of March to Him who had refashioned him in the likeness of his Son.

but Eata was the grand-uncle of Ceolwulf, A.S.C., A. B. C. D. s.a. 731, A. B. C. D. E. s.a. 738,—“and when he received the kingdom he showed himself well able and eager to hold and to rule the empire.

“All his adversaries, therefore, were either made subject to him or overthrown in war: and all the surrounding kings, of Angles, of Picts, of Britons, of Scots, not only held peace with him, but even rejoiced to pay him honour.”

¹ The Pictish king Talorgan was slain in battle with the Britons: Ann. Camb., s.a. [750]: Brut y Tywysogion, s.a. 750.

² Cf. the battle of Burford, A.S.C., s.a. 752.

³ This is enigmatical, and the text is probably corrupt. S. of D., H.R., ii, 40, follows this passage, but omits “and Angus.” For Angus cf. infra, s.aa. 756, 761.

⁴ The king of Strathclyde: cf. Tigh., s.a. 752: Ann. Camb., s.a. 750.

⁵ Cf. S. of D., ii, 41, s.a. 756, in the eighteenth year of Edbert's reign. Cf., s.a. 756, Hoved., i, 7: Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 505. For stories about Baldred see Alcuin, Carmen, in Raine's York, i, 388-390.

⁶ Cynewulf was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne in 737, according to A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

⁷ Cf. supra, s.a. 740, note.

⁸ I.e. the 6th of March. Baldred's remains were pilfered by Alfred of Durham: S. of D., i, 88: i, 168, but no mention is made of the legend of the triplication of his corpse.

756, Aug.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 40-41.¹

In the year from the Lord's incarnation 756, king Edbert, in the eighteenth year of his reign, and Angus, king of the Picts, led an army to the town of Dumbarton.

And hence the Britons accepted terms there, on the first day of the month of August.

But on the tenth day of the same month perished almost the whole army which he led from Ovania² to Newburgh, that is, to the New City.

761

CONTINUATION OF BEDE'S HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VOL. I, P. 363.

In the year 761 died the king of the Picts, Angus, who as a slaughtering tyrant carried on his reign's beginning with bloody crime even to the end.

And Oswin was slain.³

761, Aug.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 41-42.⁴

In the year 759 Ethelwald, who was also called Moll, began to reign on the Nones of August.⁵

And in the beginning of his third year, a very severe battle was fought near Eildon,⁶ on the eighth⁷ before the Ides of August; and in it Oswin fell, after three days, on the first day

¹ Cf. Hoved., i, 7.

² Cf. the Surtees Soc. ed. of S. of D., p. 20, n. Cf. S. of D., ii, 41, n. The locality of Ovania is uncertain. Hoved. has *Ouama*.

³ S. of D. mentions Oswin's death before Angus's:—"In the same year also died Angus, king of the Picts." H.R., ii, 42.

⁴ Cf. Hoved., i, 7.

⁵ 5th August. Ethelwald Moll reigned in Northumbria from 759 to 765; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

⁶ "Beside Melrose" is inserted by an almost contemporary hand. Arnold, S. of D., ii, 41, note. (Cf. A.S.C., MSS. D, E, (F without date,) s.a. 761:—"And Moll, king of the Northumbrians, slew Oswin at Edwin's cliff on the eighth before the Ides of August"; possibly a folk-etymology for *Eldunes cliff*; Plummer, S.C., ii, 49. No place is mentioned in Contin. of Bede. Oswin was a "most noble prince"; Fl. of W., i, 57. But according to H. of H., 125:—"In the following year [761] Moll, king of Northumbria, slew Oswin, the bravest of his aldermen [*ducum*], who fought against his lord at Edwin's cliff despising the law of nations, and was slain by the law of God." Cf. R.W., E.H.S. ed., i, 237.

⁷ 6th August. So A.S.C.

of the week. And king Ethelwald, who was called Moll, gained the victory in the battle.

763

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, s.a. 762.¹

And Frithwald, bishop at Whithorn, died on the Nones of May.² He was consecrated at Chester on the eighteenth³ before the Kalends of September, in the sixth winter of Ceolwulf's kingship; and he was bishop twenty-nine winters.

Then Pechtwin was consecrated as bishop of Whithorn at Ælfet ee,⁴ on the sixteenth⁵ before the Kalends of August.

774

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 45.⁶

In the year 774 . . . king Alchred⁷ was by counsel and consent of all his subjects⁸ deprived of the society of the royal family and the chief men; and changed for exile the majesty of empire. He retired with few comrades of his flight first to Bamborough, afterwards to the king of the Piets, Kenneth by name.⁹

775

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 46.¹⁰

In the year 775 Kenneth, king of the Piets, was snatched from the eddy of this muddy life.¹¹

¹ MS. F, s.a. 762, is less full. Cf. Fl. of W., i. 57, s.a. 763. H. of H., 125, through misreading the A.S.C. calls Frithwald "bishop of Chester." S. of D., H.R., ii. 42-43; s.a. 764, but indefinitely, "in these times." M.P., Chr. Maj., ii. 344, s.a. 763.

² 7th May.

³ 15th August, 734; cf. supra, s.a. 735.

⁴ Perhaps Elvet, Durham. But *ee* means "river."

⁵ 17th July.

⁶ Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i. 49. Hoved., i. 9. A.S.C., D. E. s.a. 744. "in Eastertide"; so also Fl. of W., i. 58.

⁷ The successor of Ethelwald Moll; A.S.C., D. E. F. s.a. 765.

⁸ "By the deceit of his chief men"; S. of D., i. 49.

⁹ Kenneth, son of Feradach, became king of the Piets in succession to Brude "king of Fortrenn," who died in 763, according to Tigh. For Kenneth's death v. infra, s.a. 775.

¹⁰ Cf. Hoved., i. 10.

¹¹ The text of S. of D. proceeds:—"and alderman Adulf taken treacherously by guile, after a short while's space was slain, and buried, and orgotten." But above in S. of D., ii. 45, the death of an alderman Adulf is placed under 774, immediately preceding the banishment of Alchred. Possibly by a confusion of names *Eadulf dux* in the second place stands for *Alcredus rex*: king Alchred's capture thus following the death of his protector.

776

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, S.A. 776.¹

This year died bishop Pechtwin,² on the thirteenth³ before the Kalends of October. He was bishop fourteen winters.⁴

777

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, S.A. 777.⁵

And in the same year Ethelbert was consecrated as bishop of Whithorn, in York, on the seventeenth⁶ before the Kalends of July.

789

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DESCRIPTIO HAGUSTALDENSIS ECCLESIE, IN RAINE'S HEXHAM, VOL. I, P. 40.⁷

In the same year, that is in the 789th year from the Lord's incarnation, Ethelbert left his see in Whithorn and received the bishopric of Hexham, which he ruled for eight years.

790

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, F, S.A. 791.⁸

This year Baldulf⁹ was consecrated¹⁰ bishop of Whithorn,

Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 350: "In the year of the Lord 780 Ethelred [*read* Alchred.] king of the Northumbrians, was deposed, and went first to the city of Bamborough, and afterwards to the king of the Picts, Kenneth by name; and there also he ended his life."

¹ MS. F omits day and month. Cf. Fl. of W., i, 59, s.a. 777; H. of H., 126; S. of D., ii, 46, Hoved. i, 10, s.a. 777; R.W., E.H.S. ed., i, 242, and M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 349, s.a. 778.

² "Bishop of Whithorn." S. of D., ii, 46; Hoved., i, 10.

³ 19th September.

⁴ "In the twenty-fourth year of his bishopric." H. of H., 126, through error in the Roman numeral. So Hoved., following him, i, 23.

"And Ethelbert succeeded him," S. of D., ii, 46; Hoved., i, 10.

⁵ MS. F omits day and month. Cf., s.a. 778, Fl. of W., i, 59; H. of H., 126; Hoved., i, 24.

⁶ 15th June.

⁷ Cf. S. of D., i, 53. Hoved., i, 12. Ethelbert died in 797; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

⁸ MS. F omits day and month. Cf. Fl. of W., i, 62. H. of H., 129; Hoved., i, 26. S. of D., H.R., ii, 53; Hoved., i, 12.

⁹ Baldulf assisted at the consecration of Ardulf, king of the Northumbrians, at York, on the 24th May, 796; A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 795; H. of H., 130; of Anbald II, archbishop of York, at the monastery of Sockburn on the 14th of August (the 15th, wrongly, in S. of D.,) 796; S. of D., H.R., ii, 58; Hoved., i, 16; cf. A.S.C., s.a. 796, MS. E; and at the consecration of Egbert II, bishop of Lindisfarne, at Bywell, 11th June, 803; S. of D., H.D.E., i, 52.

¹⁰ "In the place which is called *Hcarrahatch*, which may be interpreted

on the sixteenth¹ before the Kalends of August, by archbishop Anbald² and by bishop Ethelbert.³

796

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, p. 57.

And Osbald the patrician⁴ . . . was deprived of all society of the royal family and the princes, and put to flight and driven from the kingdom. And he retired with a few to the island of Lindisfarne, and came thence by ship with some of the brethren to the king of the Picts.

830⁵

ca. 830

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, VOL. I, PP. 52-53.⁶

[Egred, bishop of Lindisfarne,⁷] bestowed upon the holy confessor Cuthbert that vill [of Norham], with two others which he had founded, [both] called by the same name, Jedworth, with their appanages.⁸

the 'place of lords.' " S. of D., H.R., ii. 53. I.e. at Harraton, near Chester-le-Street? Arnold, *ibid.*, note. So Hoved., i. 12 (cf. Stevenson, *Ch. His.*, iii, 455, n.). "At Whithorn," says M.P., *Chr. Maj.*, i, 356, s.a. 793.

¹ 17th July.

² Of York, 779-796; A.S.C., MSS. D, E.

³ Of Hexham: Baldulf's predecessor.

⁴ Osbald was for twenty-seven days successor of Ethelred (slain 18th April, 796) as king of Northumbria: *ibid.*: cf. *De Pr. Sax. Adv.*, in S. of D., ii. 376. He died an abbot in 799: S. of D., H.R., ii, 62.

⁵ By the submission of Northumbria Egbert, king of Wessex, "acquired the whole of Britain": W. of M., G.R., i. 107; that is, he was the eighth Bretwalda: A.S.C., all MSS., s.a. 827.

⁶ Cf. *Ann. of Lind.*, in M.G.H., SS., xix, 506, s.a. 830.

⁷ Egred was bishop from 830 to 846, *Ann. of Lind. n.s.*: cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i. 52, 53 (cf. *supra*, s.a. 651, note.) He built a church in Jedburgh, according to *Ann. of Lind.*, u.s.

⁸ ". . . With two other vills:—Jedworth, and the other Jedworth, and all that pertains to them, from Duna [Down Law?] to Teviotmouth, and thence to Wilton, and thence beyond the mountain eastward." H. de S.C., in S. of D., i. 201.

Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii. 101, under the year 854: ". . . And the following residences [pertained to the church of Lindisfarne]: Carnham, and Holmcultram, and the two Jedburghs, to the southern district of the Teviot" (in text *Teinetæ*: read *Teinietæ*.) "all of which bishop Egred had founded: and Melrose, and Tigbrechingham" (in text *Tigbrethingham*.) "and Abercorn" (in text *Eoriercorn*: read *Eouercorn*?) "to the western district of Edinburgh, and Pefferham, and Aldham, and Tynningham, and Coldingham, and Tillmouth, and the aforesaid Norham. . . ." So Hoved., i, 45, who adds after Coldingham "and Birgham."

Cf. *His. de S. C.*, in S. of D., i. 199:—"And that land beyond the Tweed [pertains to the land of Lindisfarne], from the place where rises the river

? 870

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. I, PP. 391-392.¹*Of the admirable deed of the holy abbess Ebba.*

In the year of the Lord 870 an innumerable host of Danes landed in Scotland : and their leaders were Inguar and Hubba, men of terrible wickedness and unheard-of bravery. And they, striving to depopulate the territories of all England, slaughtered all the boys and old men whom they found, and commanded that the matrons, nuns and maidens should be given up to wantonness.

And when such plundering brutality had pervaded all territories of the kingdoms, Ebba, holy abbess of the cloister of Coldingham, feared that she too, to whom had been intrusted the care of government and the pastoral care, might be given up to the lust of pagans and lose her maiden chastity, along with the virgins under her rule ; and she called together all the sisters into the chapter-house, and burst into speech in this wise, saying, " Recently have come into our parts the wickedest pagans, ignorant of any kind of humanity ; and roaming through every part of this district they spare neither the sex of woman nor the age of child, and they destroy churches and churchmen, prostitute nuns, and break up and burn everything they come upon. Therefore if you decide to acquiesce in my advice, I conceive a sure hope that by divine mercy we may be able both to escape the fury of the barbarians and to preserve the chastity of perpetual virginity."

And when the whole congregation of virgins had undertaken with sure promises that they would in all things obey the commands of their mother, that abbess of admirable heroism showed before all the sisters an example of chastity not only advantageous for those nuns but also eternally to be followed by all succeeding virgins : she took a sharp knife and cut off her own nose and upper lip to the teeth, offering a dreadful

[White] Adder on the north as far as to the place where it falls into the Tweed ; and all the land which lies between the river [White] Adder and another river which is called the Leader, towards the west : and all the land which lies on the eastern side of that river which is called Leader, as far as to the place where it falls into the Tweed, towards the south : and all the land which pertains to the monastery of St. Baldred, and is called Tynningham, from Lammermoor even to Eskmouth."

Among the lands granted (posthumously) by king Oswin to Cuthbert are named several villis of Roxburgh, in the valleys of the Bowmont and the Kale : *His. de S.C.*, in *S. of D.*, i, 197.

¹ This story appears also in *Fl. His.*, i, 432-433, s.a. 870. It is unknown to *S. of D.*, *H.R.*, ii, 104 ; to Hugo Candidus, in *Sparke*, iii, 14.

For Inguar and Hubba cf. *Ethelw.*, in *M.H.B.*, 512-514.

spectacle of herself to all beholders. And since the whole congregation saw and admired this memorable deed, each one performed a similar act upon herself, and followed the example of her mother.

And after this had so taken place, when next morning dawned, the most wicked brigands came upon them, to give up to wantonness the holy women, and devoted to God; as also to plunder the monastery itself and burn it down in flames. But when they saw the abbess and each of the sisters so horribly mutilated, and saturated with their blood from the soles of their feet to their crowns, they retired from the place with haste, for it seemed to them too long to stay even for a short space there. But as they retired thence the aforesaid leaders commanded their evil satellites to set fire to and burn down the monastery with all its offices and with the nuns themselves.

And so the execution was fulfilled by the servants of iniquity, and the holy abbess and all the virgins with her attained most holily to the glory of martyrdom.

875

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. A, B, D, E, S.A. 875, C S.A. 876.

In this year the army [of Danes] went from Repton. And Halfdane went with part of the army into Northumbria, and took winter-quarters by the river Tyne; ¹ and the army conquered the land, and often harried upon Picts and upon Strathelyde Welsh. ² . . .

883 × 896

HISTORIA DE SANCTO CUTHBERTO, IN S. OF D., VOL. I,
pp. 213-214.³

This is a miracle of God and St. Cuthbert, much to be ob-

¹ They settled in Northumbria next year; A.S.C. MSS. A. B. D. E. s.a. 876, C s.a. 877. Asser, Ann. of Alf., s.a. 876.

² Cf. s.a. 875, Asser, Ann. of Alf., in M.H.B. 478; Fl. of W., i, 92.

Ethelw., Chr., in M.H.B., 515:—"And very often they carried war against the Picts and the Cumbrians." H. of H., 146:—"And often they raided upon the Picts."

Ann. of Ulster, s.a. 874 (for 875):—"A conflict of Picts with Danes; and great slaughter was made of the Picts."

³ Cf. De Mir. et Transl. S.C., IV, in S. of D., i, 241-242. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 70-71.

This nocturnal retreat regarded as a miracle is placed by De Mir. et Tr.

served and magnified, when once the Scots crossed the river Tweed with an innumerable host, and wasted the land of St. Cuthbert, and despoiled the monastery of Lindisfarne, which had never before been violated.¹

And hearing this king Guthred, to avenge the holy confessor, hastened thither with a very small band, and met them at the end of the day in the place which is called Mundingdene. And thus the battle was not begun.

And when night supervened, and king Guthred had fallen asleep through the excess and diversity of his cares, in great fear and anxiety because he had a very small army while the enemy, who was now at close quarters, had a very large one, and thus he could neither fight nor escape: behold, Christ's soldier Cuthbert appeared to him plainly, and with these words raised his fallen spirits.

"Fear not," said he, "because I am with thee; and despair not of the fewness of thy soldiers, because my foes, though still alive, are already in God's sight dead, and will not be able to oppose thee, because they have not feared to violate God's peace and mine. In the dawn rise quickly and fall upon them with confidence, because at once in the first conflict the earth will open, and drop them alive into hell."

After these words he departed; and the king awoke. Springing up therefore he assembled his army, and publicly related all this to all men. And immediately at dawn he fell upon the enemy; but, according to the word of the man of God, at once in the first conflict the earth yawned and swallowed them alive, and he found them not, the ancient miracle being there wondrously renewed, when "the earth opened and

S.C., u.s., 241, "when no great time had passed" after Olafbald's blasphemy and death, which followed the battle of Corbridge, A.D. ?915, q.v. It happened "some considerable time having intervened" after the grant by king Guthred to the Cuthbertines of the land between Tyne and Wear, according to S. of D., H.D.E., i, 71, 70: and this grant is placed under 883 by S. of D., H.R., ii, 114-115.

Guthred became king in 883: S. of D., H.R., ii, 114, and an insertion in ii, 86; cf. H.D.E., i, 68-69, without date. He died in 894, according to S. of D., i, 71; ii, 92; in 896, August 24, according to Ethelw., in M.H.B., 518-519; while De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 377, says that he reigned fourteen years.

¹ Lindisfarne had, in fact, been sacked twice by the Danes, in 793 and in 875: S. of D., H.D.E., i, 50-51, 58.

Here De Mir. et Tr. S.C. strikes a chord frequently repeated in later writers: S. of D., i, 241:—" . . . the nation of the Scots gathered an innumerable army and crossed the river Tweed, which is the northern boundary of the land of St. Cuthbert, and harried every place with slaughter, fire and rapine. They spared not rank, nor age, nor sex, but cut down all like cattle with equal and unheard-of cruelty."

swallowed up Dathan, and covered over the company of Abiram."¹

? 915

HISTORIA DE S. CUTHBERTO. IN S. OF D., VOL. I, PP. 208-209.

. . . All these vills² . . . bishop [Cutherd] gave to Elfred [son of Brihtulfing], that he should be faithful to him and to the congregation, and should render full service for them.

And this too he faithfully did, until king Ronald came with a great multitude of ships and occupied the land of Adulf's son Aldred, who was beloved of king Edward, even as his father Adulf was beloved of king Alfred.³

Aldred therefore took to flight and went to Scotland, and sought the aid of king Constantin, and brought him to battle at Corbridge against king Ronald.

And in this battle, by influence of what sin I know not, the heathen king was victorious, put Constantin to flight, routed the Scots, and slew Elfred, St. Cuthbert's vassal, and all the best of the Angles, excepting Aldred and his brother Utred.⁴

¹ Psalms, CVI, 17.

² In the neighbourhood of Durham and Hartlepool; H. de S.C., *ibid.*, 208.

³ For Adulf's death cf. *infra*, note; for Aldred Adulfing, *infra*, s.a.a. 921, 926.

⁴ After this victory Ronald divided St. Cuthbert's lands which lay between the Wear and the Tees, and gave them to his followers, Scula and Olafbald; H. de S.C., *ibid.*, 209.

The lands between the Wear and the Derwent had been held by Edred, son of Rixing, from the time when he "rode westward beyond the mountains, and slew the prince Adulf, and seized his wife, in violation of the peace and will of the people; and took refuge in the protection of St. Cuthbert. And there he abode three years. . . . and paid rent faithfully, until the aforesaid king Ronald gathered again his army and fought at Corbridge, and slew Edred himself and a very great host of the Angles." Then Ronald gave that part of the land of St. Cuthbert to Edred's sons; H. de S.C., *ibid.*, 210.

In all this nothing but the word "again" supports Arnold's theory that there were two battles of Corbridge (S. of D., ii, pp. xxvi-xxx.)

Edred paid rent for three years after the slaying of Adulf; and Adulf died in 912, "in the Northumbrian borders," according to Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520.

According to S. of D., H.D.E., i, 72, ". . . while Cutherd administered the episcopate of Bernicia, a certain heathen king, Ronald by name, landed in the districts of the Northumbrians with a large fleet. Immediately he broke into York, and either slew or drove from their country all the best inhabitants." Cf. De Mir. et Transl., III, in S. of D., i, 238. Now Cutherd died in 915; H.D.E., i, 74.

The A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F, has under the year 923 (but probably "post-

? 921

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. A, S.A. 924.¹

And then ² the king of the Scots,³ and all the people of the Scots, and Ronald,⁴ and the sons of Adulf,⁵ and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes and Northmen and others; and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh,⁶ and all the Strathclyde Welsh, chose [king Edward] for father and for lord.⁷

dated some four or five years"; Plummer, S.C., ii, 130-131): "In this year king Ronald won York." S. of D., H.R., ii, 93:—"In the year 919 Ronald [*sic lege*] broke into York." The invasion is mentioned without definite date in the Ser. Reg., in S. of D., ii, 391. The Ann. of Ulst. place it in 917=918.

¹ At the end of this passage in MS. A half a page is left blank; then a new hand begins. E. & Pl., a.l.

MS. F, s.a. 924:—"In this year was king Edward chosen as father and as lord by the king of the Scots, and by the Scots; and by king Ronald, and by all the Northumbrians; and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh, and by all the Strathclyde Welsh." Cf. s.a. 921, Fl. of W., i, 129-130; S. of D., H.R., ii, 123; and s.a. 917, Hoved., i, 53.

For the confusion in the dating of this part of the Chronicle cf. Plummer, S.C., ii, 116, 130, 131.

The previous annal in the Chronicle, MSS. D, E, F, s.a. 923, gives Ronald's invasion of York: the annal following, MSS. A, F, s.a. 925 (B, C, D, E, s.a. 924) is of Edward the Elder's death. Fl. of W., i, 130, places Edward's death in 924, and says that he "most gloriously ruled over all the peoples inhabiting Britain,—of Angles, Scots, Cumbrians, Danes and Britons alike." So S. of D., H.R., ii, 123; Hoved., i, 53. Cf. the notice of his succession, Fl. of W., i, 117, s.a. 901: "he took into subjection the kings of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Strathclyde Welsh, and all those of the West Britons." So, s.a. 899, S. of D., ii, 121; Hoved., i, 50. Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 135.

None of these authorities is either contemporary or impartial.

² After Edward's visit to Nottingham and Bakewell, before midsummer MS. A, *ibid.*

³ Constantiu III.

⁴ "Ronald, king of the Danes," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved., u.s.

The death of the elder Ronald took place in 921; Ann. of Ulst., s.a. 920=921. His successor Sitric (king of Northumbria, A.S.C., D, s.a. 925) is spoken of as king in A.S.C., E, s.a. 921.

Ronald Godfreyson was one of the kings driven out of Northumbria in 944, A.S.C., MSS. A, B, C, D; cf. E, F. He is first mentioned in the Chronicle under the year 942, MS. A: 943, MS. E, when he was baptized, with king Edmund as sponsor.

⁵ Aldred and Utred; *supra*, s.a. 915.

⁶ MS. F, Lat., reads:—"and by Strathclyde, king of the Welsh"; Plummer, S.C., i, 104, ii, 90. The king of Strathclyde at this time was Constantiu's brother Donald.

⁷ "And made a firm treaty with him," add Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved., u.s.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D.¹

. . . And Sitric died, and king Ethelstan² assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians.

And he subjugated all the kings who were in this island: firstly Howel,³ king of the West Welsh; and Constantin, king of the Scots, and Owen, king of Gwent,⁴ and Aldred, son of Adulf of Bamborough.⁵

¹ Cf. s.a. 926, Fl. of W., i, 131; S. of D., ii, 124. S.a. 921, Hoved., i, 53-54.

Compare W. of M., G.R., i, 147, after Sitric's death: "Olaf, Sitric's son, fled to Ireland, and Godfrey his brother to Scotland. The king's men followed after them, being sent to Constantin, king of the Scots, and to Eogan" [or Owen] "king of the Cumbrians, demanding back the fugitive and declaring war.

"The barbarians had not the courage to murmur against it, but without demurring came to the place which is called Dacre, and yielded themselves and their kingdoms to the king of the English.

"In gratitude for this agreement Constantin's son was instructed to be baptized, and [Ethelstan] himself received him from the sacred font.

"But Godfrey escaped, during the preparations of the travelers. . . ."

V. also Ann. of Ulster, s.a. 926=927.

The expulsion of Godfrey is placed under 927 by A.S.C., MSS. E, F; S. of D., H.R., ii, 93; under 926 by Fl. of W., i, 130-131, who mentions it simultaneously with the annexation of Northumbria by Ethelstan, previously to the submission of the kings. So S. of D., H.R., ii, 124; cf. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 377.

According to Fl. of W., W. of M., De Pr. Sax. Adv., u.s., Godfrey was the son of Sitric. But more probably he was his brother. Cf. Todd, War of the Gaedhil, 279.

Sitric was Ethelstan's brother-in-law; A.S.C., MS. D, s.a. 925.

² "Who first of the kings of the English reduced all his enemies, and obtained the lordship of the whole of Britain." S. of D., H.D.E., i, 63. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 372:—"For he reduced to himself both Scotland and Cumberland, and other provinces of islands."

"It is long to relate . . . what bounds [Ethelstan] placed to his empire in Scotland": W. of M., G.P., 397. The Ann. of Lind., in M.G.H., SS., xix, 506, s.a. 920, say that Ethelstan "was the first to obtain the monarchy of the whole of England," and immediately add, s.a. 924, "king Ethelstan entered Scotland."

³ Probably a prince of Cornwall; cf. Plummer, S.C., ii, p. viii. Compare however W. of M., G.R., i, 142, *infra*, note.

⁴ Monmouthshire.

⁵ Fl. of W., i, 131, appears to misunderstand the phrase *from Bebban byrig*, and changes the complexion of the whole passage:—"All the kings also of the whole of Albion he conquered in battle and put to flight, to wit Howel, king of the West Britons; then Constantia, king of the Scots; Wuer [i.e. Owen], king of Gwent. Aldred also, the son of Adulf, he drove out from the royal city which in the English tongue is called Bamborough.

"All these, when they saw that they could not oppose his vigour, sought peace from him, and came together on the fourth before the Ides of July in

And with pledge and with oaths they confirmed peace, in the place which is called *Eamot*,¹ on the fourth² before the Ides of July, and renounced every kind of idolatry;³ and thereafter departed in peace.

934

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. A, S.A. 933, MSS. B, C, D, E, F, S.A. 934.⁴

In this year king Ethelstan went into Scotland, with both a land-force and a ship-force,⁵ and ravaged a great part of it.

934

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 159.

And after these things⁶ king Ethelstan determined to depopulate the unbelieving⁷ nation of Danes and the faithless nation of Scots; and he led a very large army by land and by sea into Northumbria and Scotland. And since there was none to begin to oppose him or to persevere in opposing him he advanced everywhere through the country and raided at his will, and returned with the bays of triumph.

a place which is called Eamot: they took an oath and concluded a firm treaty with him."

So also S. of D. and Hoved., who however omit the expulsion of Aldred.

Cf. W. of M., G.R., i. 142:—"And because his noble mind once roused strove after greater things, he compelled Judwal, king of all the Welsh, and Constantin, king of the Scots, to leave their thrones (*cedere regnis*). Nevertheless not long afterwards, overcome by compassion, he established them in their former rank, to reign under himself: asserting that it was more glorious to make a king than to be a king."

¹ *et Ea motum. Eamotum*, F. of W.; *Eamotun*, S. of D., Hoved.

W. of M., G.R., i. 147, has *Dacor*. *Dacre* is a mile from R. Eamont, which flows out of Ulleswater. *Eamot* has also been identified with Emmet in Yorkshire.

² 12th July. So Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved.

³ This clause must refer to some treaty with the Danes: the chronicler confuses different occasions. The renunciation of idolatry is omitted by Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved. Cf. however W. of M., G.R., i. 146, *supra*, note.

⁴ Cf. s.a. 934, Fl. of W., i. 131-132; S. of D., H.R., ii. 124. Hoved., i. 54, s.a. 925.

⁵ "With a very powerful naval force, and with no small army of cavalry." Fl. of W., i. 131.

⁶ This follows the death of Ethelstan's brother Edwin.

⁷ *perfidam*.

⁸ *infidam*.

934

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 93.¹

... Thereupon² he subdued the enemy,³ and wasted Scotland with a land army as far as Dunnottar⁴ and Wertermoor,⁵ and with a naval force harried it as far as Caithness.⁶

934

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESLE, VOL. I, P. 76.

He then put to flight Owen, king of the Cumbrians, and Constantin, king of the Scots: and with an army on land and in ships he subdued Scotland, subjugating it to himself.⁷

¹ Cf. S. of D., ii, 124; xxxiii. Hoved., i, 54.

² After making munificent offerings at St. Cuthbert's shrine. Ethelstan's victory is attributed to the same cause in S. of D., H.D.E., i, 75-76; His. de S.C., in S. of D., i, 211-212; (cf. *ibid.*, i, 76, note;) Hoved., i, 54. This policy had been recommended to him by his father Edward, His. de S.C., u.s., 210-211.

The offerings and credit for the victory are given to John of Beverley in W.K., Mir. S. J., in Raine's York, i, 263-264. Cf. Mir. S. J., Contin. a, *ibid.*, 294-298. Cf. Dugdale, Mon. Angl., e.g. ii, 129.

³ "With the greatest violence," adds Hoved.

⁴ *Dunfoeder*. So also S. of D., ii, 124. Hoved., i, 54. Cf. Skene, P. & S., cxxxvii.

⁵ *Wertermorum*, "warder mountains." So also S. of D., Hoved., u.s. (A.S. *mora, morum* = montes, montibus, A.S. Vers. of Bede, H.E., 358, 364. Cf. *supra*, s.a. 565, note. In A.S.C., s.a. 878 (MS. C, s.a. 879) *mor* = swamp. Cf. Plummer, S.C., ii, 15-16). Located as Wedder Hill by Arnokl, S. of D., ii, p. xxxiii; as Kirriemuir by Skene, C.S., i, 352.

⁶ "And harried Scotland for the most part," S. of D., ii, 124.

⁷ Cf. Fl. of W., i, 131:—"And for the most part harried it. For Constantin, king of the Scots, broke the treaty which he had made with him. [v. *supra*, s.a. 926.] And hence king Constantin being compelled by force gave him, along with worthy gifts, his own son as hostage.

"And peace was restored, and the king returned to Wessex."

Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 124. Hoved., i, 54.

W.K., Mir. S. J., in Raine's York, i, 263:—"The Northumbrians and Scots rebelled against [Ethelstan] and transgressed the treaty which they had made with him. And when the king had collected a very large army, he advanced to subdue the guilty ones by land and sea."

Mir. S. J., Contin. a, in Raine's York, i, 295:—"And when the Scots heard that the English army was approaching they dared not await them in [English] territory, nor oppose them in a battle in the open; but crossed the river which is called the Forth (*Scotorum Tadum*), that they might prepare to resist in battle more safely within their own borders. And when king [Ethelstan] came to the river with the whole army of the English, he learned that the Scots had crossed; and he instructed his men to pitch their tents on the bank of the river, and to await there for some while."

W.K., Mir. S. J., u.s., 264 (after Ethelstan's vision of St. John of Beverley):—"And when morning broke king [Ethelstan] fell upon the enemy and obtained the victory, and compelled the king of Scotland to surren-

937

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. I, P. 132, S.A. 938.¹

Olaf, pagan king of the Irish and of many islands, incited by his father-in-law Constantin, king of the Scots,² entered the mouth of the river Humber with a strong fleet; ³ and king Ethelstan and his brother prince Edmund met him with an army, in the place which is called Brunnanburgh.⁴

der. And after exploring for no short time the situation of that land he received the king's son as hostage, and returned to York."

Mir. S. J., *Contin. a. u. s.*, 296-297 :—" And so when morning broke, the king took heed to make his vision known to his men, and to assure them of the victory. And they rejoiced, and were encouraged for the contest. They crossed the river, and found the Scots and their king ready to oppose them. And a severe battle was fought; and not only did many of the Scots perish, but even their king fled, to the confusion of the whole realm.

" And seeing this the English king was glad, and returned thanks to God and to the venerable confessor, John, to wit, his intercessor. And immediately he reduced the whole kingdom to his empire, and went round and journeyed through all the neighbouring provinces of that land.

" Then he summoned the princes and the provosts of the towns and imposed upon them the tribute which they should pay as a debt to him and his successors, to wit the English kings.

" The islands also adjacent and in the neighbourhood he compelled to serve him so long as he remained in those parts, which was to the completion of three years.

" And as he returned by the shore of the sea near Dunbar and saw the rocks jutting out he stopped, and sighing uttered words in this fashion— ' If by the intervention of St. John God would vouchsafe to give me some evident sign, in order that both future and present might be able to know that Scotland is subjugated by right to the realm of the English,—inasmuch as it has been conquered by king Ethelstan,—and pays at all times tribute to him and his successors, I would devoutly render thanks to him, not without cause.'

" And drawing his sword from its sheath he struck it into the crag, which was in that hour, God's virtue governing it, as penetrable to his sword as if the stone had been butter or soft gravel. For the rock was so cleft by the stroke of the sword that the measure of an ell might be fitted to the length [of the hole]. And even to the present day it is an evident sign that the Scots were conquered and subjugated by the English, when such a memorial shows it clearly to all comers."

¹ So, s.a. 937, S. of D., H.R., ii, 125; Hoved., i, 54. Cf. *Ann. of Ulst.* 261-262, s.a. 936=937.

² " To their raging fury, by the Scots' king's wish, the northern land gave cheerful consent," says a verse *Life of Ethelstan* quoted by W. of M., G.R., i, 151-152, who thought that it dated from Ethelstan's life-time. In this passage the presence of Constantin at the battle is not mentioned.

Constantin's son-in-law was Olaf Sitricsen.

³ This mention of the Humber is probably an erroneous assumption of Fl. of W.; for if the Strathelyde Welsh and Irish Danes joined forces in the invasion they must have chosen a meeting-place near the western seaboard.

⁴ A.S.C., MS. F, s.a. 937 :—" In this year king Ethelstan and his brother Edmund led an army to Brunnanburgh, and there fought against Olaf; and, Christ aiding, had the victory." MS. E is shorter.

937

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. I, P. 142.

[Ethelstan's] last war was with Olaf Sitricsen, who had crossed his boundaries in the hope of usurping the kingdom ; along with the aforesaid Constantin, again in rebellion.

And because Ethelstan retired advisedly to defeat the invader more gloriously,¹ the youth, overbold and hoping to his heart forbidden things, had advanced far into England when at last he was opposed at Brunefeld² by leaders of great skill and by a strong force of knights. . . .

937

SYMEON OF DURHAM, *HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE*, VOL. I, P. 76.³

In the fourth year after [his invasion of Scotland,] that is, in the 937th year of the Lord's nativity, [Ethelstan] fought at Wendun, (which by another name is called At Burnswark or Brunnanburgh,⁴) against the son of the former king Godfrey, Olaf,⁵ who had come with six hundred and fifteen ships,

¹ According to W. of M., Olaf spied in guise of a harper upon Ethelstan's camp: H.R., i. 142-143. When Ethelstan retired to draw on the enemy bishop Werstan of Sherborne pitched his tent on the site which the king had abandoned and so was slaughtered by Olaf in the night: G.P., 178.

² One of the variant readings is *Brunefeld*.

³ Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520:—"Therefore after thirteen years" [from Ethelstan's succession in 926] "was fought a fierce battle against the barbarians in the place Brunnanburgh, whence also even to the present it is commonly entitled the Great Battle. Then the barbarian troops were everywhere overcome: and they no longer had dominion, after those whom he drove beyond the shores of Ocean. Moreover the Scots bowed their necks, and the Picts also. . . ."

A.S.C., MSS. A. B. C. D. says that they fought "around Brunnanburgh."

H. of H., 159, confusedly:—"In the year of grace 945, and the fourth year of his reign, king Ethelstan fought a battle,—the greatest of battles,—at Brunnanburgh against Olaf, king of Ireland, who had supplemented his forces from the nation of the Scots, and of the Danes who dwelt in England." (The writer has misread the Roman numeral xxxviii as xxxv.)

⁴ The name occurs in a variety of forms: (1) Weondune, S. of D., i. 76; Wendune, S. of D., ii. 293; (2) Etrunnanwerc, S. of D., i. 76; Brunswerce, Gaimar, l. 3524, i. 147, with variants; (3) Brun(n)anburh, -byrig, A.S.C., A. B. C. D. E; S. of D.; Fl. of W.; Brune(s)burh, H. of H., 159, 160; (4) Brunandune, Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520; (5) Brunfort, Bk. of Hyde, 124.

The second of these forms, Burnswark, occurs in a suitable locality, although it is not the place understood by Fl. of W. or by W. of M., supra. Place-names show that there was a Danish settlement to the north of the Solway Firth; and this would have been a suitable landing-place for the Irish Danes. Cf. regarding the extent of Bernicia, supra, s.aa. 547, 731, notes.

⁵ Both Olaf Godfreyson (as S. of D.) and Olaf Sitricsen (as W. of M.) appear to have taken part in the war. For Godfrey and Sitric cf. supra, s.aa. 921, 926, notes.

having with him against Ethelstan the aid of the aforesaid kings to wit of the Scots and of the Cumbrians.

But [Ethelstan], trusting in the protection of St. Cuthbert,¹ laid low an endless host, and drove those kings from his kingdom, obtaining a glorious triumph for his men. . . .

937

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. I, P. 132.²

And the battle was protracted from the beginning of the day until evening ; and they slew five under-kings and seven earls, whom their opponents had brought with them to aid them.³

And they spilled so much blood as had never before been spilled in any battle in England. And they compelled the kings Olaf and Constantin to flee to their ships, and returned with great exultation.

But their foes had acquired the greatest misfortune in the destruction of their army ; and they returned with few men to their own.

937

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. VERSE PASSAGE, MSS. A, B, C, D,
S.A. 937.⁴

In this year king Ethelstan, lord of earls, ring-giver to men, and his brother also prince Edmund won life-long glory in conflict with the sword's edges around Brunnanburgh. They clove the shield-wall, hewed the war-lindens with hammered

¹ Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 144, *infra*, in note.

² So S. of D., H.R., ii, 125 ; Hoved., i, 54-55.

³ A.S.C., MS. F : " And they slew there five kings and seven earls."

S. of D., H.R., ii, 93 : " In the year 937 king Ethelstan fought at Wendun, and turned to flight king Olaf with six hundred and fifteen ships, also Constantin, king of the Scots, and the king of the Cumbrians, with all their host."

W. of M., G.R., i, 144 :—" . . . Relying upon this gift of God," [a miraculous sword,] " and at the same time because it was now dawn, [Ethelstan] attacked the Norwegian with all his army and beat him back untiringly the whole day till evening. There fell Constantin, king of the Scots, a man of treacherous passion (*perfidæ animositatis*) and of vigorous old age : and five other kings, twelve earls, and almost the whole host of the barbarians. The few who escaped were preserved for the reception of the faith of Christ."

Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 10, s.a. 924 :—" Ethelstan with his forces in one contest deprived of life one king of Scots, and five kings of the Danes, and twelve earls."

Two cousins of Ethelstan were slain in the battle : W. of M., G.R., i, 151.

⁴ Cf. H. of H., 160-161.

blades ; so was it natural to them, the sons of Edward, from their ancestors that against every foe they defended their land, hoard and homes.

The foe gave way ; the folk of the Scots and the ship-fleet fell death-doomed. The field was slippery with the blood of warriors, from the time when the sun, glorious star, glided up in morning tide over the world, the eternal Lord God's candle bright, till the noble creature sank to rest.

There lay many a warrior by darts laid low ; many a northern man over the shield shot, and many a Scot beside, weary, war-sated. The West Saxons in companies continuously all the day long pressed after the hostile peoples, hewed the fugitives from behind cruelly with swords mill-sharpened. The Mercians refused not the hard hand-play to any of the heroes who for battle, death-doomed, sought land in ship's bosom, over the mingling waves, with Olaf.

There lay on the battle-field five young kings, by the swords put to sleep ; and also seven earls of Olaf : of the army untold numbers, of the fleet and of Scots.

There was put to flight the Northmen's lord, driven by need to his ship's prow, with a small band : the boat drove afloat ; the king fled out upon the fallow flood ; he saved his life.

So there also the aged Constantin came north to his country by flight, hoary warrior. No need had he to exult in the intercourse of swords. He was bereft of his kinsmen, deprived of his friends on the meeting-place, bereaved in the battle. And he left his son in the slaughter-place, mangled with wounds, young in warfare.

He had no need to boast, the grizzly-haired man, of the bill-clashing, the old malignant ; nor Olaf the more, with their remnants of armies. They had no cause to laugh, that they in works of war were the better, on the battle-field of the conflict of banners, of the meeting of spears, of the assemblage of men, of the contest of weapons : that on the slaughter-field they played with Edward's sons.

The Northmen retired, bloody remnant from the spears, in their nailed boats on the sounding sea. Over deep water they sought Dublin and Ireland again, with minds cast down.

So too the brothers, both together,—king and prince.—sought their country, the West Saxons' land, rejoicing in the war.

They left behind them to share the carrion the dusky-coated, the swart raven, of horny beak ; and the grey-coated,

the white-tailed eagle: to enjoy the meat the greedy war-hawk, and the grey beast, wolf in the weald.

Before this, greater slaughter of folk was never yet made in this island by the sword's edges; in so far as books tell us, old sages, since hither from the east came Angles and Saxons to land, over the broad waves: since the proud war-smiths sought Britain, and the glory-seeking earls overcame the Welsh and obtained the land.¹

941

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 94.

In the year 941 Olaf laid waste the church of St. Baldred and burned Tynningham;² and presently he perished.³

And hence the men of York harried the island of Lindisfarne, and slew many men.

And the son of Sitric, named Olaf, reigned over the Northumbrians.⁴

940 × 946

HISTORIA DE S. CUTHBERTO, § 28, IN S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 212.⁵

Upon [Ethelstan's] death his brother Edmund succeeded to the kingdom, collected again a great army, and hastened to Scotland. Yet in going he turned aside to the oratory of St. Cuthbert, bowed his knees before his tomb, and offered prayers; and commended himself and his men to God and the holy confessor. . . .⁶

¹ The success of the battle was such that Ethelstan had peace till his death, according to S. of D., H.D.E., i, 76. W. of M., G.R., i, 142. Cf. Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520. After Ethelstan's death one of the Olafs was chosen king of Northumbria; A.S.C., MS. D, s.a. 941. This was Olaf Godfreyson, according to De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 377-378.

² Tynningham pertained to Lindisfarne or Durham; cf. S. of D., i, 199, supra, s.a. 830, note.

³ Olaf Godfreyson died in 942, according to A.S.C., MSS. D, E.

⁴ Cf. A.S.C., MS. D, s.a. 941. Fl. of W., i, 133; S. of D., H.R., ii, 125. W. of M., G.R., i, 157.

In 944, according to A.S.C., Olaf Sitricson and Ronald Godfreyson ("two kings," MSS. A, B, C, D; "two men of royal birth," E, F) were expelled from Northumbria by Edmund of Wessex. Cf. Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520, where they are called "deserters."

Cf. Fl. of W., i, 134. W. of M., G.R., i, 158. S. of D., H.R., ii, 94, s.a. 945 (cf. *ibid.*, s.a. 943.) H. of H., 162.

⁵ Ethelstan died in 940, A.S.C., MSS. (A), B, C, D, E; Edmund in 946, A.S.C., MSS. A, B, C, D (E, F, s.a. 948.)

⁶ St. Cuthbert is again heavily bribed. Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 76-77.

945

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. A, B, C, D, s.a. 945.¹

In this year king Edmund harried all Cumbria,² and leased³ it all to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on the condition⁴ that he be his helper both on sea and on land.⁵

946

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. A, B, C, D, s.a. 946, E, F, s.a. 948.⁶

In this year king Edmund died;⁷ . . . and then prince Edred, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, and reduced all Northumbria to his dominion. And⁸ the Scots gave him oaths that they would all that he would.⁹

¹ MSS. E, F have only: "In this year king Edmund harried all Cumbria." Cf. Fl. of W., i, 134; S. of D., H.R., ii, 126; Hoved., i, 56. W. of M., G.R., i, 158.

² Lit. "Cumberland"; but perhaps Strathclyde is meant. Fl. of W. has "the land of the Cumbrians"; H. of H., *Cumberland*; W. of M., "the province which is called Cumberland."

³ *Let.*

⁴ *on that gerad.* Fl. of W. translates this by *co tenore*; H. of H., *hoc pacto.*

⁵ Fl. of W., i, 134, s.a. 945:—"and gave it to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on this condition, that he should be faithful to him on land and sea"; the phrase of vassalage.

W. of M., G.R., i, 158:—"The province which is called Cumberland having been commended to Malcolm, king of Scots, under fealty of an oath."

H. of H., 162:—"And in the following year, [945, Edmund] raided and ravaged the whole of Cumbria, because he was unable wholly to subdue the nation of that province, treacherous and unaccustomed to laws. And he commended it to Malcolm king of Scotland, upon this agreement, that he should help him by land and sea."

R.W., E.H.S. ed., i, 398, s.a. 946:—"In the same year king Edmund, supported by the aid of Llewellyn, king of Demetia, despoiled the whole of Cumbria of all its wealth; and after depriving two sons of Dunmail, the king of that province, of the light of their eyes, he granted that kingdom to Malcolm, king of Scots, to be held of him, that the northern parts of England might be safe by land and sea from the attacks of invading enemies." Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 455.

⁶ Ethelw., in M.H.B., 520: "and to [Edred] all the Northumbrians were subject, and the Scots also confirmed their oaths and their immutable allegiance (*fulcm*)."

Fl. of W., i, 134:—"He, as his brother had done before, reduced to his dominion the whole of Northumbria, and received an oath from the Scots that they would be faithful to him." Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 456; Fl. His., i, 501.

⁷ "Was stabbed," MSS. E, F: "on St. Augustine's mass-day," MSS. A, B, C, D (26th May.)

⁸ "And soon," MSS. E, F.

⁹ A similar phrase is used of a covenant between Edward and the Danes, in A.S.C., MS. A, s.a. 921.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, PP. 162-163.

And [Edred] directed his banners thence ¹ into Scotland. The Scots therefore were struck with excessive fear, and yielded themselves without a battle to the king. And they swore to him, both Northumbrians and Scots, the fealty due to their lord. But this oath endured not long.

For when Edred had returned to the southern parts of his kingdom Olaf, who had been driven out from the kingdom of Northumbria, was both received by his own with rejoicing and restored again to the kingdom, which he held, by his bravery, for four years.

958

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 52.²

Tenth [Bretwalda] was Edgar, great-great-grandson of Alfred: a strong and peaceful king, who had both Angles and Scots either in subjection to him or wholly at his will: and his heirs after him, even to this day.

973

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. D, E, F, S.A. 972.³

In this year prince Edgar was consecrated as king at Bath, on the fifth ⁴ before the Ides of May, in the thirteenth year from his succession to the kingdom; ⁵ and he was then

¹ After his invasion of Northumbria in the year of his accession, *ibid.*, 162. Cf. A.S.C., MS. D, s.aa. 947, 948.

W. of M., G.R., i, 162:—"In the year of the Lord's incarnation 946 Edred, third of Edward's sons, received the kingdom; and he ruled for nine years and a half. His high spirit, not inferior to that of his father and brothers, had this result:—the Northumbrians and Scots were readily brought to the oath of fealty to him: but soon broke their treaty, setting up one Eric over them as king: but [Edred] destroyed them almost to a man, wasting the whole province with hunger and the sword."

² A.S.C., MS. A, s.a. 958; D, E, s.a. 959, "and Edgar succeeded his brother in the kingdom"; MSS. P, C, s.a. 959, "in Wessex and in Mercia and in Northumbria"; MS. F, s.a. 958, "over all Britain."

MSS. D, E, verse passage, s.a. 959:—"And God also helped him, so that kings and earls willingly submitted to him, and became subject to that which he would. And without fighting he ruled all that he would."

³ The coronation is placed in 973 by MS. A, in 974 by B, C. A, B, C have eulogistic verse, but no mention of the homage of kings.

⁴ 11th May. "The day of Pentecost." MSS. A, B, C; Fl. of W., i, 142; H. of H., 166. Whit-Sunday was 11th May in 973. So Fl. of W., u.s., "in the first indiction."

⁵ He reigned 959-975, A.S.C., B, C, D, E (958-975, A, F.)

one less than thirty winters old. And soon after this the king led all his ship-army to Chester; and there came six kings to meet him, and they all plighted their faith to him, that they would be his helpers on sea and land.¹

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. I, PP. 142-143,
S.A. 973.²

Edgar, the peaceful king of the English, . . . was anointed king. Then after a time he sailed with a huge fleet round northern Britain,³ and landed at Chester.

And his eight under-kings met him as he commanded;—to wit, Kenneth, king of the Scots; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians;⁴ Maccus, king of very many islands; and five others, Dufnal, Siferth, Huwal, Jacob, Juchil;—and swore that they would be his faithful helpers both on land and on sea.

And on a certain day he entered a boat with them, and, placing them at the oars, himself took the rudder's helm, and steered skilfully through the stream of the river Dee, while all the crowd of earls and nobles accompanied him in similar craft; and he proceeded from the palace to the monastery of St. John the Baptist. And after praying there he

¹ H. of H., 166:—"And after Pentecost he led his army to Chester; and to meet him there came six kings, who were all subject to his dominion. And they all gave him the allegiance (*fidem*) due to their lord, that they would serve him at his command by land and sea."

² For this fable cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 165. S. of D., H.R., ii, 130-131. Hoved., i, 63-64. Letter of Nicholas, monk of Worcester, to Edmer; in Stubbs, *Dunstan*, 423.

De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 372:—"After [Edwy, reigned] his brother Edgar, son of Edmund. And to him eight kings were subject, namely Kenneth, king of the Scots, and Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, and Maccus, king of very many islands, and other five." Another MS. reads "seven kings."

Cf. seven signatories to a charter (not genuine) of Edgar, 3rd June, 966, in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, ii, 413. Edgar had begun in his charters to call himself "king of all Britain"; e.g., in 961, *ibid.*, 375; in 963, *ibid.*, 391. Previously he had called himself "governor and ruler of all Britain," as in 961; *ibid.*, 372.

³ Cf. Fl. of W., i, 143-144:—"Therefore while he lived [Edgar] gathered to himself 3,600 strong ships; and of these every year, when the solemnity of Easter was concluded, he was accustomed to collect 1200 on the eastern, 1200 on the western, 1200 on the northern shore of the island; and to row to the western fleet with the eastern, and, sending it back, to the northern fleet with the western; and, sending that back, with the northern fleet to the eastern, and in this way to circumnavigate the whole island every summer, doing this manfully to defend his kingdom against outsiders, and to train himself and his men to warlike uses." So S. of D., H.R., ii, 131. Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 177-178.

⁴ The king of Strathclyde at this time was Donald, son of Eogan.

returned with the same pomp. And as he entered it he is reported to have said to his nobles that then only should any of his successors be able to boast himself king of the English when so many kings submitted to him, and he obtained a display of such honours.¹

971 × 975

DE PRIMO SAXONUM ADVENTU, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 382.

First of the earls after Eric, the last king whom the Northumbrians had, Osulf administered under king Edred all the provinces of the Northumbrians.

Thereafter under king Edgar Oslac was appointed earl over York and the districts pertaining to it ;² and Adulf, surnamed Yvelild, was placed over the Northumbrians from the Tees to Myreford.³

These two earls along with Elfsi (who was bishop beside St. Cuthbert)⁴ conducted Kenneth, king of Scots,⁵ to king Edgar.

And when [Kenneth] had done him homage, king Edgar gave him Lothian ; and with great honour sent him back to his own.⁶

¹ Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 165 :—“ [Edgar] brought to his court Kenneth, king of the Scots ; Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians ; the Viking-chief Mascusius ; and all the Welsh kings, whose names were Dufnal, Giferth, Humal, Jacob, Judethil ; and he bound them to him with one oath for ever ; so that they met him at the city of Chester, and he brought them in triumphal procession through the river Dee. For he placed them in one ship and made them row, while he sat at the prow ; in this way displaying his royal magnificence, in that he had the power of so many kings subject to him. Indeed he is reported to have said that then only could his successors boast that they were kings of the English, when they enjoyed so great a manifestation of honour.” Cf. W. of M., ii, pp. cxxix-cxxx.

² Cf. A.S.C. MSS. D, E, F, s.a. 966 :—“ And the same year Oslac succeeded to the office of alderman.”

³ The Firth of Forth. Skene would read *Myreford* ; C.S., i, 369.

S. of D., H.R., ii, 197 confuses Adulf and Osulf :—“ And afterwards, in the reign of Edgar, [Osulf] received as ally Oslac. Thereafter Osulf administered the government in the northern region of the Tyne, and Oslac over York and its territories. To these succeeded Waldeve the elder, who had as successor his son Utred. . . . And in his place was substituted his brother, Adulf Cudel. . . .”

⁴ Elfsi was bishop of Lindisfarne (at Chester-le-Street) from 968 to 990 ; S. of D., H.D.E., i, 78 ; H.R., ii, 130, 134.

⁵ Kenneth II reigned from 971 to 995.

⁶ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 467-468, s.a. 975 :—“ Also at the same time bishop Elfsi and earl Adulf conducted Kenneth, king of Scots, to king Edgar. And when they had brought him to the king he received of the royal bounty many gifts, among which [king Edgar] conferred upon him a hundred ounces of purest gold, with many silken robes, ornaments and rings, with precious stones ; and he gave besides to the same king the whole land which in the mother-tongue is called Lothian, on this condition, that every year on the

971 × 975

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. I, PP. 177-178.

Moreover although, as is said, [Edgar] was puny of stature and form yet the favour of Nature had planted so great strength in his small body that he readily challenged to combat whomsoever he knew to be presumptuous; fearing this chiefly, that he should be feared in such sport.

Indeed it is reported that once in a feast, where the sarcasm of fools usually displays itself more openly, Kenneth, king of Scots, said jestingly that it seemed strange that so many provinces were subject to so insignificant a mannikin. And this was taken up perversely by a jester, and afterwards cast in Edgar's face at a formal banquet.

But he, concealing the matter from his followers, summoned Kenneth as if to consult him about a great secret; and taking him far aside into a wood gave him one of two swords which he carried with him. "And now," said he, "thou mayest try thy strength, since we are alone. For now I shall have caused it to appear which should rightly be subject to the other. Thou also, shrink not from disputing the matter with me. For it is base that a king should be witty at the feast and unready in conflict."

[Kenneth] was confused, and dared utter no word: he fell at the feet of his lord king, and besought pardon for his innocent jest; and immediately obtained it.

1000

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. C, D, E, S.A. 1000.¹

In this year the king [Ethelred II]² went into Cumbria³ and harried it very nearly all.

chief festivals, when the king and his successors wore the crown, they should come to court and celebrate the feast with rejoicing along with the other princes of the realm.

"Moreover the king gave him very many dwelling-places on the route, so that he and his successors, coming to the feast and again returning, might be able to lodge there. And these [dwelling-places] continued in the possession of the kings of Scotland until the time of king Henry II."

Still less authoritative is the account given by John of Wallingford, *Chronica*, in Gale, *Scriptores*, 544-545.

¹ MS. F, s.a. 1000: "In this year the king went into Cumbria, and destroyed it all. And the hostile fleet," etc.

H. of H., 170:—"Therefore king Ethelred went with a very powerful army into Cumbria, where was the chief abode of the Danes. And he conquered the Danes in a very great battle, and raided and wasted almost the whole of Cumbria." Cf. Fl. of W., i, 154; S. of D., H.R., ii, 137.

² Ethelred II reigned 979-1016; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F.

³ Lit. "Cumberland"; So H. of H. Cf. *supra*, s.a. 945, note.

And his ships went out around Chester, and were to come to meet him ; but they could not.¹

Then they harried Man. And the hostile fleet had gone that summer to Richard's dominion.²

¹ Fl. of W., i, 154: "[Ethelred] commanded his fleet to circumnavigate northern Britain, and meet him in an appointed place ; but being deterred by the force of the winds it could not : yet it ravaged the island which is called Man." So S. of D., H.R., ii, 137.

² Normandy.

PART III

? 1006

DE OBSESSIONE DUNELMI, IN S. OF D., VOL. I, PP. 215-216.

IN the year from the Lord's incarnation 969,¹ in the reign of Ethelred, king of the English, Malcolm, king of the Scots,² son of king Kenneth, collected the army of the whole of Scotland and, ravaging with slaughter and fire the province of the Northumbrians, invested Durham with a siege.

At this time Aldhun ruled the bishopric there ;³ and Waldeve, who was earl of Northumbria, had shut himself in in Bamborough. For he was of extreme age, so that he could display no valour against the enemy. And to his son, Utred namely, a youth of great vigour and the highest military aptitude, bishop Aldhun had given as wife his daughter, Egfrida by name. . . .

The aforesaid youth seeing that the land was ravaged by the enemy and Durham invested by a siege, and that his father did nothing to prevent it, united the army of the Northumbrians and of the men of York in no small band ; and slew nearly the whole host of the Scots, while their king scarce escaped with a few by flight.

And the heads of the slain, ornamented as was the fashion at that time with braided hair, he caused to be conveyed to Durham ; and caused them to be well washed by four women, and set up on stakes around the walls. And to each of the women who had washed them they gave a cow as wage.

When king Ethelred heard these things he called to him the aforesaid youth and, although his father Waldeve still lived, for the merit of his vigour and for the war which he had so manfully carried through he gave him his father's earldom, adding to it also the earldom of York. . . .

But afterwards when he, that is, Utred, advanced more and

¹ Cf. Ann. of Ulster, s.a. 1005=1006.

In A.S.C., MSS. C. D. E, s.a. 1013, Utred is spoken of as being earl of Northumbria: therefore this invasion must have taken place not later than 1013.

² Malcolm II reigned 1005-1034.

³ Cf. infra, s.a. 1018, note.

more in the art of war, king Ethelred gave to him as wife his daughter Elfgiva. And by her he had a daughter Aldgitha, whom her father gave in marriage to Maldred, son of Crinan the thane; ¹ and by her Maldred had Gospatric, the father of Dolfin, of Waldeve and of Gospatric.

1016

DE OBSESSIONE DUNELMI. IN S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 218.

When [Utred] was slain ² his brother Adulf, surnamed Cudel, succeeded him in the earldom; a man very cowardly and timorous.

And fearing that the Scots would avenge on him the death of their men whom, as has been said above, his brother had killed, he granted to them the whole of Lothian, for amends and steadfast peace.

In this way was Lothian added to the kingdom of the Scots.³

1018

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, VOL. I, P. 84.

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 1018, while Cnut controlled the kingdom of the English,⁴ a comet appeared for thirty nights to the peoples of Northumbria, and with dread presage foreshowed the province's future disaster.

For shortly after,—that is, after thirty days,—while they fought at Carham against an endless host of Scots, the entire people, from the river Tees to the Tweed, with their nobility ⁵ almost wholly perished. . . .⁶

¹ "To a very rich man Maldred, son of Crinan. And by her he had earl Gospatric," etc. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 383.

This Crinan may have been the lay abbot of Dunkeld who was Malcolm II's son-in-law, and father of Duncan I; and who, according to Tighernach, was slain in 1045.

² Utred was slain in 1016, according to A.S.C., MSS. C, D, E, F. Fl. of W., i, 172; S. of D., H.R., ii, 148; H.D.E., i, 218, and note.

The A.S.C. says that Cnut appointed Eric as Utred's successor in Northumbria, "all as Utred was"; cf. Fl. of W.; but possibly Adulf may have had Bernicia. Cf. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 383:—"And when Utred was slain by Turbrand, surnamed Hold, by wish of king Cnut, his brother Adulf Cudel administered the earldom." S. of D., H.R., ii, 197: "And in [Utred's] place was set his brother Adulf Cudel."

³ De Obs. Dun. omits mention of the battle of Carham.

⁴ Cnut became king of England after 30th November, 1016; A.S.C., MSS. C, D, E, F: he was crowned in 1017, MSS. A, C, D, E, F. Cf. De Pr. Sax. Adv., in S. of D., ii, 373. Laws of Edw. Conf., in Thorpe's Ancient Laws, i, 458.

⁵ Lit. "elders."

⁶ Bishop Aldhum, "hearing of the lamentable slaughter of St. Cuthbert's

1018

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 155-156.¹

Aldhun, bishop of Durham, died.

A great battle was fought at Carham between the Scots and the Angles, between Utred, Waldeve's son, the earl of Northumbria,² and Malcolm, king of Scots, the son of Kenneth. And with him in the battle was Owen the Bald,³ king of the men of Strathclyde.

? 1031

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MSS. E, F, S.A. 1031.⁴

In this year king Cnut went to Rome.

And the same year⁵ he went to Scotland, and the Scots'

people," prayed to be released from life, and "after a few days, caught by disease, he died, after passing twenty-nine years in the episcopate." He became bishop in 990, according to Fl. of W., i, 149; so S. of D., H.R., ii, 134. After his death the see was vacant for "nearly three years," S. of D., H.D.E., i, 85; cf. Fl. of W., i, 183; and his successor was appointed in 1020; S. of D., H.R., ii, 156.

¹ Hoved., i, 87: "A great battle was fought between Angles and Scots at Carham."

Ann. of Durh., s.a. 1018, in M.G.H., SS., xix, 507:—"Aldhun, bishop of Durham, died.

"A comet widely spreading flames was seen throughout Northumbria for thirty nights.

"When thirty days after this had passed, there was fought at Carham that famous battle, between Northumbrians and Scots, in which nearly the whole people of St. Cuthbert perished; and among them were also eighteen priests (*sacerdotes*) who had inadvisedly mixed themselves up with the war. And hearing this the aforesaid bishop ended in death his grief and his life."

² Utred was slain in 1016; v. *supra*, s.a.

³ *Eugenius Cabrus*. Upon his death in ? 1018 (cf. Ann. Cambr., s.a. 1015) Duncan succeeded to the throne of Strathclyde.

⁴ MS. D, s.a. 1031:—"In this year king Cnut went to Rome. And so soon as he came home he went to Scotland; and the Scots' king submitted to him, and became his man. But that he held for only a little while." Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 179. H. of H., 188:—"in the fifteenth year of king Cnut."

W. of M., G.R., i, 221:—"Cnut set out for Rome in the fifteenth year of his reign"; [cf. *supra*, s.a. 1018, note:] "and there he stayed for some days; and after redeeming his sins by alms given among the churches" [cf. H. of H., 188] "he returned by ship to England. And presently upon a rebellion of Scotland and her king Malcolm he led an expedition thither, and subdued them with little difficulty."

⁵ MS. F inserts "when he came home."

Cnut's visit to Rome took place in 1027 (cf. Vita Chmnradi Salici Imp., in Bouquet, xi, 3.) But he did not return to England immediately; see his letter to the English nation, in Fl. of W., i, 185-189; W. of M., G.R., i, 221-224. From 1028 to 1029 he was occupied in Norway, according to A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F. MS. C does not give the date of his return, and MS. A appears to place it in 1031.

king Malcolm ¹ submitted to him ; ² and two other kings, Malbeth and Iehmarc.³

1034

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D. S.A. 1034.⁴

In the same year died king Malcolm in Scotland.

1039

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE,
VOL. I, PP. 90-91.⁵

Cnut died in the year from the Lord's incarnation 1035 ; and when his son Harold was now in his fifth year on the throne, and Edmund in his twentieth in the bishopric.⁶ Duncan, king of Scots, came with enormous forces and besieged Durham, and laboured greatly to reduce it, but in vain.

For a great part of his cavalry was slain by those who were besieged ; and he fled away in confusion, and in his flight lost all his infantry killed.

And their heads were carried into the market-place, and hung up on stakes.

And not long afterwards, when he had now returned to Scotland, the king himself perished, slain by his own people.

¹ "Malcolm," not in MS. F. "Malcolm, king of Scotland," H. of H.

² *him to beah*, MSS. E, F ; *code him on heard*, MS. D. Cf. H. of H., 188 :—" [Cnut] was sovereign (*dux*) of all Denmark, of all England, of all Norway, and also of Scotland." Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 177-178.

Cnutonis Regis Gesta, in M.G.H., 88., xix, 520 :—" Now when first king Cnut obtained the sole rule over the Danes he claimed under his dominion, and was emperor over, five kingdoms ; namely of Denmark, England, Britain, Scotland, Norway."

³ *Iehmarc*, H. of H.

⁴ "Malcolm, king of Scots, died." Fl. of W., i, 189. S. of D., H.R., ii, 158. Hoved., i, 89.

"And Mabeth succeeded him," S. of D., Hoved., u.s., in error for "Duncan." (S. of D., *Machetad* ; Hoved., *Machetad*.) Cf. s.a. 1054, infra, note, where Fl. of W. calls Duncan "king of the Cumbrians."

Marianus Scottus, in M.G.H., 88., v, 556, s.a. 1034 :—" Malcolm, king of Scotland, died on the seventh before the Kalends of December [25th November.] Duncan, son of his daughter, succeeded him for five years and nine months." Cf. Tigh., s.a. 1034. Duncan's mother was Bethoc, eldest daughter of Malcolm II.

⁵ Ann. of Durh., in M.G.H., 88., xix, 508, s.a. 1039 :—" In this year Duncan, king of the Scots, invested Durham with a large army, and was routed by the besieged, and lost a great multitude of his men."

⁶ Edmund became bishop of Durham in 1020, according to S. of D., H.R., ii, 156. (Cf. H.D.E., i, 85 ; Fl. of W., i, 183.) He died in 1042 ; S. of D., ii, 162 ; i, 91.

1040, Aug.

MARIANUS SCOTTUS, CHRONICON. IN MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, SCRIPTORES, VOL. V, P. 557, S.A. 1040.¹

Duncan, king of Scotland, was slain ² in the autumn (on the nineteenth ³ before the Kalends of September) by his general ⁴ Macbeth mac Finlay, who succeeded to the kingdom for seventeen years.

1046

ANNALS OF DURHAM, IN MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, SCRIPTORES, VOL. XIX, P. 508.

Earl Siward with a great army came to Scotland, and expelled king Macbeth, and appointed another; but after his departure Macbeth recovered the kingdom.

1050

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON EX CHRONICIS, VOL. I, P. 204, S.A. 1050.⁵

Macbeth,⁶ king of Scotland, distributed money broadcast ⁷ at Rome.

1052

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. I, P. 210.⁸

And Osbern, surnamed Pentecost, and his ally Hugh rendered up their castles; and by permission of earl Leofric ⁹ went through his county, and were received by Macbeth, king of the Scots.

¹ Not in MS. 2. The words in brackets are in the margin of MS. 1.

² "At an immature age," Tigh., s.a. 1040.

³ 14th August.

⁴ *a duce suo*; "by one of his aldermen"?

⁵ This annal is derived from Marianus Scottus, in M.G.H., SS., v. 558. Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 166; Hoved., i, 96.

⁶ S. of D. has *Machthal*; Hoved. *Machtaul*; M.S. and Fl. of W. *Machethal*.

⁷ "To the poor," adds M.S. The word used by Fl. of W. is *spargendo*; by M.S., *seminando*.

⁸ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 170.

This follows the expulsion of the Normans, after the reconciliation of Godwin with Edward the Confessor.

⁹ Earl of Mercia. He died in 1057; A.S.C., D, E, F; Fl. of W., i, 215-216. (For him and his wife Godiva cf. H. of H., 196; M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 526-527.)

1054, July

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D, S.A. 1054.¹

At this time earl Siward [of Northumbria] went with a great army into Scotland,² with both a fleet and a land-force; ³ and fought against the Scots, and put to flight the king Macbeth, and slew all that were best there in the land; ⁴ and brought thence much war-spoil, such as no man obtained before.

¹ A.S.C., MS. C, s.a. 1054:—"At this time earl Siward went with a great army into Scotland, and made a great slaughter of the Scots, and put them to flight; and the king escaped. Also many fell on his side, both of Danes and of English, and also his own son."

Ann. of Durh., s.a. 1054, in M.G.H., SS., xix, 508:—"Siward routed Macbeth, and placed Malcolm as king; and in the following year, 1055, died at York. And Tosti succeeded him in the earldom."

Cf. Fl. of W., i, 212. S. of D., H.R., ii, 171. Hoved., i, 100-101. W. of M., G.R., i, 236-237.

V.E.R., 416:—" . . . For about the same time rebelled on the one side Griffin, king of the West Britons, on the other the king of Scots, Barbarus by name. . . . And the latter was first conquered by earl Siward, with almost the annihilation of his men, and put to shameful flight: secondly, when earl Tosti controlled the earldom, and the Scots thought him inexperienced and therefore, holding him in less esteem, harassed him very frequently with robbery rather than with war,—an uncertain race of men, and fickle: and one which trusts rather in woods than in the plain, also more in flight than in manly courage in battle,—the earl aforesaid destroyed him by both prudent strategy and warlike valour, in a hostile expedition without loss of his men, so that [the Scots] with their king chose rather to serve than to rebel against him and king Edward; and to ratify this also by giving hostages."

² "By king Edward's command," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved., W. of M.

³ "With an army of horse and a strong fleet," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved.

⁴ Fl. of W., i, 212:—"And slew many thousand Scots, and all the Northmen. . . . And he put Macbeth to flight, and, as the king had commanded, set up as king Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians." (Cf. S. of D., Hoved.) Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., i, 523.

W. of M., G.R., i, 236-237:—"By the king's command [Siward] fought with Macbeth, king of the Scots, and deprived him of his life and kingdom; and there installed as king Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians." Malcolm's father Duncan had been placed by Malcolm II upon the throne of Strathclyde after the death of Owen.

Macbeth reigned nevertheless until 1057.

The poem on Edward the Confessor's death (5th January, 1066) in A.S.C., MSS. C and D, says that he "ruled with distinction Welsh and Scots, and Britons also"; ed. Pl., i, 192, 193, s.a. 1065.

H. of H., 194:—"About this time Siward, the very powerful consul of Northumbria, almost a giant in stature, and of strong hand and mind, sent his son to acquire Scotland.

"And when they reported to his father that he had been slain in battle [Siward] said, 'Did he receive the mortal wound in front of his body, or behind?' The messengers said, 'In front.' And he replied: 'I rejoice wholly, for I would deem myself or my son worthy of no meaner death.'

"Siward therefore marched into Scotland and conquered the king in battle, destroyed the whole kingdom, and after destroying it subjugated it to himself."

Cf. the account of Siward's own death, H. of H., 195-196.

And there were slain his son Osborn, and his sister's son Siward, and some of his bodyguard, and also of the king's, on the day of the Seven Sleepers.¹

1057

MARIANUS SCOTTUS, CHRONICON, IN MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, SCRIPTORES, VOL. V, P. 558, S.A. 1057.²

(Mac Finlay was slain in August. Lulach succeeded and was slain in March: and Malcolm succeeded him.)

Malcolm, son of Duncan, governed Scotland.

(Duncan reigned for five years, that is from the mass of St. Andrew³ to the same and beyond, to the nativity of St. Mary.⁴ Then Mac Finlay reigned seventeen years to the same mass of St. Mary. Lulach reigned from the nativity of St. Mary to the mass of St. Patrick⁵ in the month of March. Then Malcolm reigned for twenty years, to the mass of St. Patrick.⁶)

1059

ANNALS OF DURHAM, IN MONUMENTA GERMANIÆ HISTORICA, SCRIPTORES, VOL. XIX, P. 508, S.A. 1059.⁷

Archbishop Kinsi [of York] and Ethelwin, [bishop] of Durham, and earl Tosti conducted king Malcolm to king Edward.

1061

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 174-175, S.A. 1061.

Aldred, archbishop of York went to Rome with earl Tosti, and received the pallium from pope Nicholas [II].⁸

Meanwhile Malcolm, king of Scots, harried savagely the earldom of his sworn brother, earl Tosti to wit; the peace of St. Cuthbert being violated in the island of Lindisfarne.

¹ 27th July.

² The parts in brackets are in the margin of MS. 1.

³ 30th November, [1034.]

⁴ 8th September, [1040.]

⁵ From 8th September, [1057.] to 17th March, [1058.]

⁶ 17th March, [1078:] about the time when M.S. wrote.

⁷ Cf. in S. of D., s.a. 1059, an insertion by a "nearly coeval" hand, H.R., ii, 174, and note.

For Kinsi cf. *infra*, s.a. 1114; for Ethelwin, *infra*, s.a. 1069, 1070. Tosti became earl of Northumbria in 1055; A.S.C., MSS. D, E, F; Fl. of W., i, 212.

⁸ This sentence is from Fl. of W., i, 218; cf. A.S.C., MS. D, s.a. 1061.

The A.S.C. and Fl. of W. make no mention of this Scottish invasion. Tosti was expelled by his thanes in 1065; A.S.C., MSS. C, D; (E s.a. 1064). Fl. of W., i, 223-224.

1066

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. C, S.A. 1066.¹

[Tosti, Harold's brother,] went north into the Humber ; ² and he harried there in Lindsey, and slew there many good men.

When earl Edwin [of Mercia] and earl Morcar [of Northumbria] learned this, they came thither and drove him from the land.

And then he went to Scotland ; ³ and the king of the Scots protected him, and aided him with provisions. And he abode there all the summer.

1068

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D, S.A. 1067.

Then it was announced to king [William] that the people in the north had gathered themselves together, and would stand against him if he came.

Then he went to Nottingham, and built a castle there ; and went on to York, and built there two castles ; and in Lincoln, and everywhere in that part.

And earl Gospatric and the best men went to Scotland.⁴

1068

ORDERIC VITAL, IV, 5, IN MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188, COL. 314-315.

When the men of York heard this,⁵ in great fear they bas-

¹ Cf. Fl. of W., i. 225-227 ; S. of D., H.R., ii. 179-181 ; Hoved., i. 111. H. of H., 200. W. of M., G.R., i. 280-281.

² I.e., hearing of the approach of Harold.

³ MS. D :—" And the mariners forsook him ; and he went to Scotland, with twelve ships. And Harald [Hardrada], king of Norway, met him there, with three hundred ships ; and Tosti submitted to him and became his man." Similarly MS. E ; and cf. H. of H., W. of M. But MS. C and Fl. of W. place their meeting in the Tyne.

After a victory over Edwin and Morcar on the 24th September, Harald Hardrada and Tosti were beaten and slain by Harold at Stamford Bridge, on the 24th September ; A.S.C., MSS. C, D. " And meanwhile earl William came ashore at Hastings," on the 29th September ; MS. E.

Among the survivors of Stamford Bridge was the earl of Orkney, (A.S.C., MS. D.) Paul by name, who had been left with the party guarding the ships ; Fl. of W., i. 226-227.

According to Ad. of Brem. the king of Scots took part in person in the battle ; M.G.H., SS., vii. 356.

⁴ MS. D, s.a. 1067, has already related the flight of the royal family ; v. *infra*, note.

⁵ Heard, i.e., of William's advance to Nottingham.

tened their surrender, and refused force, and gave to the king the keys of the city with hostages. . . .

The bishop of Durham ¹ also entered into the king's favour, and intervined as mediator of peace for Malcolm, king of Scots, and brought the conditions he received to Scotland.

And Malcolm, although [his aid] had been asked for by the English, ² and he had prepared to make a strong expedition in their aid, yet became still when he heard the legation of peace ; and sent back his messengers with rejoicing, with the bishop of Durham, and by them swore loyal obedience to king William.

Thus he consulted his own interest and greatly pleased his people, in that he preferred peace to war. For the Scottish nation, although harsh in battle, yet loves ease and quiet ; wishes not to be disturbed by neighbouring kingdoms, being intent upon the study of the Christian religion rather than of arms. ³

1068

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 2, S.A. 1068.⁴

After this, ⁵ Marleswein and Gospatric and all the most noble of the Northumbrian nation, avoiding the king's austerity, and fearing that they like others should be sent to prison, went by ship to Scotland, taking with them prince Edgar and his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. And there, with the peace of Malcolm, king of Scots, they passed the winter.

¹ Ethelwin became bishop of Durham in 1056, A.S.C., MS. D: 1057, S. of D., H.D.E., i, 92. Cf. *infra*, s.aa. 1069, 1070.

² So also Swein of Denmark had been besought for help ; O.V., 309. Cf. Chr. of Ab., i, 493.

³ Cf. O.V. at the end of his notice of Scottish affairs, VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 622 :—" Behold, for the sake of the Scots, who from ancient times have adhered to catholic faith, and have served Christian simplicity with joy, I have prolonged somewhat the repetition entered upon."

⁴ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 186. Hoved., i, 117.

A.S.C., MS. D, s.a. 1067 :—" And in the summer child Edgar went out with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina ; and with them Marleswein and many good men. And they came to Scotland under king Malcolm's protection : and he received them all." (Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 190.) MS. D proceeds to give an account of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret ; but this is premature : v. *infra*, s.a. 1070.

MS. E. s.a. 1067 :—" And in the summer child Edgar went out, and Marleswein, and many men with them, and went to Scotland. And the king Malcolm received them all, and took the child's sister, Margaret, to wife." Cf. H. of H., 204. R. de D., MS. D, i, 200, n., s.a. 1068. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 2 ; H.A., i, 8-9. Fl. His., ii, 2.

⁵ I.e., after the coronation of Matilda, on May 11th. (Florence of Worcester makes no mention of the first rising in the north.)

1069, Dec.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIAE,
VOL. I, P. 102.

But to return for a little to the foregoing : during the aforesaid flight,¹ by which [bishop Ethelwin and the elders] escaped with the body of the holy father [Cuthbert] to the above-named island [of Lindisfarne], a man of great authority beyond the river Tyne, called Gillomichael,² that is, the "lad of Michael,"—by contrariety, for he would have been more justly named "lad of the devil,"—inflicted many injuries upon the fugitives, by impeding their journey, afflicting their persons, despoiling them, and doing all the evil that he could. But not with impunity. . . .³

1069—1070

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 307-308.

York, the sole refuge of rebellion, [William] almost destroyed, the citizens being done to death by hunger and the sword.⁴

For there Malcolm, king of Scots, with his subjects ; there Edgar and Morcar and Waldeve with the Angles and the Danes, often cherished the nest of brigandage.⁵ Often they assassinated [William's] rulers.⁶

¹ I.e., upon the approach of William : *ibid.*, 100-101. They set out on the 11th December, 1069 : S. of D., H.R., ii, 189. H.D.E., i, 103 :—"Because this Gospatric had given this counsel especially, that they should flee and leave the church. And he himself had taken away with him the greatest part of its ornaments." But cf. H.D.E., i, 101.

Gospatric appears to have been the cousin of Malcolm III ; cf. *infra*, s.a. 1072.

Ethelwin had offended the northern party by warning Robert of Comines of his danger, and by entertaining him at his house, which was burned down : S. of D., H.R., ii, 187. He was nevertheless involved in the loss of the northern cause : cf. *infra*, s.a. 1070.

² From his being associated with Gospatric, Gillo-Michael may be supposed to have been a Scottish Celt rather than an Irish ally of the Danes.

³ In sleep one of the clergy of Durham had a vision, in which St. Cuthbert denounced Gospatric and revealed the death and torments of Gillo-Michael :—"And there too Gillo-Michael was racked with fearful pains ; for he lay prostrate in the most noisome place, thrust through from side to side with a very sharp hay-scythe, and suffered intolerable tortures. The wretch cried out, and lamentably without intermission emitted dismal howlings and weeping cries. For the wretch had no interval of time in which for a space to rest from his punishment." *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴ Cf. W. of M., G.P., 208. W.K., Mir. S. J., in Raine's York, i, 265-266.

⁵ *nidum tyrannidis*.

⁶ *duces*, "earls" or "aldermen."

Cf. Lanfranc's reasons why York should have no primate ; Raine's York, ii, 100 :—"Else it might chance, either in [king William's] time or his

1070

RALPH OF COGGESHALL, *CHRONICON ANGLICANUM*, p. 1.

Malcolm, king of Scots, began to harry the land of king William with sword and fire.

1069—1070

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. II, p. 308.¹

Malcolm gladly received all the English fugitives, affording to each what protection he could ; and especially Edgar, whose sister he had made his wife,² for the ancient memory of her nobility.

For his sake he infested the neighbouring provinces of England with rapine and fire ; not that he thought it would help him at all toward the kingdom, but in order to distress William's mind, for [William] was indignant that his lands were open to Scottish raids.

Wherefore William collected a band of infantry and of knights, and advanced to the northern parts of the island. And firstly he obtained the surrender of the metropolis town, which the English held obstinately with the Danes and the Scots, after the citizens had been consumed by prolonged famine.³ Also the greatest number of the enemy who had gathered to the aid of the besieged he routed in a great and heavy battle ; no bloodless victory for him, because he lost many of his men.

Then he ordered the villages and fields of the whole district to be destroyed, the fruits and crops to be ruined with fire or water ; and chiefly along the coast. . . .

successors', that one of the Danes or Northmen or Scots who coming in ships to York were wont to infest the kingdom should be created king by the archbishop of York and by the natives of his province, fickle and treacherous ; and that thus the kingdom should be disturbed and divided."

¹ Cf. *M.P.*, *Chr. Maj.*, ii, 3.² *V.*, *infra*, s.a. 1070.

³ The help of the Scots and the vigorous defence of York are not mentioned by the *A.S.C.* After the slaying of Robert of Commines ("surnamed Cumin," slain in Durham on the 28th January, 1069, *S. of D.*, ii, 186-187 ; on the 31st, i, 99.) Edgar Etheling, Waldeve, Marleswein and Gospatric had left Scotland and rejoined the Northumbrians in revolt against William : *A.S.C.*, *MS. D.*, s.a. 1068. They acted in concert with the Danes, *ibid.*, s.a. 1069. Cf. *Fl. of W.*, ii, 3-5. *H. of H.*, 204-205. They advanced to York and "harried the city" (on the 21st September, *Fl. of W.* :) but upon William's sudden advance "the Etheling went back again to Scotland." *A.S.C.*, *ibid.* Cf. *Ann. of Wav.*, in *A.M.*, ii, 190.

"And the king was in York that mid-winter's day." (25th December, 1069.) *A.S.C.*, *MS. D.*, s.a. 1068.

1070

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 190-192,
S.A. 1070.¹

Bishop Ethelwin, returning from flight, planned in his mind to flee for ever.² . . . Therefore a ship was prepared for him and, laden with the necessary things, awaited a favourable wind in the harbour of Wearmouth.

At that time were there also several other ships, whose commanders were Edgar Etheling, with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina ; Siward Barn, Marleswein, Alfwyn son of Norman, and very many others who, after the storming of their castles at York, when the Danes returned to their own, feared for themselves the king's indignation because they had aided them, and were preparing to go as fugitives to Scotland, and awaited there a favourable voyage.

During the same time an endless host of Scots led by king Malcolm passed through Cumberland, and turning towards the east wasted with fierce harrying the whole of Teesdale and the districts near to it on either side.

And when they came to the place which is called in English Hundredeskelde, and in Latin *Centum Fontes*, they slew there certain nobles of the English nation ; and the king, keeping part of the army, sent home part with endless spoil by the way they had come : with this crafty purpose, that, when all the enemy was supposed to have gone, the wretched inhabitants, who through fear of the foe had safely preserved themselves and their belongings in what hiding-places they could, should return in security to their villis and their homes, and that he might take them unawares by a sudden advance.

And so it was done. For he harried Cleveland in part, and by a sudden raid occupied Hartness ; and thence he savagely overran the lands of St. Cuthbert and robbed all men of everything, and several of their very lives also.

Then, while he looked on, the flames kindled by his men consumed even the church of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, in Wearmouth.³ Other churches too he burned, with those who had taken refuge in them.

¹ So Hoved., i. 120-122.

² In 1070. S. of D., H.D.E., i. 105 ; after March 20th, (MS. D. 25th.) *ibid.*, 191. Ethelwin was outlawed at Easter, 1070 ; A.S.C., MS. D. s.a. 1068. Cf. Ann. of Durh., in M.G.H., SS., xix. 508, s.a. 1070.

Before this date, " Ethelwin, bishop after Ethelric, appointed there as prior Utred, Ulfkill's son. This Utred is the father of Gospatric, who is now sheriff in Teviotdale " ; Raine's *Hexh.*, i. app., viii.

³ St. Peter's had at this time long been a ruin ; S. of D., H.D.E., i. 113, 112. Cf. Hinde, *Surtees Soc. ed. of S. of D.*, i, p. xxix.

And there, while he rode by the banks of the river, and, looking forth from an elevated spot upon his men's cruel deeds wrought upon the wretched English, feasted his mind and his eyes with the sight, it was announced to him that Edgar Etheling and his sisters, fair maidens of royal birth, and many other very rich men fleeing from their estates had come to shore in ships at that harbour. They therefore commended themselves to him; ¹ and when they came to him he spoke to them kindly, and granted them with his firmest peace to dwell in his realm so long as they would, with all their followers.

During these Scottish devastations and plunderings earl Gospatric, who, as has been said above, ² had acquired for a price from king William the earldom of Northumbria, summoned vigorous helpers and invaded Cumberland with fierce harrying. When he had finished slaying and burning he returned with great booty, and shut himself in with his associates in the very strong fortress of Bamborough. And very often breaking out from it he weakened the enemy's strength.

For at that time Cumberland was under king Malcolm's dominion, not possessed by right but subdued by force.

When [Malcolm] heard,—while still he gazed upon the church of St. Peter, blazing with the flames kindled by his men,—the things which Gospatric had wrought upon his subjects, he could scarcely support himself for rage, and commanded his men to spare no longer any of the English nation, but either to slay them all and cast them to the ground, or to take them captive and drive them away under the yoke of perpetual slavery.

When they received this permission it was pitiable even to see what they did against the English: old men and women were some beheaded by swords, others stuck with spears like pigs destined for food. Torn from their mothers' breasts babes were tossed high in the air, and caught on the spikes of spears fixed close together in the ground: the Scots, crueller than beasts, delighted in this cruelty as in the sight of games.

Thus the age of innocence, hanging between heaven and earth, sent forth souls to ascend to heaven. But the youths and girls, and all who seemed fit for work and toil, were bound and driven in front of the enemy, to be made slaves and handmaids in perpetual exile. When some of the girls among these were wearied more than their strength could endure by running

¹ *Datis . . . dcatris*, the phrase of feudal homage.

² In reality *below*, ii, 199; cf. Arnold, *ibid.*, 191, 196–197, notes. V. *infra*, s.a. 1072.

in front of their drivers, and fell of a sudden to the ground, the place of their fall was the place of their death also.

Malcolm regarded these things, and was turned to pity by no tears, no groans of the wretched: but instead commanded them to be further hastened on the way.¹

Therefore Scotland was filled with slaves and handmaids of English race, so that even to this day cannot be found. I say not a hamlet, but even a hut without them.

When Malcolm had returned to Scotland bishop Ethelwin set sail for Cologne: but immediately a contrary wind arose and drove him back to Scotland.² And thither also with a favouring course it carried Edgar Etheling, with his companions above-named.³

And this Edgar's sister, Margaret, king Malcolm united to himself in wedlock, with the consent of her kindred: a woman noble in her royal descent, but much more noble in her prudence and religion. And by her zeal and industry the king himself laid aside his barbarity of manners, and became more honourable and more refined.

1070

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D. S.A. 1067.⁴

Then the king Malcolm began to yearn for [Edgar's] sister

¹ The chronicler has already sacrificed his credibility by the malice of his account of the Wearmouth incident.

² Cf. Chr. of Abs., in Raine's York, ii. 356-357.

"And he passed the winter there," S. of D., H.D.E., i. 105.

Edwin of Mercia also decided to take refuge in Scotland: but "while yet upon the way he fell a victim to treachery, and was slain by his own people," Fl. of W., ii. 9. Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii. 310-311; H. of H., 205.

Ethelwin and Sward Barn next year (1071) sailed from Scotland and joined Morcar and Hereward in Ely. There all but Hereward were taken by the king: A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1071; Fl. of W., ii. 9; S. of D., H.R., ii. 195; Hoved., i. 125. Ethelwin died in prison, accused of theft, according to S. of D., H.D.E., i. 105; cf. i. 92, 94. So also his brother Ethelric: cf. also W. of M., G.P., 271.

³ A. of R., Epistola, in Twysden, 367:—"But Edgar Etheling, seeing the affairs of the English disturbed on every side, went on board ship with his mother and sisters and endeavoured to return to the land [of Hungary] in which he had been born. But a storm arose on the sea, and he was compelled to land in Scotland. On this opportunity it occurred that Margaret was given to king Malcolm in wedlock. And of her praiseworthy life and precious death, a book published about these things gives sufficient information. Her sister Christina was blessed as Christ's spouse." For Christina cf. infra, s.a. 1093, note. In the Hengwrt MS. of H. of H. (pp. 296-297) a copyist of the end of the twelfth century has erased "returned to Scotland," and has inserted the above passage almost completely. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii. 2; H.A., i. 9.

⁴ This passage is probably an interpolation from some life of St. Margaret, added after 1100: see Plummer, S.C., ii. pp. lxxviii, 260, 262-263.

A letter from Lanfranc to Margaret, 1070 × 1089, is in H. & S., ii. 155-156.

Margaret as his wife ; but [Edgar] and all his men long refused ; and she herself long opposed it : and said that she would have neither him nor any one, if the sublime mercy would grant to her that she might please the mighty Lord in maidenhood with bodily heart in this short life, in pure continence.

The king eagerly urged her brother until he said " yea " to it. And indeed he dared not do otherwise, because they had come into his power.¹

Then it came to pass as God had designed beforehand, and it could not be otherwise : even as he himself saith in his gospel that even a sparrow cannot fall into a snare without his design. The prescient Creator knew beforehand what he would have made of her. For she was to increase God's praise in the land, and to direct the king from the erring path, and to bend him to a better way, and his people with him ; and to suppress the evil customs which that people had formerly used : even as afterwards she did.

Then the king received her, though it was against her will. And her customs pleased him, and he thanked God who had by his power given him such a consort ; and wisely bethought him, since he was very prudent, and turned himself to God, and scorned every impurity : according to that which the apostle Paul, teacher of all nations, saith :— "*Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem. Sic et mulier infidelis per virum fidelem,*" and so on. That is, in our language, " very often the unbelieving husband is sanctified and saved by the righteous wife ; and likewise the wife by the believing husband."

This queen aforesaid afterwards accomplished many useful works in the land to God's praise,² and also in royal estate acquitted herself well, as was natural to her.

From a believing and noble race was she descended. Her father was Edward Etheling, son of king Edmund. Edmund was son of Ethelred, Ethelred son of Edgar, Edgar son of [Edmund],³ and so forth in that royal line. And her mother's kin goes to emperor Henry [II], who held sway over Rome.⁴

¹ O.V. implies that the union had been planned before between Malcolm and Edward the Confessor. V. *infra*, s.a. 1091, note.

² Cf. her reforms in the Scottish church : Turgot, V.S.M., in H. & S., ii. 156–158.

³ MS. " Edred."

⁴ A.S.C., MS. D, verse-passage, s.a. 1057 :— " This prince [Edward] king Cnut had sent to Hungary to be betrayed. But he grew up there into a good man, as God granted him, and as well befitted him ; so that he obtained the Emperor's kinswoman to wife, and begot by her fair children. She was called Agatha."

According to Fl. of W., i. 181, s.a. 1017, Cnut sent the sons of Edmund to

1072, Aug.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D, s.a. 1073, MS. E, s.a. 1072.¹

In this year king William led a ship-force and a land-army to Scotland, and lay about that land with ships on the sea side ; and he himself with his land-army went in over the Forth.² And he found there naught of which he was the better.

And king Malcolm came and made peace with king William, and gave hostages.³ and was his man : and then [William] went home with all his army.

the king of Sweden to be killed : but he "sent them to the king of Hungary, Solomon by name, to be nourished and preserved in life. And in process of time one of them, Edmund namely, died there ; but Edward received in wedlock Agatha, daughter of the brother of emperor Henry. And by her he had Margaret, queen of Scots, and Christina, the nun, and prince Edgar." Cf. Fl. of W., i, 275, where the emperor is called "Henry III." Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 155. Hoved., i, 87. H. of H., 196. Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 218, where Agatha is called "sister of the queen" of the Huns.

O.V., in Migne, 188, 620 :—" [Margaret] was the daughter of the king of the Huns, Edward, who was the son of Edmund, surnamed Ironside, brother of Edward, king of the English ; and who while in exile received as wife, with the kingdom, the daughter of Solomon, king of the Huns." When the princes were exiled Stephen I reigned in Hungary, 1000-1038. Solomon came to the throne in 1063.

Cf. the story of Edward's recall (from Hungary, in 1075, Fl. of W., i, 215 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 173 ; W. of M., G.R., i, 278) inserted in H. of H., 296. Edgar Etheling was still alive when W. of M. wrote the G.R., finished in 1125 ; i, 278. For his character cf. *ibid.*, i, 278 ; ii, 309-310.

¹ Cf. H. of H., 205. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 192, s.a. 1072. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 12, s.a. 1070. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 4 ; H.A., i, 10, 16-17, s.a. 1067, 1072.

Fl. of W., ii, 9, s.a. 1072 :—" After the Assumption of St. Mary [15th August] William, king of the English, set out for Scotland with a naval and equestrian army, to subjugate it to his dominion ; having in his company Edric, surnamed the Wild (*Silvaticus*). And Malcolm, king of Scots, met him in the place which is called Abernethy, and became his man." Cf. S. of D., ii, 195, 196. Hoved., i, 126. R. of C., 2. R. de D., Abbr. Chr., i, 207, changes Florence's "became his man" into "did him homage." Cf. A. of R., De S., speech of Walter Espee, *infra*, s.a. 1138.

In a marginal note in M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 8, n., Berwick is named as the place of meeting and homage. A. of R., u.s., names Abernethy.

For Edric the Wild cf. A.S.C., M.S. D, s.a. 1067 ; Fl. of W., ii, 1-2, 7. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 30 :—" In this year Malcolm, king of Scotland, was pacified with king William."

Ann. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 9 :—" King William subdued Scotland to himself." Cf. H. of H., 210.

² "Led his land-army in at the Forth," *ut tham Gerwale*, MS. E ; *ofer that Wath*, MS. D. *Apud Seodwade*, Ann of Wav., u.s.

S. of D., H.R., ii, 195-196 :—" For Malcolm, king of Scots, had grievously offended him, because in a former year, as has been said above, he had savagely harried the borders of his kingdom." So Hoved., i, 126.

³ Among the hostages given was apparently the king's son Duncan ; cf. *infra*, s.a. 1087.

M.P., H.A., i, 10, says that Malcolm "soothed [William's] ferocity with gifts."

1072

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 196, S.A.
1072.¹

And on his return from [Scotland] William deprived Gospatric of the honour of the earldom, imputing to him that by his counsel and aid he had been among those who had slain the earl [Robert] de Commines with his followers in Durham, although he had not in person been present there; and that he had been on the side of the enemy when the Normans were slain at York.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 199.²

When [Osulf] was dead, Gospatric, son of Maldred, Crinan's son, went to king William and obtained the earldom of Northumbria, bought for much money.³

For the honour of that earldom pertained to him by his mother's right. For his mother was Aldgitha, the daughter of earl Utred, who had her by Elfgiva, daughter of king Ethelred.

This Aldgitha her father gave in marriage to Maldred, son of Crinan.⁴

And [Gospatric] held the earldom until, for the reasons aforesaid, the king took it from him. Therefore he fled to Malcolm,⁵ and not long afterwards went by ship to Flanders.⁶ And when after some time he returned to Scotland, the aforesaid king [Malcolm] granted to him Dunbar, with the lands adjacent to it in Lothian, that by these he should provide for himself and his men until happier times returned.

This Gospatric was the father of Dolfin,⁷ Waldeve and Gospatric.

1073

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 309.

Of Edgar.

Edgar, with archbishops Stigand [of Canterbury] and

¹ Cf. Hoved., i. 59, 126.

² Cf. Hoved., i. 59.

³ Gospatric became earl at Christmas, 1067; v. Freeman, N.C., iv, 749. Osulf was earl from March to autumn [of 1067]; S. of D., ii, 199.

⁴ Cf. supra, s.a. ? 1066.

⁵ V. supra, s.a. 1068. Gospatric appears to have been Malcolm's cousin.

⁶ Not till after his final deposition in 1072; v. supra, s.a.

⁷ Dolfin seems to have received from Malcolm the government of Carlisle; v. infra, s.a. 1092.

Aldred, [of York], had submitted to the king ;¹ but in the following year he sullied his oath, going over to the Scot.

But when he had stayed there for some years and obtained nothing to his advantage for the present and nothing to hope for in the future, excepting his daily allowance, he proceeded to make trial of the Norman's liberality, and sailed over to him,² at that time dwelling beyond the sea.

They say that this was most pleasing to the king, that England should be relieved of a provoker of wars. . . .

1074

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE,
VOL. I, PP. 111-112.³

But Aldwin left the monastery of Jarrow, having as the companion of his way and purpose Turgot,⁴ still in the garb of a cleric, but imitating in devotion and deed the life of the monks. . . .

They came to the former monastery of Melrose, at that time a solitude ; and delighting in the secluded habitation of that place began to live there [as monks] serving Christ.

But when their [monastic] life there had become known to the king of the Scots, Malcolm, to whom that place pertained, they suffered at his hands grievous wrongs and persecutions for this cause, that, following the evangelic precept, they refused to swear fealty to him.

Meanwhile the venerable bishop Walcher⁵ besought, admonished and adjured them in frequent letters and mandates,

¹ At ? Berkhamstead, in 1066 ; A.S.C., MS. D.

² Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 10, s.a. 1073 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 200.

³ Before visiting Melrose, Aldwin had attempted to revive monasticism in Muncaster and Jarrow, S. of D., H.D.E., i, 108-111 ; in 1073, *ibid.*, 122, 127. Immediately after returning from Scotland he partially restored Wearmouth monastery, in 1074 ; *ibid.*, 113.

This part of H.D.E. was written while Turgot was still prior of Durham ; cf. Arnold, *ibid.*, 111, note.

⁴ Turgot became prior of Durham in 1087 ; S. of D., i, 127 ; and was made archdeacon in 1093, *ibid.*, 129. He was consecrated bishop of St. Andrews in 1109 ; v. *infra*, s.a. Cf. the story of his life in S. of D., H.R., ii, 202-205.

⁵ Bishop of Durham, 1072-1080. He became earl of Northumbria in 1075 ; S. of D., i, 114 ; ii, 207-208 ; and was killed in 1080, May 14, by Adulf Rus, son of earl Gospatric's cousin Utred : " and he is said to have slain him with his own hand. But presently he too was slain, by a woman, and was buried in the church at Jedburgh. But such pollution was afterwards cast out thence by Turgot, formerly prior of the church of Durham, and archdeacon." S. of D., H.R., ii, 198. This must have been while Turgot was

and at last threatened that he with the clergy and all the people would excommunicate them in presence of the most sacred body of St. Cuthbert, unless they returned to him to dwell under St. Cuthbert.

Therefore dreading excommunication more than the king's anger, which threatened them with death,—for then they had wholly resolved to die,—they left that place and came to the bishop. And he granted them immediately the monastery of the blessed apostle Peter, in Wearmouth. . . .

1074

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D. S.A. 1075.¹

In this year king William went over sea to Normandy ; and child Edgar came from Flanders into Seotland, on St. Grim-bald's mass-day : ² and Malcolm the king and [Edgar's] sister Margaret received him with great worship.

At the same time the king of France, Philip [I], wrote to him and asked him to come to him, and he would give him the castle of Montreuil, so that he could thereafter do evil daily to his enemies.

So then Malcolm the king and [Edgar's] sister Margaret gave him and all his men great gifts and many precious things, of skins covered with purple, and of fur-robcs of martin and miniver and ermine skins ; and of fine raiment, and golden vessels and silvern : and conducted him and all his sailors with great worship from his domain.

But on their journey it evilly befel them, when they were out at sea, that very rough weather came upon them, and the raging sea and the strong wind east them on the shore ; so that all their ships burst asunder, and they themselves came with difficulty to land ; and very nearly all their precious things were lost. And some of his men also were taken by Frenchmen.³ And he himself and his best men went back again to

still prior, i.e. 1088×1108 ; and as Teviotdale was only nominally subject to Durham from before 1101 (cf. *infra*, s.a. 1107, note) it was probably some time before that date.

For the story of Walcher's death cf. A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1080 : Fl. of W., ii. 13-14 ; S. of D., i, 116-117, ii, 208-210 ; W. of M., G.R., ii, 330-331 ; G.P., 271-272.

¹ Cf. MS. E. s.a. 1074. S.a. 1073 Fl. of W., ii, 10 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 200. MS. D "seems here also to have interpolated from some source connected with St. Margaret." Plummer, S.C., ii, 268.

² 8th July.

³ I.e. the Normans in England.

Scotland, some wretchedly walking on foot, and some miserably riding.

Then the king Malcolm advised him to send to king William across the sea, and crave his protection; and so also he did. And the king granted it him, and sent for him.

And again Malcolm the king and [Edgar's] sister gave him and all his men innumerable gifts, and very honourably sent him again from their domain.

And the sheriff of York came to meet him at Durham, and went all the way with him, and caused food and fodder to be found for him at every castle at which they arrived, until they came over sea to the king. And then king William received him with great worship. And then [Edgar] was at his court there, and took such rights as he allotted him.¹

1077

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, LATIN APPENDIX TO MS. A.

In [Lanfranc's] seventh year of office² . . . Thomas, archbishop of York,³ sent a letter to him,⁴ asking him to send two bishops to consecrate a certain priest who had brought a letter to him from the Orkney Isles, to the effect that he should be consecrated bishop of those islands.

And Lanfranc consented to his request and commanded Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, and Peter, bishop of Chester, to go to York and suffice with Thomas to perform so great a ceremony.

¹ Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 310; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 192.

² Lanfranc was consecrated in 1070, August 29th, A.S.C., MS. A; and soon afterwards succeeded in enforcing the claims of Canterbury over the see of York.

³ Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York, 1070-1100; A.S.C., MS. A, s.a. 1070, MS. E, s.a. 1100; Fl. of W., ii, 6; H.S., Abps. of Y., in Raine's York, ii, 103-109; Chr. of the Abps., *ibid.*, ii, 364. He was elected after the 18th November, 1070; v. H.S., n.s. He received the pall in 1071; Fl. of W., ii, 9; S. of D., ii, 195.

⁴ For Thomas's letter see H. & S., ii, 162; for Lanfranc's letter to bishops Wulstan and Peter (bishops 1062-1095 and 1072-1085), *ibid.*, 163.

The date fixed for the ceremony in Thomas's letter is the 3rd March; Lanfranc's letter is in one MS. dated in 1073, indiction XI. In 1073 the 3rd March was a Sunday. But if the consecration was in 1077, the nearest Sunday was the 5th of March.

The Chr. of the Abps. of York professes to quote from Ralph's document of subjection to York: in Raine's York, ii, 363:—"Also the same archbishop [Thomas I] consecrated Ralph, elect of the Orkneys, after he had made, read and given a profession, which thus begins:—"In the sight of God and of this church, I, Ralph," etc."

1078

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D, S.A. 1078.

And in this year king Malcolm won the mother of Malsnechtan,¹ . . .² and all his best men, and all his treasures, and his cattle; and he himself escaped with difficulty.

1079

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1079.³

In this year came king Malcolm from Scotland⁴ into England with a large army, between the two Mary's masses;⁵ and harried Northumberland until they came to the Tyne, and slew many hundred men; and took home many treasures and precious things, and men in captivity.

? 1079

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, SAINTS OF HEXHAM; IN RAINE'S
HEXHAM, VOL. I, PP. 177-180.⁶

Malcolm, king of the Scots, prepared destruction for the men of Hexham. The saints gathered to their aid, and he was hindered from its fulfilment.

At the time when Malcolm, king of the Scots, ravaged Northumbria with cruel slaughter, he ever preserved peace with the church of Hexham, through honour for the saints who rest in it.

But when on one occasion his messengers fell among robbers near the lands of that church, and returned robbed and wounded to the king, they laid the charge of this cruelty against the innocent people. And the king was enraged and furious over

¹ Malsnechtan was the son of Lulach mac Gillachomgain, who contested the throne with Malcolm III (cf. supra, s.a. 1057), and was slain in battle in 1058. Malsnechtan, "king of Moray," died in 1085. Ann. of Ulst., s.a.

² Here nearly a line is blank in the MS.; and after this annal is a blank of six lines. E. & Pl., S.C., i, 213, notes.

³ Cf. s.a. 1079, Fl. of W., ii, 13; S. of D., H.R., ii, 208. Hoved., i, 133, s.a. 1078. H. of H., 206. Ann. of Wav., s.a. 1078, in A.M., ii, 193. R. of C., 2, s.a. 1079. Ann. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 10, s.a. 1079.

Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 32, s.a. 1079:—"Malcolm, king of Scotland, did many evils in Northumberland, unmindful of the treaty made between king William and him."

This invasion took place while William was occupied with his son Robert's rebellion: cf. A.S.C., MSS. D, E; Fl. of W., ii, 13.

⁴ "King of Scots," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved.

⁵ I.e., between 15th August and 8th September. "After the Assumption of St. Mary," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved.

⁶ This is abridged in the *Miracula Sanctorum* in Raine's *Hexh.*, i, 216.

this accusation, and swore that for such ingratitude he would wholly destroy the place itself and the people.

In short, at the king's command the cruel army came thither, ready for spoil, prompt for slaughter, eager for crime, neither sparing for entreaty nor resting for satiety.

And the king's wrath was not hid from the people of Hexham. But what should they do? They had no strength to resist, no stronghold to flee to, no support in the alliance of any vassals; the one and only hope of all was in the oft-tried virtue of the saints. To the church therefore collected young men and maidens, old men and children, women and infants, either to be rescued by divine virtue or surely to be slain before the relics of the saints.

Already the king was there with a strong force: already he had occupied the neighbouring district of the river Tyne, and would have satisfied his cruelty, had not night come on and prevented his crossing.

But the priest who was over the church sent certain of the clergy with relics to the king, both to clear themselves of the charge brought against them and to entreat peace for the innocent people.

The king was angry, and summoned his Galwegian vassals, more cruel than the rest; and said in the hearing of the messengers, "So soon as day dawns, cross the river and fall upon them: let not your eye spare or pity rank, or sex, or age. Whatever the sword cannot, let fire destroy; and leave of them no remains."

Thus speaking, with rage he bade the messengers return.

And when they had gone back to the church, and related what they had heard, a pitiable tumult arose; a great crying, and weeping and much wailing. . . .

In short, already the shades of night were ended by a dawn which, coming forth more brightly than usual, took away the hope of relief which they had entertained: when, behold! a mist arose from the westward, and filled the whole bed of the river aforesaid from its source to its mouth. And gradually closing upon itself, in a short time it became so dense and thick that if any one had chanced to hold out his right hand at some distance the hand would have been swallowed up by the darkness, and rendered invisible to him.

The Galwegians therefore entered the mist, and passing through some wastes crossed the stream on the west, on the way which leads to Cumbria, and towards evening found themselves on the border of their own district.

But the king waited both for the Galwegians whom he had sent, and for the departure of the mist, which he abhorred; and was in doubt what he should do. But when the mist rose and disclosed the light which it had hidden the river had swollen with a sudden flood, and for three days hindered the king's attempt.

Then the king returned to himself, and summoned his nobles and said: "What do we? Let us retire hence, since these saints are at home." . . .

? 1079

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 36-38.

And it would be too impious to hide in silence how Malcolm, king of Scots, was restrained from invasion and violation of the peace of the church of Hexham, St. Acca and the other saints who rest there preserving it by the protection of their merits. For although it is very well known even to the people, yet, lest through time it pass wholly from the memory of men, it must be committed to writing for the information of posterity.

Malcolm, then, king of the Scots, a man to wit of the greatest ferocity and with a bestial disposition, was wont to ravage the Northumbrian province miserably with frequent invasions, and to lead away from it as captives into Scotland very many men and women.

And when on one occasion he had entered the bounds of that province, to ravage it, with an army more numerous than usual, the provincials, hearing of his approach, almost all fled to the church of Hexham, with such of their goods as they could carry with them, under the protection of the saints who rest in it.

And when Malcolm learned this he determined to go thither and to plunder all those who had taken refuge there, and utterly to destroy the church itself.

And hearing this the priest of that church went to meet him, and admonished him not to dare to commit such an outrage upon the holy patrons of that church of God. But [Malcolm] despised his warnings, and drove him with ignominy from him.

And he returned with speed to the church, and exhorted all in common who had taken refuge there earnestly to beseech God's glorious saints under whose protection they had fled that with accustomed mercy they would deign to protect their own from so savage a foe, and from Scots more cruel than beasts. And thus they did.

And in the following night, when the same priest had for sadness fallen into slumber, there appeared ¹ to him a certain man, venerable in face and in raiment, who inquired of him, as if he knew not, the cause of so great sadness. And when he replied that he was afraid of the violence of the enemy who threatened them, [the man] said to him, "Fear not; for before the dawn I will cast my net into the river,² and thereby the passage of the Scots will be wholly prevented."

When he had said this he disappeared. And when morning dawned, the river which is called Tyne was found to have so greatly risen, without flood of rains or violence of winds, that it could by no means be crossed without the help of a ship. Moreover in the same night and during the following day fell suddenly so thick a mist that the greatest part of the army of the aforesaid king divided in the darkness and scattered asunder, so that very many turned with great haste to the north, many to the east, and several also to the west, clearly confounded by a divine miracle through the intercession of the saints of the church of Hexham.

But king Malcolm came with that fragment of his army which had remained with him, and saw that all means of crossing was denied him. He therefore halted upon the river's bank, intending to wait till the river subsided so that he could cross.

But after waiting for three days, when he saw that, without any agency of rain, the water rose more and more, he was terrified by so evident a miracle, and retreated in great haste.

And thus were all they who had fled to the aforesaid church of Hexham rescued from his cruelty by the merits of the saints who rest there.

1080

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 211, S.A.
1080.³

And in this year in the autumn-time the same king William sent his son Robert to Scotland against Malcolm.

¹ A more elaborate vision is related by A. of R., Saints, in Raine's Hexh., i, 179. There Wilfrid and Cuthbert appear to the priest. Cf. Mir. Sanct., *ibid.*, i, 216.

² "I will spread my net from the source of the river Tyne to its mouth," A. of R., u.s., 179.

³ Cf. Hoved., i, 136. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 32.

This passage follows William's devastation of Northumbria in revenge for the death of Walcher; cf. Fl. of W., ii, 16; v. *supra*, s.a. 1074, note.

William of St. Carilef was appointed bishop of Durham in succession to

But when he had come to Falkirk he returned without accomplishing anything,¹ and founded a New Castle upon the river Tyne.

1087

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 21, S.A. 1087.²

[William II] distributed his father's treasures, as he had commanded, through England. . . .

His brother also returned to Normandy, and generously distributed the treasures which he had obtained, to the monasteries, the churches and the poor, for his father's soul.

And he freed from imprisonment Ulf, son of Harold, former king of the English, and Duncan, son of Malcolm, king of the Scots; and honoured them with military arms, and allowed them to depart.

1091

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E.³

While this reconciliation was pending,⁴ Edgar Etheling was

Walcher, on the 9th November, 1080; and consecrated in January, 1081, according to S. of D., H.R., ii, 211; H.D.E., i, 119. (Cf. De Inj. Vex. Will. Ep., in S. of D., i, 170. Fl. of W., ii, 16.) Cf. A.S.C., Latin Appendix to MS. A:—"In his eleventh year [of office, Lanfranc] held a council at the city of Gloucester, and there Thomas, archbishop of York, at the king's command and with Lanfranc's consent consecrated William as bishop of Durham, because he could not obtain assistance from the Scottish bishops, who are subject to him. . . ."

William died on the 1st January, 1096; A.S.C., MS. E, s.a.; S. of D., H.D.E., C. Pr., i, 133.

¹ Chr. of Abingd., ii, 9-10:—"Malcolm, king of Scotland, refused at that time to be subject to king William. And hence the king gathered an army together, and sent his elder son Robert across to Scotland in his stead; and with him also many primates of England, one of whom was abbot Ethelhelm [of Abingdon]. He bade them offer peace or war: peace, if an answer was given them in compliance; but if not, war.

"And the king met him with his men in Lothian, and chose to have peace rather than war. So he gave hostages, that the principality of Scotland should be subject to the kingdom of England.

"This agreement being made, the king's son returned joyously with his army to his father, by whom was given in reward for his performance (his and the others' who were with him), even as would have befitted the dignity of any." (The Latin is ungrammatical.)

Ethelhelm was abbot 1066-1084; *ibid.*, i, 494, ii, 11.

² So S. of D., H.R., ii, 214; Hoved., i, 140.

³ Cf. H. of H., 216. Fl. of W., ii, 27-28. S. of D., H.R., ii, 218. Hoved., i, 143. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 201.

⁴ I.e., between William II and Robert. "When the king was wearied of the prolonged siege" of Henry in Mont St. Michel, during the whole of Lent; Fl. of W., ii, 27.

deprived of the land ¹ which the count [Robert of Normandy] had previously ceded to him ;² and went out of Normandy to the king, his brother-in-law, in Scotland, and to his sister.

While king William was out of England, king Malcolm of Scotland came hither into England and harried a great part of it,³ until the good men who had charge of this land sent an army against him, and turned him back.

1091

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 28.⁴

Meanwhile, in the month of May, Malcolm, king of the Scots, invaded Northumbria with a great army ; intending to advance farther, if success had resulted, and to bring force against the inhabitants of England. God willed otherwise : therefore he was hindered from his design. Nevertheless before he returned his army carried away with it no moderate amount of booty.

1091

DE MIRACULIS ET TRANSLATIONIBUS S. CUTHBERTI, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, PP. 338-340.

Meanwhile the aforesaid king of the English [William II] and Malcolm, king of the Scots, after disturbance of quarrels had arisen on both sides, came to violent enmity, to the hurt of either realm.

And hence Malcolm led forth his army, and compelled the Northumbrians to seek their places of refuge. And some of them hid themselves in recesses of the woods and mountains : but many, and especially those who are called peculiarly St. Cuthbert's people, carried their goods to Durham ; for here in times of danger they have ever a sure place of refuge, trusting in the protection not so much of the place as of the peace due to the presence of the most holy body. Thither they brought all their flocks and all their furniture, and the open spaces in the town scarcely sufficed for so many and so great crowds of men and animals.

¹ "The honour." Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved.

² "And [the king] expelled him from Normandy." Fl. of W., ii, 28.

³ H. of H., u.s. :—"Meanwhile Malcolm, king of the Scots, came into England for spoil and very greatly harried it."

⁴ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 218. Hoved., i, 143. H. of H., 216.

Malcolm advanced to Chester-le-Street : S. of D., H.R., ii, 221 ; infra, s.a. 1093.

While this went on, Malcolm placed his forces not far away to the north, and there stayed for some days.

Meanwhile the nobles of the cities which were nearest massed together in an army of many youths, and made ready to oppose the enemy's attempts; and now they too had made their camp in the neighbourhood of Durham, to the south. But both peoples passed some little time there, while each through fear of the other contemplated either peace with the other or flight. Thus neither of the foes did harm to the other, but each through its inaction caused great distress to those shut in. For the multitude at once of men and of the various kinds of animals crowded into small space could scarcely support itself, one pressing upon another. And scarcely did any one dare to proceed, or to drive cattle to pasture; since, hemmed in all round by swords, they feared from both sides death or depredation. . . .

Therefore with one accord they gathered to the church, and out of contrition of heart each offered spontaneously gifts according to his means; and implored the confessor's aid for them and theirs, doomed to perish unless he quickly succoured them. . . .

And upon Cuthbert's intervention God turned not his mercy from them. Here truly, as is written, "God became the refuge of the poor, their helper upon occasion, in tribulation."¹

Not yet had the morrow's light burst forth in dawn when, behold! suddenly, by what fear I know not, the whole army of the Scots was driven into flight. And when the news of their departure spread to the English camp, it immediately granted to them also freedom to depart to their own. . . .²

1091

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1091.³ (*Continued.*)

When king William heard this in Normandy, he made ready for his journey and came to England, and his brother earl

¹ Psalms, IX, 9.

² "In the same hour" as the Scots retreated, William of St. Carilef, bishop of Durham, was restored to his see; *ibid.*, 340. This was upon his arrival at Durham on the 11th September, 1091; S. of D., H.R., ii, 218. (Cf. H.D.E., i, 128.)

De Inj. Vex. Will. Ep., in S. of D., i, 195:—"But in the third year [of his exile] he was reconciled with the king and recovered his bishopric, the king himself with his brother and the whole army of England restoring him to his see when upon their way to Scotland against Malcolm: to wit, upon the very day on which he had been driven from it, on the third before the Ides of September" [11th September]. (The date is to be taken with this sentence: not with the following one, as in the text.)

³ Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 28:—"And when the king heard this, he returned to

Robert with him ; and presently ordered an army to be called out, both a ship-army and a land-army : but the ship-army

England in the month of August with his brother Robert ; and not long afterwards set out for Scotland with no small fleet and an army of horse, to subdue Malcolm, king of the Scots. But before he arrived there, a few days before the festival of St. Michael, almost his whole fleet was sunk, and many of his army of horse perished of hunger and cold.

“ And king Malcolm met him with an army in the province of Loidis.”

Cf. Hoved., i, 143-144. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 36. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 201. Cf. also V.O.R., in Misc. Biog., 22-23. (The same work, 21-22, speaks of a previous invasion of Scotland under Nigel of Albini.)

W. of M., G.R., ii, 365 :—“ . . . And without fulfilling his intention he returned to the kingdom with both his brothers, because disturbances of Scots and of Welsh were calling him.

“ And immediately he led an expedition first against the Welsh, afterwards against the Scots ; but achieved nothing worthy of his greatness, losing many soldiers, and having many beasts of burden captured. And not then only, but many times, he had small success against the Welsh. . . .” Cf. *ibid.*, 363.

A peculiar account is in O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 619-620 :—“ At that time Malcolm, king of Scots, rebelled against the king of the English, and refused the service due to him.

“ Also king William, after he had made peace, as we have related above, with his brother Robert in Normandy, and had brought him with him against the faithless traitors who had conspired against the king, massed together the army of the whole of England and led it as far as the great river which is called the Scots’ water [the Forth]. But because the crossing was impracticable, he halted upon the bank.

“ And the king of Scots stood opposite to him with his legions, ready to fight ; and announced to the king of the English by his messengers as follows :—

“ I owe nothing to thee, king William, but conflict, if I be provoked with injuries by thee. But if I see Robert, the first-born son of king William, to him I am prepared to offer whatever I owe.”

“ Hearing this, earl Robert by decision of the wise sailed across with a few knights.

“ And the king of Scots received him kindly, and amicably kept him with him for three days. Then he took the earl up upon a lofty mountain, and thence showed him in a certain plain a great host of armed men. Then he led him between two mountains in another direction, and showed him a greater army in another plain :—‘ Such are the ranks of Scotland with which I am surrounded,’ said he, ‘ and prepared to receive thy brother, should he presume to sail over hither to me. Would that he would attack us, and learn the sharpness of our missiles !’

“ ‘ I assert that king Edward, when he gave to me Margaret his grand-niece (*proneptis*) in wedlock, gave to me the county of Lothian. Thereafter king William yielded what his predecessor had given to me, and made me subject to thee his first-born son. And therefore what I have promised to thee I shall adhere to. But to thy brother I have promised nothing, and owe nothing. “ No one,” as Christ says, “ can serve two masters.” ’

“ Robert replied :—‘ As thou affirmest, so it is. But changes of circumstance have taken place, and my father’s statutes have veered in many cases from their former stability. Now therefore, renowned king, consent with me, and come with me to my brother ; and thou shalt find with him sweetness and affluence of good, because he is nearer and more powerful, and has greater plenty of riches.’

“ This being promised, therefore, the king became willing to believe ; and, after conferences, was pacified with king [William]. Thereafter the kings sent back their armies, and themselves set out together for England.”

nearly all perished miserably before he could come to Scotland, a few days before St. Michael's mass.¹ And the king and his brother went with the land-army.

But when king Malcolm heard that they would seek him with an army, he went with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England, and there awaited.

When king William with his army drew near, earl Robert and Edgar Etheling went between them, and made peace between the kings, so that king Malcolm came to our king and became his man for all such subjection as he had made before to his father. And that he confirmed with an oath.

And king William promised him in land and in everything all that he had had before under his father.

In this peace Edgar Etheling was also reconciled with the king. And then the kings parted with great amity; but that lasted only a little while.²

1092

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, s.a. 1092.³

In this year king William with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the town and built the castle; and drove out Dolfin,⁴ who ruled the land there before. And he garrisoned the castle with his vassals; and thereafter came south

¹ 29th September.

² Fl. of W., ii, 28 :—“ And, seeing this, earl Robert summoned to him Edgar Etheling, whom the king had expelled from Normandy, and who then abode with the king of Scots; and supported by his aid made peace between the kings upon this condition, that Malcolm should obey William as he had obeyed his father; and that William should restore to Malcolm twelve vills which he had had in England under his father, and should give him each year twelve marks of gold. But the peace made between them continued no long time.

“ The earl made peace for Edgar also with king William.” Cf. Hoved., i, 144. R. de D., Abbr. Chr., i, 216.

H. of H., 216 :—“ Therefore the king and his brother Robert with him came to England, and directed their troops toward Scotland. Therefore Malcolm was oppressed by great fear, and became the king's man, and subject to him by an oath of fealty.” Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 30; H.A., i, 39-40, s.a. 1090, Fl. His., ii, 23, s.a. 1091.

Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 201 :—“ And king Malcolm came to king William and became his man, upon that agreement upon which he had been his father's man; and he swore to him fealty, and king William promised that he would give him whatever he had under his father.”

Earl Robert “ had long ago given his intimate friendship to the Scot.” W. of M., G.R., infra, s.a. 1093. He “ found [with William] little truth in their agreement,” and Edgar fared no better: A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1091. ad fin.

³ Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 202. Fl. of W. ii, 30.

⁴ The son of Gospatric.

hither, and sent thither a great multitude of [churlish] ¹ folk with women and cattle, there to dwell and to till the land.²

1093

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1093.³

In this year, in Lent, king William was taken so very ill at Gloucester⁴ that he was everywhere proclaimed to be dead.

And in his sickness⁵ he vowed many vows to God : to lead his own life aright : and to protect and have peace with God's churches, and never again to sell them for money ; and to have all just laws among his people. . . . And to many monasteries he granted land.

But that he afterwards withdrew, when he had recovered ; and relinquished all the good laws which he had previously promised us.

Then after this the king of Scotland sent and desired [the fulfilment] of the agreement which had been made with him.

And king William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent him hostages to Scotland, and Edgar Etheling afterwards ; and thereafter the men again, who brought him with much honour to the king.

But when he came to the king he could not be held worthy either of speech with our king or of the agreements which had been formerly made with him. And therefore they parted in great enmity, and king Malcolm went home to Scotland.

¹ In text *Eyrlisce* : read *cyrlice*. (Thorpe.) Ann. of Wav., u.s., *multos villanos*.

² Fl. of W., u.s., mentions no colonization, but adds :—“ For this city, like several others in those parts, had been destroyed by the pagan Danes two hundred years before, and remained deserted to that time.”

³ Cf. Fl. of W., ii. 30–31 ; S. of D., ii, 220–221 ; Hoved., i, 145–146. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 202.

W. of M., G.R., ii, 366 :—“ But indeed at that time [1091, supra], through the efforts of earl Robert, who had long ago given his intimate friendship to the Scot, harmony was established between Malcolm and William. Nevertheless when many disputes had been raised on both sides, and because justice wavered through the ill-will of either side, Malcolm came of his own accord to Gloucester, praying much for peace, but only upon just conditions. But he obtained nothing, except to return scatheless to his kingdom ; because the king disdained to take by guile him whom he had conquered by valour.”

⁴ “ Was struck down by a violent illness at Alveston, and hastened to the city of Gloucester, and there lay sick during the whole of Lent,” Fl. of W., u.s.

⁵ “ When he thought he was soon to die, as his barons insinuated to him,” Fl. of W., u.s.

1093

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 31.¹

Malcolm, king of the Scots, met king William the younger in the city of Gloucester on the day of the festival of St. Bartholomew,² as had been previously appointed by ambassadors between them : in order that, as certain of the chief men of England wished, peace might be restored, and firm friendship might be established between them.

But they departed mutually dissatisfied : for William disdained to see Malcolm or to confer with him, through too great pride and power. Moreover also he wished to constrain [Malcolm] to do him justice³ in his own court, according to the judgment of his own barons only. But Malcolm would by no means do this, unless upon the borders of their realms, where the kings of the Scots were accustomed to do right by the kings of the English, and according to the judgment of the chief men of both kingdoms.

1093

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1093.⁴ (*Continued.*)

But so soon as [Malcolm] came home, he gathered his army and advanced into England, harrying with more wantonness than behoved him.

¹ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 220-221 : Hoved., i, 145-146.

² 24th August. On Thursday, 11th August, 1093, Malcolm with William of St. Carilef and Turgot had laid the foundation stones of Durham cathedral : De Inj. Vex. Will. Ep., in S. of D., i, 195. Cf. S. of D., H.D.E., i, 129 ; H.R., ii, 220. Hoved., i, 145.

Probably during this visit to England, and after the interview with William Rufus, Malcolm visited his daughter Matilda at Wilton : v. infra, s.a. 1100.

³ *ut . . . rectitudinem ei faceret.* Cf. the use of this and similar phrases occurring frequently in the tract De Inj. Vex. Will. Ep., in S. of D., i : (e.g. 176, 177, 179, 180.) in the sense of appearing before the law for compensation of an injury.

Carlisle must have been one subject of dispute : v. supra, s.a. 1092.

⁴ Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 31-32 :—" Malcolm, king of the Scots, and his first-born son Edward, with many others, were slain by the knights of Robert, earl of Northumbria, on the day of the festival of St. Brice " [13th November]. So S. of D., H.R., ii, 221 : Hoved., i, 146-147. Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 366. H. of H., 217. R. of C., 3. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 33. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 37. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 202. Ann. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 13. Ann. of Marg., in A.M., i, 5-6 :—" On the Ides of November [13th November] was slain Malcolm, king of Scotland : and in the same month died queen Margaret."

Cf. the L.V.E.D., 73 :—" This is the agreement which the convent of St. Cuthbert has promised to Malcolm, king of Scots, and queen Margaret, and their sons and daughters, to uphold for ever : to wit, that for the king

And then Robert,¹ the earl of the Northumbrians, with his men entrapped him unawares, and slew him. Morel of Bamborough slew him: he was the earl's steward, and king Malcolm's comrade.²

With him was slain also Edward, his son, who should have been king after him if he had survived.

1093

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. II, P. 309.

Of Malcolm, king of the Scots.

Malcolm yielded himself³ before they came to close quarters; and lived the whole time of William in doubtful and oft-broken treaties.

But in the reign of William, William's son, he was attacked in a similar manner, and rid himself of his aggressor by a false oath. And not long afterwards when, forgetful of his promise, he was very proudly riding into the province, he was slain, with his son, by Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumbria.

and the queen while they live they shall nourish every day one poor man; and also two poor men shall be kept for them in the Lord's Supper for the common mandate: and one prayer shall be said at litanies and at mass. But both in this life and after it both they and their sons and daughters shall be partakers in everything which is done for the service of God in the monastery of St. Cuthbert, namely masses, psalms, charities, vigils, prayers and everything of this kind.

"And especially for the king and queen from the day of their death shall be repeated in the convent thirty full offices for the dead, and every day *Verba mea*. And every bishop shall celebrate thirty masses; and each of the others shall sing ten psalters. And their anniversary shall be celebrated every year with festivity, as is king Ethelstan's."

The day of Malcolm and Margaret is given as the 12th of November in the obituary of Durham; L.V.E.D., 147, 152.

¹ Robert de Mowbray revolted two years later, A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1095, according to H. of H., 218, "exalted with pride, because he had laid low the king of Scots."

² Lit. "gossip": *compater*, Ann. of Wav., u.s. (Cf. *cumpæder* = godfather, A.S.C., MS. A. s.a. 894.) *Compater* also means "comrade."

A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1095:—"Morel, who was steward, and also [earl Robert of Northumbria's] kinsman."

"Malcolm fell rather by treachery than by strength." W. of M., G.R., ii, 366: "was unexpectedly intercepted and slain," H. of H., 217. A different account is given by O.V., VIII. 20; in Migne, 188, 620:—"After some time, when king Malcolm wished to return to his own, and was returning in peace, honoured by the king with many gifts, Robert de Mowbray with Morel, his nephew, and armed knights fell upon him and slew him, unarmed, unawares. And when the king of the English heard this, and the nobles of the realm, they were greatly grieved, and much ashamed for a thing so base and so cruel, committed by Normans. . . ."

For Morel's subsequent treachery cf. A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1095. Cf. also O.V., in Migne, 188, 624-625.

³ I.e., to William I in 1072; v. supra.

And he lay buried for many years at Tynemouth; but lately he was carried to Scotland, to Dunfermline, by his son Alexander.¹

1093

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 221-222.²

And in [Malcolm's] death the justice of God's judgments is clearly discernable, to wit that he should perish with his men in that province which he used himself often to ravage at the prompting of avarice.

For five times he had harried it with savage devastation, and carried off the wretched inhabitants as captives, to reduce them to slavery. Once, in Edward's reign,³ when Tosti, the earl of York, had set out for Rome. Again, in the reign of William, when he harried Cleveland also.⁴ Thirdly, in the reign of the same king William,⁵ he advanced as far as the Tyne, and returned with great booty after slaughter of men and burning of the land. A fourth time, in the reign of William the younger,⁶ he came with his endless forces to Chester-le-Street, situated not far from Durham, and intended to advance farther: but a small band of knights gathered together against him, and he very quickly returned through

¹ Compare however the letter written by Robert de Durham, monk of Kelso, to Ralph, prior of Hexham: printed in Raine's Hexh., i. app., xiv-xvi: cf. also in M.P., Chr. Maj., vi. 370-371. Hexh., app., xv:—"It pleased your courtesy to relate such things in that banquet and conversation, namely, that you had found the bones of some man of large stature, and of another, smaller: and these you thought to be the bones of the former venerable king of Scotland, Malcolm, and of his son."

M.P., Chr. Maj., v. 633, s.a. 1257:—"In the same year were found the bones of Malcolm, king of the Scots, and of Edward, his son, while the foundations were being prepared for a certain building at Tynemouth."

Little reliance can be placed upon M.P., Chr. Maj., vi. 372:—"This Robert [de Mowbray], being a very bold man and powerful in war, conquered and slew Malcolm, king of Scotland, his allegiance to whom he boldly renounced by permission of king Henry I [read "William II"] of England.

"And because of his royal excellence [de Mowbray] caused the slain king's body to be buried honourably in the church of Tynemouth, which that earl had built.

"But afterwards when the Scots with effrontery demanded the body of their king, the body of a certain plebeian of Seaton (*Sethtune*) was granted and given to them. And thus was the cupidity of the Scots beguiled."

² Copied by Robert de Durham, monk of Kelso, from the "History of the Danes"; Raine's Hexh., i. app., xiv-xvi. M.P., Chr. Maj., vi. 370-371. Cf. Hoved., i. 146-147.

³ "While Ethelwin was bishop of Durham," adds Hoved., i. 146.

⁴ "And while the aforesaid Ethelwin was bishop," adds Hoved., u.s.

⁵ "And while Walcher was bishop of Durham," adds Hoved., u.s.

⁶ "And while William ruled the bishopric of Durham," adds Hoved., u.s.

fear of them. The fifth time, with all the army he could muster he invaded Northumbria, intending to reduce it to utter desolation. But he was slain¹ near the river Alne, along with his first-born son, Edward, whom he had intended to inherit the kingdom after him. His army was either put to the sword or, such as escaped the sword by flight, drowned in the flooded rivers, which were then swollen more than usually with the winter rains.

And since none of his men remained to cover it with earth two of the natives placed the king's body in a cart, and buried it in Tynemouth.

And thus it happened that by God's judgment he himself lost both possessions and life in the same place where he had deprived many of life, and possessions, and liberty.

1093

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, *EPISTOLA DE GENEALOGIA REGUM ANGLORUM*, IN TWYSDEN, *COL.* 367.²

And truly of what heart this king Malcolm was, one deed of his which I have learned from the narration of the noble king David will declare to the readers.

[Malcolm] was informed on one occasion that one of his highest nobles had conspired with his enemies to slay him. The king imposed silence upon his informant, and was silent himself also, awaiting the return of the traitor, who chanced then to be away.

And when he had come to the court with a great retinue to entrap the king, the king commanded all huntsmen to be ready with their dogs in the earliest morning. And dawn had even now driven away the night when the king called to him all the nobles and knights, and made haste to go to the hunt. And he came to a certain wide plain which was surrounded in fashion of a crown by the closest forest; and in the middle of it was seen a knoll swelling up, as it were, which embroidered with flowers in a beautiful variety of different colours offered daily a pleasant resting place to knights wearied with the chase.

Upon this knoll the king took his stand, higher than the rest; and according to the hunting law which the common people call the "Tryst" assigned a separate place to each of

¹ "By Morel, a most vigorous knight," adds Hoved., i, 147.

² Cf. the St. Albans compiler in M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 30-31. Cf. M.P., H.A., i, 40-41.

the nobles with his dogs, so that wherever the quarry chose to emerge, besieged on all sides it should find its fate.

And he himself kept beside him his betrayer, separated from the others; and departed, none accompanying them. And when removed from the sight of all the king stopped, and looking upon him said:—"See, I and thou with me are alone together, armed with like weapons, borne on like horses. There is none to see, there is none to hear, there is none to bring support to either of us; if therefore thou art able, if thou darest, if thou hast the heart, fulfil what thou hast purposed, render to my foes what thou hast promised. If thou thinkest to slay me, when canst thou better, more securely, more freely, or more manly?—Hast thou prepared poison? But that is the way of weak women; who could not? Dost thou lie in wait by my bed? That can adulteresses also. Hast thou hidden a sword to strike secretly? That is the way of assassins, not of a knight; no one can doubt it. Act rather as a knight, act as a man, and fight man to man, that at least thy treason may lack baseness, since it could not lack infidelity."

So far [the noble] had scarce borne up; and immediately, struck by his words as by a heavy thunderbolt, he fell from his horse, cast aside his arms, and ran to the king's feet with tears and trembling. And the king said to him, "Be not afraid, thou shalt suffer no ill from me."

And when [the noble] had promised henceforth to be faithful and his friend, giving an oath and naming hostages, in fitting time they returned to their friends, telling to none what things they had done or said.

1093

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1093.¹ (*Continued.*)

When the good queen Margaret heard this,—her dearest lord and son thus betrayed,—she was distressed in mind even to death; and went with her priests to church, and obtained by prayer to God that she gave up her spirit.

¹ Cf. H. of H., 217. W. of M., G.R., ii, 366. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., i, 202.

O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 620:—"Margaret, queen of Scots, overwhelmed by so sad a message of her husband's death, shuddered, and called together all the nobles of her realm; and commended to them her sons Edgar and Alexander and David, and besought them to honour them as sons of the king.

"And when her prayers had been received by the court with great

1093

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 32.¹

When she learned of their death, Margaret, queen of the Scots, was moved with so great sorrow that she fell suddenly into a great infirmity. And without delay she called to her her priests, and entered the church, and confessed to them her sins; caused herself to be anointed with oil and fortified with the celestial *viaticum*, imploring God in persistent and most earnest prayers that he would not permit her to exist longer in this troublous life.

And but little more slowly was she answered: for in three days after the slaying of the king she was loosed from the chains of the flesh and passed, as is believed, to the joys of eternal salvation.

And indeed while she lived she was a devoted upholder of piety, justice, peace and charity; constant in orisons, she mortified her body with vigils and with fasts.

She enriched churches and monasteries, loved and honoured the servants and handmaids of God; broke bread for the hungry, clothed the naked; provided all pilgrims who came to her with lodging, raiment and food; and she loved God with her whole mind.

1093

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 366.

Both [Malcolm and Margaret] were remarkable for their devotion to piety; but she especially. For during the whole term of her life she had four and twenty poor folk whom she supplied with food and clothing, in whatever place she was. Besides, forestalling the song of the priests in Lent she kept watch at nights in the temple, attending personally at triple matins,—of the Trinity, of the Cross and of St. Mary;—and then [repeating] the psalter, with the tears suffusing her garments and heaving her bosom. Leaving the temple she fed

favour, she commanded the ranks of the poor to be assembled, and all her treasure for the love of God to be distributed to them: and she asked them all to be diligent in prayer to the Lord for her, her husband, and her children. . . .

“At last, when things were fitly arranged and the treasures distributed to the companies of the poor, she entered the church, and asked that mass be celebrated by her chaplains. Then she was devoutly present at the sacred rites, and after receiving the holy eucharist expired between the words of prayer.”

¹So S. of D., H.R., ii, 222; Hoved., i, 147.

the poor, at first three, then twenty-four, at last three hundred ; herself with the king being in attendance, and sprinkling water upon their hands.¹

ORDERIC VITAL, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VIII, 20 ; IN
MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188, COL. 620-621.

As a woman of high rank she excelled in her descent, having sprung from the blood of kings ; but she shone more brightly in the goodness of her customs, and in the sanctity of her life. . . .

Among the other good things which the noble lady did, the faithful queen rebuilt the monastery of Iona, which in the time of Brude, king of the Picts, son of Maelchon, Columba, the servant of Christ, had built ; but which had been destroyed in the time of wars, and by great age. And she gave to monks fitting revenues for the work of the Lord, and restored it.

She had sent her two daughters, Edith and Mary, to be brought up and to be instructed in the sacred writings, to her sister Christina, who was a nun in the abbey of Romsey.² There they were nourished very long among the nuns, and learned well both the art of letters and the observance of good customs ; and attaining to marriageable age, the devout virgins were ready for the solace of God. For being orphaned, as has been said, of either parent, and deprived of the aid of brothers and of other friends or relatives, they experienced the clemency of God, who disposes all things well, giving them ready help.

For Alan Rufus, count of Brittany, asked as his wife from king [William] Rufus Matilda, who has been above called Edith. But being prevented by death, he did not obtain her.³

¹ Turgot's Vita Margarete, dedicated to her daughter Edith or Matilda, is printed by Pinkerton, Lives of Scottish Saints, 329-355.

² Christina became a nun in Romsey in 1086 ; A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1085 ; Fl. of W., ii, 19, s.a. 1086 ; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 195, s.a. 1086. Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 278 :—" Christina, who grew old in the nun's habit at Romsey."

³ For Alan Rufus read Alan the Black, earl of Brittany, second earl of Richmond. Thierry, His. de la Conquête, ii, 152-153. (For this Alan cf. De Inj. Vex. Will., in S. of D., i, e.g. 173, 191.) He died in 1093. V. Freeman, W.R., ii, 602-603. (Dugdale places his death in 1089 ; Bar., i, 47.)

For Alan Rufus or Fergant, first earl of Richmond, v. L'Art de Vér. les Dates, iv, 68. His first wife (Constance, daughter of the Conqueror) died in 1090 ; he remarried in 1093. He entered a monastery about seven years before his death in 1119.

Thereafter William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, asked for Matilda; but she was divinely reserved, and married to another with greater renown. For Henry wedded the virgin aforesaid, when he received the kingdom of the English; and of her begot William Adelinus and Matilda the empress.

And Eustace, count of Boulogne, received Mary as wife; and she bore him an only daughter, whom Stephen, earl of Mortain, united to himself with her father's heritage.¹

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 297; INSERTION IN HENGWRT MS.²

To queen Margaret were born six sons and two daughters; and of these, three were kings,³—Edgar, Alexander and David.⁴—Their sister Matilda wedded the most glorious king Henry; and of this most excellent and Christian queen was born Matilda, who wedded first the Roman emperor, and then Geoffrey earl of Anjou. And of her were born king Henry II, Geoffrey and William.

And Mary, the daughter of queen Margaret, was given as wife to Eustace of Boulogne; and of her was born Matilda, who wedded Stephen, the earl of Mortain and afterwards king of the English. He had by this queen earl William of Warenne, and Eustace, count of Boulogne.

1093—1094

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E. S.A. 1093.⁵ (*Continued.*)

And then the Scots chose as king Donald, Malcolm's

¹ Cf. A. of R., Epis., in Tw., 368. Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 299:—“And the count of Boulogne received Mary in wedlock, and begot of her this Matilda, his heiress. And her king Stephen took as his wife, and with her received the earldom of Boulogne; and he had of her his sons Eustace and William, both of whom, without children, succumbed to an early death.”

² Cf. W. of M., G.R., i, 278. S. of D., H.R., ii, 192. A. of R., Epis., in Twysden, 367. Edm., H.N., 121.

³ “And by them the nobility of the kings of England, expelled from their own realms by the Normans, was passed on to the kings of Scots.” M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 2 (due to the St. Albans compiler.)

⁴ “David, that most courtly king of the Scots,” H. of H., 196.

⁵ “The youngest, David, famed for his meekness and wisdom, is now held king of Scotland.” W. of M., G.R., i, 278. (The G.R. was finished in 1125; but this part may have been written before David's accession in 1124.)

“David, the splendour of his race,” A. of R., u.s.

⁶ Cf. s.a. 1093 Fl. of W., ii, 32; S. of D., H.R., ii, 222–223; Hoved., i, 147. H. of H., 217. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 202–203.

brother, and drove out all the English who were with king Malcolm before.¹

When Duncan, king Malcolm's son, who was in king William's court,—inasmuch as his father had formerly given him as a hostage to our king's father,² and he had remained here ever since.—heard that all this had so happened, he came to the king and did such fealty as the king would have of him ;³ and so, with [the king's] consent, went to Scotland with what aid he could get of English and French,⁴ and deprived his kinsman Donald of the kingdom, and was received as king.⁵

But afterwards some of the Scots gathered themselves together, and slew almost all his followers ; and he himself escaped with few.

Thereafter they were reconciled, on the condition that he should never again introduce English or French into the land.⁶

1094

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1094.⁷

In this year also the Scots deceived and slew⁸ Duncan, their king ; and thereafter took to themselves again as king, a second time, his paternal uncle Donald, by whose direction and instigation [Duncan] was betrayed to death.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 477.

Edmund was the only son of Margaret who fell away from the good. For he, taking part in his uncle Donald's wickedness, was not innocent of his brother's death, bargaining

¹ "Expelled from Scotland all the English who were of the king's court," Fl. of W., u.s.

² Cf. s.a. 1072, supra. W. of M. calls Duncan "the base-born son of Malcolm." G.R., ii, 476 ; infra.

³ Fl. of W., ii, 32 :—"Hearing this, Malcolm's son Duncan besought of king William, to whom he then gave military service, that he would grant him his father's kingdom : and obtained it, and swore fealty to him."

⁴ "With the help of that king." H. of H., 217.

⁵ Fl. of W., ii, 32 :—"And thus he hastened to Scotland with a host of English and Normans, and drove out his uncle Donald from the kingdom, and reigned in his stead."

⁶ Fl. of W., ii, 32 :—"Nevertheless after this they allowed him to reign ; on this condition, that he should no more introduce into Scotland either English or Normans, or allow them to give him military service."

⁷ Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 35 : S. of D., H.R., ii, 224 : Hoved., i, 149. H. of H., 217. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 204.

⁸ "Slew by craft their king Duncan, and several with him." Fl. of W., u.s. "Casting out from Scotland all the English," adds S. of D., u.s.

"After this, king William returned to England on the fourth before the

indeed for half the kingdom. But he sincerely repented, when he was captured and kept in fetters for life ; and, when he came to die, directed that he should be entombed in those chains, declaring that he was deservedly punished for the crime of fratricide.

1097

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1097.¹

Also in this same year, soon after St. Michael's mass, Edgar Etheling went with an army into Scotland, with king [William's] aid,² and in a hard-fought battle won the land, and drove out king Donald ; and in fealty to king William set up there as king his kinsman Edgar, who was the son of king Malcolm and queen Margaret. And thereafter he went again to England.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 476.

[William II] appeased the Scottish kings by his mildness, emulating his brother's custom.³

For he both knighted Duncan, the base-born son of Malcolm, and appointed him king of Scots, upon his father's death.

But when [Duncan] was slain by his uncle Donald's treachery, [William] advanced Edgar to the kingdom ; the aforesaid Donald being slain by the craftiness of David, the youngest, and by the strength of William.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 366.

[Margaret's] son Edgar, driven out by his uncle, was restored to the throne by William ; assuredly by an act of remarkable compassion, such as became so great a man,—to restore the son to the kingdom, at his humble request, forgetting the wrongs done by the father.

Kalends of January" [29th December,] and led an unsuccessful expedition to Wales ; Fl. of W., u.s.

¹ Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 41 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 228 ; Hoved., i, 153. H. of H., 230. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 207.

O.V., VIII. 20, in Migne, *ISS*, 62, appears to confuse king Edgar with king Duncan II.

² " [William] sent Edgar Etheling to Scotland with an army," Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved., u.s. Similarly H. of H., u.s.

³ I.e., Robert of Normandy ; cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 365 ; v. *supra*, s.a. 1091.

Compare with this the delineation of William's character in W. of M., G.R., ii, 366-374.

1098

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 42, S.A.
1098.¹

At that time Magnus, king of the Norwegians, son of king Olaf the son of Harald [Hardrada],² since he had added the Orkneys and the Mevanian isles to his empire, came sailing thither with a few ships.³

1099

ANNALS OF WINCHESTER, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. II,
P. 40.

King [William II] came from Normandy, and was crowned at London with the royal diadem; and there Edgar, king of Scotland, carried the sword beside him.

1100

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 493-494.⁴

King [Henry's] wife Matilda was descended from an ancient and illustrious line of kings, being the daughter of the king of Scots, as I have said above.

From tender years she was brought up among nuns at Wilton and Romsey,⁵ and also trained her woman's bosom in letters. And hence to reject ignoble marriages more than once offered by her father she wore the veil, the mark of consecrated profession: for which reason, when the king wished to receive her as his wife, the matter came to be disputed,

¹ So S. of D., H.R., ii, 228: Hoved., i, 154. Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 376.

² In text "Harfagr."

³ O.V., X, 5, in Migne, 188, 727-728:—"In the fifth year of the reign of William Rufus, king of the English, the king of the Norwegians mustered on all sides warlike forces, and, the east wind blowing, traversed the Ocean and came to the Orkney Isles. He passed round Scotland on the west-north-west, and came past the other islands which pertain to his dominion, to Anglesey. He wished to enter Ireland: but since the Irish were prepared for war upon the sea-coasts, he turned aside. He dwelt in the isle of Man, which was deserted, and replenished it with inhabitants, and fully supplied it with houses and other necessaries for human use. The other Cyclades also, placed in the great sea as if beyond the world, he visited, and by royal command compelled to be inhabited by many inhabitants. . . ."

For Magnus's visit to Galloway cf. Chr. Reg. Man., in Langebek, iii, 218.

⁴ Cf. the account in the Narratio Restaurationis Abbatie S. Mart. Tornac., in D'Achery, Spicilegium, xii, 374-376.

⁵ "Matilda . . . from being a nun at Wilton,—but not professed,—became queen of England." Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 40. She was goddaughter of Robert of Normandy: W. of M., G.R., ii, 462.

and the archbishop¹ could not be brought to consent without the production of lawful witnesses to swear that she had worn the veil because of her suitors, without profession. She was therefore satisfied when she had borne two children, one of either sex; and ceased from further obedience and fruitfulness.

1100

EDMER, HISTORIA NOVORUM, PP. 121-126.²

. . . For this Matilda had been nourished from infancy and brought up in a monastery among nuns; and it was believed by many that she had been consecrated by her parents to the service of God: because that she had been seen in public veiled, after the fashion of those among whom she lived.

And when she was beloved of the king,—having previously laid aside the veil,—and this circumstance excited comment among very many, and deterred them from their desired embraces, she went to Anselm, whose consent all were awaiting, and with humble prayer besought of him counsel and aid in the difficulty.

He referred to the report that was current, and asserted that for no reason would he ever be induced to take from God his bride and unite her in wedlock with a mortal man.

She replied, wholly denying that she had been consecrated; and even denied that she had ever once been veiled of her own will. And if he would not believe this otherwise she offered to prove it in the judgment of the whole English church.

“But yet,” said she, “I do not deny that I have worn the veil. For, when I was a girl, and trembled under the rod of my aunt Christina, whom thou knowest well, she, in order to save my body from the raging lust of the Normans,³—who lurked at that time in wait for every one’s shame,—used to put a black hood over my head; and, if I threw it off, used often to torture as well as dishonour me with cruel lashings and with too revolting taunts.

“And although I endured this hood in her presence,

¹ Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 1093-1109.

² This account is apparently a later insertion by Edmer in the H.N., perhaps in reply to W. of M., above. Rule, *ibid.*, xxiv-xxv.

³ In the Narr. Rest. Abb. Tornac., u.s., 375, a definite occasion is described of resort to such protection against William II.

moaning and trembling, yet so soon as I could withdraw from her sight I was wont to seize it, fling it to the ground, and trample on it with my feet, and thus, though foolishly, to rage in the hatred with which I burned against it.

“In this way and no other, my conscience to witness, was I veiled. Yet if any say that I was consecrated, the truth about that too may be gathered from this, that (as many still surviving know) my father’s anger was kindled when he chanced to see me veiled,¹ although in such manner as I have said: he lifted his hand and caught the veil, rent it in pieces, and called down God’s hatred upon the one who put it upon me, asserting that he would rather have destined me to be earl Alan’s wife² than to consort with nuns.

“This is my plea concerning the false accusation against me; and I request that thy Wisdom may ponder it, and thy Fatherliness do for me as thou knowest should be done.”

To be brief, Anselm delayed giving his decision, and determined that the case must be settled by judgment of the ecclesiastics of the realm.

And so a day was fixed, and by Anselm’s command the bishops, the abbots and all nobles and men of a religious order assembled in a vill called Lambeth of St. Andrew of Rochester, whither the course of the present affair had brought [Anselm] at that time also.

The case was thus conducted in the prescribed order. Competent witnesses from different places came forward, testifying that the girl’s words were supported by absolute truth. Two archdeacons were added to these; namely William of Canterbury and Humbald of Salisbury, whom father Anselm had sent to Wilton, where [Matilda] had been brought up, thoroughly to investigate the truth of this affair; and speaking publicly they bore witness both that they had made most diligent inquiry of the sisters, and that they had been unable to learn from them anything which opposed the proffered plea.³

Anselm charged them all, therefore, and commanded them by Christian obedience that none should be turned by fear or favour from the truth, but that each of them should assist according to his powers as if, as was the case, in the cause of God, that a just decision might be reached; “lest,” as he said, “such

¹ Probably in 1093. Cf. *supra*, s.a., note.

² Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1093.

³ The Narr. Rest. Abb. Tornac., u.s., 375, professes to give the abbess’s account of the affair.

a sentence of justice be passed that by its example,—may God forbid!—in times to come either anyone may without right be deprived of freedom, or God be unjustly cheated of those who ought to remain his own.”

All applauded the need for so doing, and promised that they would not do otherwise.

And so the father withdrew alone from the assembly, and the church of England, which was gathered together, discussed the sentence to be pronounced. Thereafter [Anselm] was brought in with honour, and it was declared to him what the common opinion of all had arrived at in the matter.

They said that, after examining the question, it seemed to them to be established,—and they declared themselves ready to prove it,—that the girl could not justly be restricted in her case by any judgment whereby she might not dispose of the freedom of her person in any way she should lawfully desire.

“And though we can prove this,” they said, “by an easy argument, yet we refrain, because there is no need to do so; remembering a decision, weightier than our arguments, concurrent with this sentence of justice, given in a similar case by your predecessor of venerable memory, our father and teacher Lanfranc.

“For when William the Great first subdued this land many of his followers took credit to themselves for so great a victory and protested that all things must obey and be subject to their pleasures and excesses; and began to rage with unspeakable lust not only after the possessions of the conquered, but even after the married women also and the maidens, whenever opportunity offered. But this some foresaw, and in fear of dishonour betook themselves to the nunneries, and by receiving the veil among the nuns protected themselves from so great disgrace. And when afterwards this curse was allayed and tranquillity (considering the state of the times) had been restored to the country, it was inquired of that father Lanfranc what he thought about the women who had saved their honour by taking such refuge; whether they were to be compelled to retain in the monastery the veil which they had taken, or not.

“And he solved this question by the advice of a general council, in such wise that they adjudged that for the chastity, their devotion to which [these women] had attested by so evident a manifestation, they ought rather to have due honour shown them than to have any continence of adherence to

religion violently forced upon them, unless they desired it of their own will."

And they added, "We were present with them, and we heard this approved by wise men. And we wish this to hold good in the present case; and we request that it be confirmed. For though we know that her case is less difficult than theirs, seeing that they wore the veil of their own will, and she for a like cause under compulsion, yet that none imagine us to be influenced in favour of any we wish to proceed no farther in judgment, being satisfied with this alone, that what held in the greater may also hold in the lesser case."

Then Anselm replied, "You know whereof I have warned you, wherein I have instructed you, and what you have promised. Since, therefore, you have so adjudged among you as you say, according to what has appeared to you more just, I by no means reject your decision, but receive it with the greater security since I hear that it is supported by the authority of so great a father."

[Matilda] was then brought in, and heard and understood with cheerful countenance what had taken place; and in a few words asked that a hearing be granted to her.

She spoke therefore, and offered to prove, either by oath or in any other form of ecclesiastic law they might prefer, that her plea now terminated was based upon the solid truth.

She said that she was ready to do this not because she imagined herself to be disbelieved, but with intent to cut off from spiteful men all future opportunity for slander.

In reply they told her that nothing of this kind was needful; for if any evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart brought forth evil, sooner than spoken it would be suppressed, the actual truth being now proved and confirmed by approval of so distinguished personages.

After this she received an address and benediction from Anselm, and went away; and after a very few days had passed became, as I have said, a queen and wife.

And when this union was to take place and be sanctioned by the ceremony of the church, father [Anselm] himself stood higher than the rest, and publicly addressing the whole nobility of the realm and the lesser folk who were flocking around for this purpose, and indeed surrounding the king and [Matilda] before the doors of the church, informed them in what manner the maiden's case (made public by report) had been sifted and decided by the bishops and ecclesiastics of the realm.

This done, by God's authority he exhorted and commanded anyone who thought at all differently of the affair, and had conceived any reason whereby it could be shown that this union might not take place according to the law of Christ, not to hesitate but to declare it openly, preserving peace with all men.

To this all with one voice cried that the matter was justly concluded, and that no ground remained in it for anyone, unless perchance moved by malice, to be able with right to raise any accusation; and they were lawfully united with the honour which befitted a king and queen.

Behold, I have described the manner of the transaction, the truth of my conscience to witness; even as I, who was present, saw and heard it, without bias toward either side: only giving publicity to the girl's words, without asserting whether they be true or not.—If anyone therefore wish still to say that Anselm did anything wrong in this, let him see for himself.

But we who have known his inmost mind in this as in many things bear him witness that, as he himself used to say, he could not at that time have had knowledge or ability whereby to do in this matter better or more wisely than he did.¹

1100, Nov.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, s.A. 1100.²

And presently thereafter the king took to himself as wife Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of the good queen Margaret, king Edward's kinswoman, of the true royal kin of England.

And she was given to him with much honour on St. Martin's mass day,³ at Westminster; and the archbishop Anselm wedded her to him, and thereafter consecrated her as queen.⁴

¹The Narr. Rest. Abb. Torn., u.s., 376, says that Anselm opposed the marriage.

²Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 47-48; S. of D., H.R., ii, 232; Hoved., i, 157. R. de D., i, 233. W. of M., G.R., ii, 470-471. H. of H., 233. R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 141. R. de T., *ibid.*, iv, 81. Fl. His., ii, 36, s.a. 1102. O.V., X, 13, in Migne, 188, 754.

A passage in one MS. of M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 121-122, describes her as an unwilling bride. Cf. the absurd account in M.P., H.A., i, 188-189, s.a. 1101.

³11th November.

⁴According to O.V., u.s., she was consecrated by Gerard, bishop of Hereford.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. II, PP. 470-471.

And he had turned his mind long since to love for her ; holding lightly riches of dower, if but he might obtain the long-desired embraces.

For she, though of lofty rank, as being king Edward's great-grandniece, by his brother Edmund, was yet mistress of but moderate means, being then a ward without either parent. . . .

1100

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, *EPISTOLA*, IN TWYSDEN, COL. 368.¹

Their sister Matilda wedded Henry, most glorious king of the English.

And of her admirable glory and virtue of mind, and of how assiduous she was and devout in divine offices and holy vigils, and moreover though in so great authority how humble, he who would write will pronounce her for us another Esther in modern times. And this we have omitted to do, both because of the magnitude of the subject, and because of our hitherto insufficient knowledge of these things. But one deed of hers I shall relate, which I have heard from the mouth of the oft-to-be-mentioned and never-to-be-forgotten king David ; in order that from it, as I think, may sufficiently appear what manner of woman she was with regard to Christ's poor.

"While I served," said he, "as a youth in the king's court,² doing on a certain night I know not what in my dwelling with my friends, I was called by her and came to the queen's chamber. And behold the house was full of lepers, and the queen stood in the midst ; and after laying aside her cloak, and putting on a linen covering, she poured water into a basin, and began to wash and to dry their feet ; and after drying them to press them with both hands, and to kiss them.

"And when I said to her, 'What dost thou, O my lady ? Truly if the king knew this, he would never deign to kiss

¹ For Matilda cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 494-495 ; Edm., H.N., 173, 187 ; Bk. of H., 305, 311-313.

She died on the 1st May 1118 : Edm., H.N., 248 ; A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. ; J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 71 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 252 ; H. of H., 240-241. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 101-102. O.V., XII, I, in Migne, 188, 850.

² This anecdote is placed by the St. Albans compiler in 1105 : M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 130 :—"At the same time David, brother of the English queen Matilda, came to England to visit his sister. . . ." Cf. M.P., H.A., i, 201, s.a. 1105.

with his lips thy mouth, polluted with the corruption of lepers' feet.'

"Then she said smiling, 'Who knows not that the feet of the eternal King are to be preferred to a mortal king's lips? —I indeed have called thee, dearest brother, that thou mayest learn from my example to perform such things; take therefore the basin, and do as thou seest me do.'

"At this word I was greatly afraid, and replied that in no wise could I endure it. For not yet did I know the Lord, nor had his spirit been revealed to me. So she persisted in her task, and I, guilty one, laughing returned to my friends."

1102

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, P. 51.¹

Henry, king of the English, gave the queen's sister Mary in marriage to Eustace, count of Boulogne.²

¹ Cf. W. of M., H.N., ii, 579. Henry had previously offered Mary to William, earl of Mortain; Bk. of H., 306.

² "Because he was both sprung from noble ancestors, and also remarkable for prudence and bravery," W. of M., u.s.

PART IV

1107, Jan.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1107.¹

IN this year also died king Edgar, in Scotland, on the Ides of January; ² and Alexander his brother succeeded to the kingdom, as king Henry granted him.³

1107

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, EPISTOLA, IN TWYSDEN, COL. 367-368.

Edgar was a man sweet and lovable, like in all things to king Edward [the Confessor], his relative, employing no tyranny, no harshness, no greed against his people, but ruling his subjects with the greatest charity and benevolence.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, GESTA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 476.⁴

When Edgar succumbed to his destined fate, Henry allied to himself his successor, Alexander, giving him his illegitimate daughter in marriage.

¹ Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 213. R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii, 184. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 134; H.A., i, 208. A letter of Anselm to Alexander on his accession is in Migne, 159, ii, 466; H. & S., ii, 169-170.

² 13th January. It was the 6th of January according to Fl. of W., ii, 55; the 8th, according to S. of D., H.R., ii, 238; Hoved., i, 164; Chr. of Mch., 63. The Durham obituaries place Edgar's death on the 8th January, L.V.E.D., 140; the 9th, *ibid.*, 149.

³ "As king Henry granted him," not in Fl. of W., S. of D., Hoved. "By concession of king Henry," H. of H., 236.

O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 621 gives a confused account, omitting mention of Duncan:—"But Donald, brother of king Malcolm, usurped the kingdom, and for some time opposed [Edgar] cruelly. At last the vigorous youth was slain by his uncle. But Alexander, his brother, slew Donald and received the kingdom. And thus, as the avenger and successor of his brother, Alexander reigned for several years."

Alexander had been present in 1104 at Durham during the investigation into the condition of Cuthbert's remains: De Mir. et Transl. S. Cuthb., in S. of D., i, 258, 261. Cf. Fl. of W., ii, 53. S. of D., H.R., ii, 236. Hoved., i, 162.

Through support of Norman barons David forced Alexander to admit his claim to southern Scotland. A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 193;—*infra*, s.a. 1138.

⁴ Cf. O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 621:—"And [Alexander] took to wife a daughter of Henry, king of the English, by a concubine. And

Of her while she lived [Alexander] had no offspring, so far as I know; and when she died before him, he grieved not much for her. For the woman lacked (so it is said) what might have been desired of her, either in modesty of manners or in refinement of person.

1107

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 204.

In the eighth year of the episcopate of Ranulf [Flambard], who succeeded William [of St. Carilef],¹ at the request of Alexander, king of Scots, [Turgot] was chosen by Henry, king of the English, for the bishopric of the church of St. Andrew in Scotland, in which church is the seat of the primate of the whole Scottish nation.

But for a year and more his ordination was postponed, because of dissensions between the church of York and the church of St. Andrew of Scotland. For the former demands for herself

dying without children he passed the kingdom to his brother David." For Sibylla's death v. *infra*, 1122, July.

¹ For William of St. Carilef cf. *supra*, s.a. 1080, note.

Ranulf Flambard was appointed bishop of Durham in 1099, A.S.C., MS. E: 29th May, Fl. of W., ii, 44: S. of D., H.D.E., C.Pr., i, 141. He was consecrated on the 5th of June: S. of D., H.R., ii, 230: H.D.E., C.Pr., i, 135, 138. Turgot's appointment would therefore have been before 5th June, 1107. S. of D., *infra*, s.a. 1115, says that Turgot was bishop for 8 years 2 months and 10 days: and he died on the 31st August, 1115: if this is right, his consecration was upon the 21st June, 1107.

Because of Flambard's quarrel with Henry I (S. of D., *ut infra*, 138-139), "relying upon frail support he failed to recover the appanages of his diocese, to wit Carlisle and Teviotdale, which certain of the bishops had attached to their churches during his exile, while the church had no protector. Even the king himself through hatred of him had ordered the church's charter (which [Ranulf] had obtained from king William in confirmation to the church of its possessions) to be torn up and destroyed": S. of D., H.D.E., C.Pr., i, 139.

This failure to make good his claim to Teviotdale was after his restoration in the autumn of 1107: cf. *ibid.*, 138. Teviotdale is included in Thomas I's confirmation of the privileges of Durham, ? 1090, in Raine's York, iii, 19. Cf. also *infra*, 1109 × 1114, note. Carlisle had been absorbed by the diocese of York, Teviotdale by that of Glasgow.

S. of D., H.D.E., C.Pr., i, 140:—" [Ranulf Flambard] built a castle on the height of a jutting cliff, above the river Tweed," [in margin: "the castle of Norham,"] "by it to check inroads of robbers and invasions of the Scots. For there, as upon the boundary of the kingdoms of English and of Scots, raiders had formerly frequent opportunity for incursion, no fortress having been placed there to repel such attacks." This was in 1121, according to Hoved., i, 179.

Flambard died in 1128, A.S.C., MS. E: on the 5th September, S. of D., H.R., ii, 283.

as by a certain right the ordination and subjection of the primate of the Scots : but on the contrary the latter asserts that she owes nothing by any right of antiquity or custom.

1108

EDMER. HISTORIA NOVORUM, PP. 198-199.

Meanwhile ¹ a certain monk of Durham, named Turgot, was appointed by Alexander, king of Scotland, and by the clergy and the people to the bishopric of St. Andrews of Scotland.

And when his consecration was delayed more than was expedient,—both because Thomas, elected archbishop of the church of York, had not yet been consecrated,² and because of certain other reasons which it is tedious to relate.—Ranulf, bishop of Durham, proposed to consecrate the elected [of St. Andrews] at York, in the presence of this Thomas ; the bishops of Scotland and of the Orkney isles ³ assisting him.

But because he knew that this could not properly be done without the consent and authority of the bishop of Canterbury, he reported the matter to him by a certain knight, and requested that [Turgot] might be consecrated by his counsel and concession.

In answer [Anselm] wrote to him this letter :—

“ Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to Ranulf, bishop of Durham, greeting.

“ You have reported to me by a certain knight, Scotland by name, that you wished the bishop elect of the church of St. Andrews of Scotland to be consecrated, before the archbishop elect of York was consecrated : and that you wished this to be done by my counsel and by my concession.

“ But this neither ought to nor can canonically be done, either by that archbishop elect or by another through him, until he himself become archbishop by canonical consecration.

¹ The events previously recorded by Edmer are the erection of Ely to an episcopal see (*ibid.*, 195 : cf. Fl. of W., ii, 60, s.a. 1109 ; W. of M., G.P., 325-326 :) the appointment of Richard de Beaumais as bishop of London, on the 26th July, 1108 (Edm., 197-198 : cf. Fl. of W., ii, 59 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 240 :) and the appointment of Ralph of Seez as bishop of Rochester, on the 29th June, with his consecration on the 9th August, 1108. (Edm., 196-197, 198. His consecration is placed upon the 11th August by Fl. of W., ii, 59 ; S. of D., ii, 240.)

² Thomas II of York was elected in 1108 : A.S.C., MS. E ; Fl. of W., ii, 57 ; S. of D., H.R., ii, 239-240. He was not consecrated till 27th June, 1109 ; Fl. of W., *infra*. He died in 1114 ; *infra*.

For his character and pontificate cf. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., ii, 50-54.

³ This bishop of Orkney (so-called) must have been Roger, consecrated 1102 × 1108 ; v. *infra*, 1109 × 1114.

Wherefore I neither counsel nor concede it, indeed I forbid that it be done before the consecration of that archbishop elect; unless by me, if perchance necessity should demand it.

“Farewell.”¹

1108

FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, CHRONICON, VOL. II, PP. 59–60, S.A. 1109.²

Thomas [II], archbishop elect of the church of York, was consecrated by Richard, bishop of London, at London, on the fifth³ before the Kalends of July; and afterwards received from the cardinal Ulric, at York, the *pallium* which the pope [Paschal II] had sent to him, on Sunday, the Kalends of August.⁴

And upon the very same day he consecrated Turgot, prior

¹ In a letter Anselm commanded Thomas not to postpone longer but to appear at Canterbury on the 6th September to profess obedience and to receive consecration. “And if you do not this, it is my right to attend to and do the things which pertain to the episcopal office in the archbishopric of York. Moreover I have heard that before you are consecrated you wish to cause the bishop elect of St. Andrews of Scotland to be consecrated at York. But this you neither ought to do, nor do I permit it, but altogether forbid it to be done, either in his case or in the case of any other person who ought to be promoted to the rule of souls by the archbishop of York; because you have no right to give or to concede to any the care of souls which you have not yet received. Farewell.” (Edmer, 199.)

At the end of his letter in reply Thomas says:—“Of the bishop elect of St. Andrews of Scotland, what you have heard are rumours which ought not to be believed. That therefore may easily be forbidden, the performance of which has not been contemplated by me.” (Ibid., 200.)

² So S. of D., H.R., ii, 241. Cf. W. of M., G.P., 274. Chr. of Abps., in Raine’s York, ii, 371.

H.S., Abps. of Y., in Raine’s York, ii, 126:—“The archbishop, consecrated, returned to York, taking with him the cardinal who brought the *pallium*. They were received with fitting honour; and the archbishop after receiving the pall celebrated mass, and then in presence of the cardinal consecrated Turgot, who had been prior of the church of Durham, as bishop of St. Andrews of Scotland.

“And Fothach” [MS. *Eod hoc*, read *Fodhoch*] “his predecessor, because he had been ordained by the Scots, came by counsel and command of king Malcolm and queen Margaret to Thomas I to make amends and to be reconciled, and professed canonical subjection to the church of York, and to archbishop Thomas and his successors. And in York, at the command of the archbishop, he dedicated churches. And this perhaps I ought to have said when I treated of Thomas I.” Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1077, n.

For Fothach cf. Chr. of Abps., in Raine’s York, ii, 363; where his name is spelt *Foderoch*, for which read *Fodhoch*.

³ The 27th June. This was after Thomas had professed “subjection and canonical obedience” to the church of Canterbury; Edm., H.N., 210. Cf. W. of M., G.P., 262; H.S., Abps. of Y., in Raine’s York, ii, 124.

⁴ The 1st August. Fl. of W. has *in kal.*; S. of D., u.s., has *iii. kal.*, the 30th July.

of Durham, in the bishopric of St. Andrews, called Cenrimunt, in Scotland.¹

1109

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 204.

But that the church should no longer waver through lack of a shepherd, king Henry commanded, upon the request of [Alexander,] the king of Scots, that Thomas the younger, archbishop of York, should consecrate [Turgot] without any demand for subjection,² saving the authority of either church; so that afterwards a just conclusion should decide the controversy on either side, where, and when, and by whom the question should be examined into.

Thus consecrated, therefore, he came to Scotland; and when, through quarrels arising, he could not worthily perform the episcopal office, he resolved to go to Rome, and there to conduct his life by the counsel and judgment of the lord pope Paschal [II].

1113

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 247.³

In the year 1113 monks of Tiron came to England, ten years before the monks of Savigny came to England.

The monks of Tiron came to Selkirk in the land of David, king of Scotland: and there abode for fifteen years.

1114

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. H. S.A. 1114.⁴

In this year king Henry was in Windsor at Christmas. . . .

¹ A later form of the name was Kilrymont.

For evidence that about this time St. Andrews was a seaport for travellers from the north of England to the continent see Mir. S. J., Contin. *a*, in Raine's York, i. 308, 314, 315, 315-317; Vita Oswini, in Miscellanea Biographica, 45. For other evidence of intercourse between Scotland and England cf. W. K., Mir. S. J., u. s., 274-275, 287-291.

About the same time W. of M. writes of Wearmouth as being "in the remotest district, . . . close to Scotland"; G. R., i. 59.

² Nevertheless the Chr. of the Abps. of York claims that Turgot at his consecration professed subjection to York; in Raine's York, ii. 371. Cf. also H. S., infra, s. a. 1115, note.

³ This passage is written at the foot of the page: the first sentence under the second column, with a mark of reference to the date; the second sentence under the first column, with no such reference; Arnold, *ibid.*, note. See infra, s. a. 1128.

⁴ In Plummer, S. C., i. 244.

Also he gave the earldom of Northamptonshire to David, who was the queen's brother.¹

Thereafter died Thomas, the archbishop of York, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of March.²

1109 × 1114

HUGH SOTTEWAIN, ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK, IN RAINE'S YORK,
VOL. II, P. 127.³

This Thomas [II] ordained as bishop to the church of Glasgow a holy man, Michael, who gave written profession of

¹ Cf. the charters addressed to him and others by Henry I, in Chr. of Ramsey, 227; one 1115 × 1119, the other 1114 × 1118.

² The 17th of February. A.S.C., MS. E. gives no date. Fl. of W., ii, 67, says on the 24th February; so S. of D., H.R., ii, 248. H.S., Abps. of Y., says the 19th; Raine's York, ii, 128; so Chr. of Abps., *ibid.*, 372.

³ Cf. the prohibition, 1109 × 1114, of Thomas II of York, refusing to allow chrisam and oil to be given in Teviotdale except from the bishop of Durham, because it is "in the parish of the bishop of Durham"; in Raine's York, iii, 37; that is to say, denying that Teviotdale pertained to Glasgow. Cf. s.a. 1107, *supra*, note.

With the claim of York to superiority over Glasgow cf. the letter of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Calixtus II; in Raine's York, ii, 241:—"and indeed of the bishop of Glasgow it is to be related in short that he is a bishop of the ancient Britons, who the blessed father Gregory decreed should severally be subject to the bishop of Canterbury. And the bishop of this church to wit, according to the tradition of their elders, down to these times of the Normans used to be consecrated by the bishop either of the Scots or of the Welsh Britons."

Ibid., 246-247:—" [Thomas II] therefore ordained a certain Briton as bishop to the Glasgow church, which almost beyond memory had not had the solace of a bishop. And of this bishop it is to be known that, as has been said before, if he was bishop of the ancient Britons, according to the decrees of the blessed father Gregory he was the suffragan of the church of Canterbury.

"But if perchance because of the nearness of the provinces he ought to be regarded, although by change of place and people, as a bishop of the Picts, none the less is he subject to the church of Canterbury, inasmuch as he was appointed and created by archbishop Theodore, as Bede bears witness.

"Nevertheless, as is found in the records of those holy men, Columba, to wit, priest and abbot, who, as Bede relates, first preached Christ to the peoples of the Scots and Picts, before the arrival of St. Augustine in Britain, and the venerable bishop Kentigern, who first ruled the church of Glasgow, this was not a bishop of Whithorn whom Theodore appointed, but he was one of those ancient bishops of the peoples of Britain whom, as has often been said above, St. Gregory subjected severally to the church of Canterbury."

Kentigern is said to have been born about 516 at Culross, and to have died on the 13th January, 601; cf. Keith, *Sc. Bps.*, 231. The Ann. Cambr. appear to place his death in 612.

The next recorded occupation of the see is that of John, who was nominated by David, and consecrated by Paschal II, probably in 1117; H. & S., i, 14; *Inquisitio Davidis*, *ibid.*, ii, 18.

canonical obedience to the church of York and to archbishop Thomas and his successors.

He lived for some time with the archbishop, and by his command dedicated churches in our diocese, and made orders. He rests buried in the church of Morland, where by a happy end he departed to God.

Kinsi, archbishop of York,¹ had consecrated his predecessors Magsuea and John, as we have learned from truthful men who testified that they had seen it done. But because of hostile invasion and desolation and the barbarity of the land for long the church was without a pastor, until earl David (afterwards king of Scotland) appointed as bishop Michael aforesaid, and sent him over to be consecrated by archbishop Thomas.

And Thomas ordained as bishop of the Orkney isles Ralph,² a priest of the town of York, elected by the Orcadians in the church of St. Peter. His predecessors³ had been ordained by our archbishops:—Ralph,⁴ by Thomas I; and Roger,⁵ a monk of the monastery of Whitby, by Gerard.⁶

¹ Kinsi received the *pallium* in 1055: A.S.C., MS. D.: and died on the 21st December, 1060: A.S.C., MSS. D. E. Cf. supra, s.a. 1059.

Chr. of the Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 343-344:—" [Kinsi] ordained Magsuea " [Mac Suein ? in text, *Magsueum*] " as bishop of the church of Glasgow: likewise also he consecrated the successor of that Magsuea, John, elected to the same church. And he received from them documents of profession: but in the conflagration made by the Normans of the church of York these were burned, along with the ornaments and books and the privileges and other charters." St. Peter's Minster was burned down by the Normans before the Danes reached York in the northern rising against William I: v. A.S.C., MS. D. s.a. 1069.

² For Ralph Nowel v. infra, s.a. 1128.

Chr. of the Abps. of York, in Raine's York, ii, 372:—" Ralph also, a priest of the town of York, elected by the Orcadians in the church of St. Peter, the same Thomas [I] ordained as bishop of the Orkney isles. And [Ralph] made and gave him written profession, which thus begins:—' I, Ralph, of the holy Orcadian church,' etc."

³ For the earlier history of the see, ca. 1055, cf. Adam of Bremen, in M.G.H., SS., vii, 366:—" Moreover [Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen] appointed a certain Thurolf to the Orkneys. Thither also he sent John, ordained in Scotland, and one Adalbert, his namesake."

Ibid., 384:—" To the same Orkney islands, although formerly they were ruled by bishops of the English and the Scots, our primate by order of the pope ordained Thurolf as bishop in the city of Blascona, to direct the affairs of all."

⁴ For Ralph I cf. supra, s.a. 1077.

⁵ Cf. Chr. of Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 367:—" [Gerard] also ordained Ralph's successor Roger as bishop of the Orkneys, first having received from him profession, which thus begins:—' I, Roger, now to be ordained bishop of the holy Orcadian church,' etc." Cf. the letter of Anselm, in H. & S., ii, 167-168.

⁶ Gerard was archbishop of York 1102-1108: cf. W. of M., G.P., 259: A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1108: H.S., in Raine's York, ii, 110-111, where he is stated to have died on the 21st of May: Chr. of Abps., *ibid.*, ii, 365-366.

Cf. the letter of pope Paschal II, in Raine's York, iii, 22:—" Bishop

1115

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, p. 205. (*Continued from 1109.*)²

But quarrels increasing between him and the king prevented [Turgot] from carrying this into effect ;¹ and through distress of mind he fell into a melancholy.

And hence he received permission to stay for a while at Durham, because of his infirmity ; and on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul² he came to Wearmouth, where formerly he had received from Aldwin the monk's habit. And there he celebrated mass in the morning, as well as he could, and set out for St. Cuthbert :³ and taking to his bed there, was prepared for his decease by fevers, sometimes mild, sometimes violent,—and this for two months and four days.⁴

And when the hour of his decease arrived, while he was saying, as best he could, in prayer, "In peace was prepared his place and his habitation in Zion."⁵ and "praise ye the Lord in his sanctuary,"⁶ he expired in the hands of the brethren, on the second⁷ before the Kalends of April, the third day of the week, at the third hour, after completing the eighth year of his episcopate, two months and ten days : obtaining from God the reward which he had diligently asked, that he should render his soul near the sacred body of Cuthbert. And he was buried in the chapter-house. His body lies between the body

Paschal, servant of the servants of God, to his honourable brethren the suffragans throughout Scotland of the metropolis of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

"May your affection know that we by the grace of omnipotent God have promoted to the metropolis of York our venerable brother Gerard, formerly bishop of Hereford : and have by liberality of the apostolic see granted to him the *pallium* and the privilege. And therefore we instruct and command that you show him henceforth due obedience, as to your archbishop."

¹ I.e. his projected visit to Rome.

² 28th June.

³ I.e. for Durham.

⁴ H.S., in Raine's York, ii, 130:—" [Thurstan] went thither, . . . and found at Durham Turgot, bishop of St. Andrews of Scotland, lying in the sickness from which he did not recover. And [Turgot] rejoiced exceedingly in his journey and arrival, and gave himself into his hands, recognizing him as his father and metropolitan : and promising to obey him devotedly, if God should restore him to health."

⁵ Psalm LXXVI.

⁶ Psalm CL.

⁷ The 31st March. But clearly 31st August is meant, that date being "2 months and 4 days" from 28th June. His death is dated on the 31st of August by king Alexander I, *infra* : and the 31st August was a Tuesday in 1115.

of bishop Walcher to the south, and that of bishop William to the north.

And he died in the year from the Lord's incarnation 1115.¹

1115

EDMER, HISTORIA NOVORUM, P. 236.

At this same time ² Alexander, king of Scots, sent this letter to archbishop Ralph : ³

“ To his dearest lord and father Ralph, venerable archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander, by God's mercy king of the Scots, greeting and the obeisance of devoted faithfulness.

“ We inform you, kindest father, that the bishop of the church of St. Andrew the apostle, master Turgot, on the second ⁴ before the Kalends of September departed from the world. Wherefore we are greatly afflicted by the loss of so great consolation.

“ We request therefore your Fatherliness's counsel and aid, even as we trust in you, that with God's help we may be able to substitute such a one as may know how profitably to rule and to teach us and our nation by a life pleasing to God.

“ We ask also that you may deign to remember what already on one occasion we mentioned to you concerning the bishops of the church of St. Andrews, that in ancient times they used not to be consecrated except either by the Roman pontiff himself, or by the archbishop of Canterbury. And this we have adhered to, and have established by authority through successive terms of office, until lord archbishop Lanfranc, by what agreement we know not, in the absence of us and ours for a time passed it on to Thomas, archbishop of York. But this we by no means permit to continue thus any longer, being supported, if it please you, by your authority.

“ Now therefore, if we are to hope for your assistance, which with most humble prayers we desire and ask, in restoring this to us and to our church, see that you send back in your esteemed letters sure information secretly.

“ Farewell.”

¹ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii. 249, s.a. 1115.

² This passage follows the consecration in Westminster abbey of Bernard, bishop of St. Davids, on the 19th September, 1115. (Ibid., 235-236.)

³ Ralph of Secz, archbishop of Canterbury, 1114-1122.

⁴ 31st August, 1115.

1119

LETTER OF POPE CALIXTUS II TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND,
IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 40-41.¹

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to all the bishops throughout Scotland, suffragans of the church of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

A certain grave and perilous presumption is said to prevail in your parts, to wit that, without consulting your metropolitan and other fellow-bishops, one is consecrated as bishop by another. But concerning this undoubted presumption pay heed diligently to what the great Nicene synod has determined, in its fourth chapter. . . .

Therefore by apostolic authority we command you that none be consecrated henceforth as bishop in your churches except by your metropolitan the archbishop of York, or by his permission.

Moreover we instruct and command your fraternity that setting every pretext aside you offer canonical obedience to our venerable brother Thurstan, consecrated archbishop of York by God's grace, and as if by the hands of St. Peter; even as in the time of Gerard, archbishop of the same church, was commanded by the lord of holy memory our predecessor, pope Paschal.

And if you obey our commands may the divine mercy keep you, and lead you to eternal life.

¹ Cf. Calixtus's letter of the same date given by H.S., *Abps. of Yk.*, in Raine's *York*, ii. 167-168:—" *Letters of the same pope to all the bishops of Scotland, subject to the metropolitan church of York* :

" Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren Ranulf [Flambard] of Durham, Ralph [Nowel] of Orkney, [John] of Glasgow, and all the bishops throughout Scotland, suffragans of the church of York, greeting and apostolic benediction. . . .

" We therefore command your Fraternity by authority of the present letters that you be very diligently heedful to love and honour our brother Thurstan aforesaid as your metropolitan, and to show him henceforth due obedience and honour, setting every pretext aside.

" Given at Beauvais on the twelfth before the kalends of December."

Contrast with this claim the letter of Alexander, *supra*, s.a. 1115; and compare G. of M., H.Br., IV, 19; R. de D., *Abbr. Chr.*, i, 66; a copyist of W. of M., in G.P., p. xxvi; the declaration of Thomas to Lanfranc, W. of M., G.P., 43.

For the compact made between the two archbishops v. H. & S., ii. 159:—" And the metropolitan of Canterbury has granted to the archbishop of York and his successors to possess for ever the subjection of the bishop of Durham, that is, of Lindisfarne; and of all districts from the boundaries of the bishop of Lichfield and that of the great river Humber even to the farthest borders of Scotland; and whatever on the other side of the aforesaid river rightly pertains to the territory of the church of York."

In support of the Canterbury claim to the subjection of the Scottish

Given at Beauvais, the twelfth¹ before the Kalends of December.

1120

EDMER, HISTORIA NOVIORUM, PP. 279-285.

In the same year in which Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, returned from foreign parts to England, (it was the 1120th year from the incarnation of the word of God,) came to him certain honourable and vigorous men sent by Alexander, king of Scots. Of these, one was a monk and prior of the church of Dunfermline, Peter by name; two were priests, and one was a knight. And he who cares to know the business of their embassy, let him run through, reading or hearing, the following letter which they brought:

“ Alexander, by God’s grace king of Scots, to Ralph archbishop of Canterbury, reverend and with reverence to be beloved, greeting.

“ Hearing sure tidings of your prosperous arrival in England, long desired by me, I rejoice with you over your safety and prosperity, and return thanks therefor to the highest Protector. While occupation on all sides with temporal cares prevents me from travelling so as to be able at present to enjoy your presence, I wish to declare to your Goodness the affection of my mind, both by description in a letter and by relation of messengers. For, supported by the advice of a person of so great prudence, I do not doubt that I shall be able, with God’s favour, excellently to carry through a good purpose to the performance of a good work.

“ I will not then conceal from your Excellency that the church of St. Andrew which is in my kingdom has for long lacked pastoral care, and that I wish to comfort its longings, by the providence of God and of your grace, with a suitable pastor. Wherefore I beg the clemency of your mercy, that

bishops cf. the Letter of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Calixtus II; in Raine’s York, ii, 234-235, 240. Cf. supra, 1109 × 1114, note. Extracts from this letter are in H. & S., ii, 193-195.

Thurstan had succeeded to the archbishopric of York in 1114; A.S.C., MSS. E, H: 15th August, Fl. of W., ii, 67. He was consecrated in 1119, A.S.C., MS. E; J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 73. He died in 1140, Feb. 5, J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 123; Feb. 6, S. of D., H.R., ii, 305; having become a monk on the 21st January, according to J. of W., u.s.

For the relations between the popes and Thurstan cf. letters to him from Calixtus II, *infra*, s.a. ? 1122; from Innocent II, in Raine’s York, iii, 63-64, and *infra*, s.a. ? 1134; and *ibid.*, iii, 266, s.a. 1136; from Honorius II, *ibid.*, 47-48, 49, s.a. 1125.

¹ 20th November.

you grant me in freedom a certain person commended to me by very many; namely the monk Edmer, if he seem to you worthy to be enthroned in episcopal rank. For I tremble lest I have grievously offended the highest Shepherd, by allowing his flock (through my negligence; and perhaps encumbered with other charges) to be so long desolate for lack of a pastor, and in many ways to be turned aside from the path of truth; I also shrink with filial fear from offending him further in this matter, and repair to the fount of your prudence, that you, being mindful of the love which has mutually existed between us, may defend me, your son, long since spiritually adopted by you with paternal affection, with the protection of your counsel in this matter.

“Farewell.”

Father Ralph marvelled over this, and thought that this word was gone out from God: especially because it was perfectly well known that this brother had neither in his own person nor through any man applied at all to anyone in this matter. And although father Ralph was ill pleased to have him absent, (for Edmer was wont to be zealous in his service, as he had been in that of his blessed predecessor Anselm,) yet he was loth not to give assent to the king's request, lest he should seem to oppose God's decree.

Since therefore he had received these ambassadors, who were on their lord's account upon their way for the same purpose and for others to the king of the English, [Ralph] and the convent of the brethren of Canterbury sent this letter by their hands to the king:

“To Henry, king of the English, his dear lord, and to be esteemed with highest honour, father Ralph, unworthy bishop of the holy church of Canterbury, and the whole convent of that church, greeting and prayers, and faithful obeisance.

“We make it known to your sublime Goodness and honourable Highness that Alexander, king of Scots, with consent of the clergy and people of his realm, has sent his ambassadors to us, and besought of our church counsel of pastoral care for the needs of the church of St. Andrew. Considering therefore their just request, and regarding both the honour due to the fear of God, and the advantage of holy mother church, we have given devout assent to their praiseworthy desires. We have therefore granted, according to their request, a person of our church named by them, master Edmer, whom we know to have been trained from boyhood

in church discipline, and to be fittingly adorned with holy customs, and altogether worthy of episcopal office. And we beg of your venerable Excellency with humble hearts that by your Highness's devout will and authority both their request (a worthy one before God) and the concession of our humility in a matter so necessary to the church of God may be approved.

“May almighty God deign to preserve your Highness in safety for long time, for his honour and the defence of his church; and after your temporal reign to honour you with the rank of an eternal kingdom. Amen.”

The king's answer to this :

“Henry, king of the English, to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting.

“I will and permit that thou grant in freedom to the king of Scotland the monk concerning whom he has besought thee, after the custom of his land, in the bishopric of St. Andrews.

“Witness Evera[r]d of Cabie, at Rouen.”

After this, father Ralph sent that brother, as he thought behooved him, to the king of Scotland, writing to the king in this wise :

“To his dear lord and intimate friend, Alexander, by God's grace king of the Scots, brother Ralph, unworthy minister of the church of Canterbury, greeting; and, with prayers, faithful services to the extent of his power.

“We give unnumbered thanks to God, who has dispelled the mists and opened the eyes of your mind to know and to seek that which was your duty. And none the less thanks to you all, in that you have by your righteous requests rendered us the most friendly to you of your friends, and of your intimates the most intimate and the closest. For although in these requests you seek to tear from our body as it were an eye or a right hand, yet I have to praise your just desire, and comply with it, God granting, in so far as I can. Willingly, indeed,—and, if it may be said without offence to God or to you, unwillingly,—I concede to your good desire: willingly, because I dare not oppose God's will, which I see present and auspicious in this transaction, nor to embitter your heart against us; but unwillingly, because in my weakness and age, left as it were alone, I am deprived both of the consolation and persistent support of a father and of the counsel and aid of a wise son. A wise man's counsel! Would that you did not despoil us of it! But seeing that you do despoil us, would that you may endeavour that your country

be ruled, in the things which pertain to God, by the counsel of so great a man; one so renowned, so useful to the church of God in his life and customs; trained from his boyhood both in divine writings and, if need were, in secular writings also. If another from distant parts were to ask what you are asking, know this for certain, that I would not suffer to be taken from us the treasure of our heart; but to you there is nothing, God willing, that we would refuse.

"We send to you therefore the person whom you ask, and altogether in freedom, that he may learn more surely from you whether your request is directed toward the honour of God and of the holy mother, the church of Canterbury. Consider carefully therefore and advisedly what you do, for there are many who would gladly disturb his consecration, and by disturbing it, if they could, bring it to naught. Therefore our advice would be that so soon as possible he should be sent back to us for consecration, lest by delay what we fear should intervene, or what we should like ill.

"The convent of the brethren of our church salute you; truly your subjects, and altogether ready for your service. And we ask this in common, that you so treat our brethren who are in your realm that God may be grateful to you for it, and we. Almighty God keep you and your spouse, and defend you from all evil. Amen."

The brother came therefore to Scotland, and presently, on the third day of his arrival, (the day which was that of the festival of the most glorious apostles Peter and Paul,¹) received the episcopate of the apostle St. Andrew of Kilrymont: the clergy and the people of the land electing him, and the king consenting.

And this affair was, by God's dispensation, so performed that [Edmer] neither was invested by the king with the pastoral staff or ring, nor did he do the king homage. And so the day was kept with rejoicing, and was joyously spent in the praise of God.

But on the morrow the king discussed more secretly with the bishop elect concerning his consecration, and in every way abhorred his being consecrated by the [arch]bishop of York; and when upon [Edmer's] showing he heard that from old time the authority of the church of Canterbury was over the whole of Britain,² and that therefore [the king] so deciding

¹ 29th June.

² Even S. of D., H.R., ii. 250, changes Bede's phrase "all the church of the English" (H.E., IV, 2; i. 204) into "all the bishops of Britain."

[Edmer] wished to ask the episcopal benediction of Canterbury, [the king] was disturbed in his mind, and rising departed from him. For he would not that the church of Canterbury should be placed before the church of St. Andrew of Scotland.

He therefore called William, a monk of St. Edmund's, (who after Turgot had been set over this bishopric, and had almost drained it,) and instructed him to remain as he used to be in the bishopric, plundering the newly invested bishop.

A whole month had passed after this, and such lands of the bishopric as remained had been wholly drained [of revenue] when according to the wish of the princes of the realm king Alexander met with the bishop elect and with difficulty obtained from him that, because [the king] was planning to lead an army against his enemies, [Edmer] should receive the pastoral staff from off the altar, as if from the hand of God, that so he might apply himself thenceforth in so far as he could to the care of all souls in the whole realm. After this [Edmer] came to the church of St. Andrew; and there the queen met him, and he was received by the scholars and by the people, and succeeded to the office of bishop.

Meanwhile Thurstan [archbishop] of York delayed thus long in foreign parts, and exerted himself manfully in his affair above-mentioned; and incited the English king even to this, that once in writing he commanded the [arch]bishop of Canterbury, and the king of Scots three times, that neither should the former consecrate the elect of St. Andrews, nor should the latter by any reason permit him to be consecrated. And this thing wounded the feelings of many and set them at variance, and in no small degree disabled the bishop elect from applying himself in the capacity of bishop to the correction of Christians. Therefore those were encouraged who were minded to obey their own pleasures rather than the commands of God; and the correction which they dreaded of their customs they now mocked fearlessly.

To be brief, the king himself became alarmed by the English king's commands, and began thenceforward to have the man in less honour in his presence, and gradually to reduce his [revenues.] And [Edmer] observed this, and most surely knowing that he could effect but little for God in his realm if [the king] were opposed to him proposed to go to Canterbury, and seek thence counsel as to what best he should do in such a case.

But when he made this known to the king, [the king] said that [Edmer] had been wholly released from the church of

Canterbury, and had no part in her at all ; and that he would never in his life consent that a Scottish bishop should be subject to the [arch]bishop of Canterbury. And when [Edmer] replied that not for the whole of Scotland would he deny that he was a monk of Canterbury, the king's spirit was disturbed, and he said, " We have done nothing in seeking for ourselves a bishop from Canterbury."

Overcome therefore thenceforward by rancour of mind the king began to distress this man in many ways, to harass him with many wrongs, privately and publicly ; to despoil him of the rank and revenue of episcopal possessions. He could not look straight upon him, nor hear with patience his words, even if they were inspired by God. And this matter could not be hid from the people. Thus many rumours arose, embittering the two sides one against the other.

The bishop elect observed this, and considering that his existence (as we have previously mentioned) under such circumstances was of no use, sent word to the king by intermediaries as follows : " Since I see that thou art not, as were for my benefit, favourably disposed towards me,—and I know not how it is that I have deserved it :—and since it is certain that I shall not effect much in thy kingdom under thy displeasure in the correction of Christians, I ask that thou permit me to go to Canterbury, attended by thy favour, in order that I may both ask there counsel as to what I should do and receive there episcopal benediction, for the honour of God and the exaltation of the kingdom of Scots."

This was not pleasing to [the king's] mind ; and he asserted that he would by no means give his assent, protesting that the kingdom of Scotland owed no subjection to the church of Canterbury, and that [Edmer] himself had been made wholly independent of that church when he was given to him. And when [Edmer] answered him that hitherto he had not known this, especially as the letter sent for him by the archbishop to [the king] contained among other things that [the archbishop] had sent him to Scotland for this purpose, to learn whether the king's request which he had made in choosing him was directed toward the honour of God and of the holy mother, that is to say the church of Canterbury,—not in order that the [archbishop] might resign through him, his foster-son, the rank held by that church unshaken for now five hundred years ;—the king was very wroth, and swore that he could not enter into new pleas every day in this matter.

Thereupon Edmer called into consultation with him John, bishop of Glasgow, and two monks of Canterbury whom he had with him at the time : and asked of them what they decided he should best do in such an affair.¹ Then they went to the king and learning more fully the attitude of his mind toward the man they enjoined this upon [Edmer.] as though the conclusion of their counsel sprang not from [the king,] but solely from themselves :—

“ If thou wishest, as a son of peace, to live in peace, seek it elsewhere : here, so long as this [king] reigns, there will be no communion between peace and thee. We know the man. He wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone, and will not endure that any authority have the least power in any matter, without his control. Now he is inflamed against thee and knows not why ; never will he be fully reconciled with thee, even if he should see wherefore. And therefore know that thou must either leave all, or lead thy life in dishonour continually among the Scots, following their usages, contrary to the safety of thy soul. But if thou prefer to depart, thou art compelled to restore to him both the ring which thou didst receive from his hand, and the staff which thou didst take from off the altar. Otherwise, except thou art able to fly over it, thou shalt not escape from his land.”

In reply to this how much was said, how much contested on either side, I am reluctant to write, and turn to other things.

But after all this the bishop elect himself, considering the manner in which everything in connection with him had been done,—namely how he had received the ring from the king’s hand, how he had been invested in the bishopric, how he had taken the staff from off the altar,—answered thus in brief :—

“ The ring which I received from his hand I will gladly restore, inasmuch as I have received none of the authority which is betokened by it,—for it was given by a layman, to whom such power in no way belongs :—but the staff which I took from off the altar in presence of two bishops I will place where I received it, and commend it to be disposed of by the dispensation of Jesus Christ. And I consent, because force is used against me, to resign the whole episcopate upon the understanding that I shall not reclaim it in the time of king

¹ Cf. the remarkable letter of advice written in 1120 to Edmer in Scotland by Nicholas, prior of Worcester, a monk of Canterbury : in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 234–236 : H. & S., ii, 202–204.

Alexander, unless the [arch]bishop and convent of Canterbury and the king of the English give me other counsel regarding it."

1121

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 259, S.A. 1121.¹

Edmer, monk of the church of Canterbury, the previous year elected to the bishopric of the church of St. Andrew of the nation of the Scots, gave up his purpose of ruling the bishopric, and returned to his own place.

1121

EDMER, HISTORIA NOVORUM, PP. 285-288. (*Continued.*)

Under these circumstances they parted in peace: and Edmer came to Canterbury, and was joyfully received by the [arch]bishop and by his brethren. For he was beloved by all; and as they had been saddened by his absence, so in his presence they were made exceeding joyful.

But the king sent by his envoy one letter in accusation of him to the archbishop, of the following content:—

"Alexander, by God's grace king of the Scots, to Ralph, reverend archbishop of Canterbury, ever to live in Him who is life.

"To your immeasurable goodness in yielding to my request, and sending to me a person to be raised to the bishopric of St. Andrews, the friendly and, as is right, submissive affection of my mind returns unnumbered thanks.

"But the person when placed in the bishopric would not yield to the customs of the land and the manners of the folk, as affairs and occasion demanded, and as would have been right and necessary. And at last this person besought of me, in the presence of certain bishops and earls and good men of my land, that I would grant him permission to retire, and freedom from the allegiance which he had made to me: since on no account would he remain, unless I detained him in captivity. Hearing this I answered him in these words, that if he could show that any wrongs had been inflicted upon him by me, in word or in deed, or that I had failed in any of the things which I ought to have done for him, I was most willingly ready, for love of God and for my own honour,

¹ So Hoved., i. 178.

to improve. He replied to this in presence of all who stood by, that I had put no wrongs upon him, either in word or in deed, and that I had never failed to do anything which I ought to have done for him. Besides this, I myself and the bishops and earls and the other good men of my land there present, offered, with great friendliness, respectful obedience in everything that was right; and reminded him with strong exhortation that it was not necessary for him to leave his office for lack of honourable display of respect; and we earnestly asked that he would remain until I had informed the king of England and you, that I might have the benefit of counsel from both. After listening to this he answered me that he would on no account remain, unless I kept him in captivity. For he knew that he was neither profitable nor suitable in the control of the bishopric, and he saw that if he remained loss threatened his soul and the souls of others. At last by common counsel I refused to keep him by force, and agreed, though reluctantly, to his request; and he gave up the bishopric, and confirmed with a kiss the bond of friendship between me and him. And this is the truth of the case, which I have wished to declare to you in writing, so that, if anything else might reach your ears, you should not believe it.

“Lastly may your Goodness know that I wish, as a faithful friend, to be wholly submissive to you, and desire to be subject to your counsel and your affection. And I earnestly request you to show honour to master Edmer.

“Farewell.”

Now whether in this the king reported to so great a father things true, sophistical or false, will not escape the discernment of Him who in his own time will reveal the counsels, inventions and deceits of each one, to repay each according to his deeds.

But father Ralph wrote in reply this letter:—

“To Alexander, illustrious king of the Scots, brother Ralph, unworthy minister of the holy church of Canterbury, so to reign in his earthly kingdom as to be able to reign with Christ in heaven.

“The thanks which we can, venerable lord, we return to your Highness for the gift of love and honour which we discern, from the report brought by your envoys and letters, you entertain towards our littleness. And in this you shall always have, to the extent of our ability, our affection: and know surely that if anything in our life (God bestowing) is

found to be of use, it is yours. We also of our good will pay you thanks for the reception of our dearest son Edmer, your bishop elect, whom, sent to you by your request, you have treated honourably. And him we too have worshipfully received, as befits so great a personage, on his return to our country; and have rejoiced in no small degree over his arrival.

“And when afterwards speech was interchanged more privately between us we heard that he thought of some things differently from the sense of your letter (which we had heard before,) and that he did not wholly give his assent to everything that we had previously heard. Now therefore, since in your letters we have heard one thing and have heard another thing from the brother himself, it is our purpose to keep this our son beside us until, by God’s guidance, you come to England; unless perchance before then you announce to us anything else which we should do. And when, God granting, we shall be able to speak with you in person, and to hear the state of matters on both sides, if the life and teaching of this our friend seems to be of use to you and to your land, after obedience has been enjoined upon him to the place of his election, if you wish to receive him, he can return. But if something else be pleasing in your sight, we will keep him with great joy, he being as a man of manifold training in the word of God, and fitted for every good work; and thus having good hope in God’s mercy we shall have profit in his return.

“May your affection be ever strong in the Lord.”

So much then of these things.

1122

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 264. S.A.
1122.

Archbishop Thurstan¹ demanded of John, bishop of Glasgow,² profession and subjection: and when he refused to do this, suspended him from the episcopal office.

[John] immediately set out for Rome: and when he saw that he did not prosper there in his cause proceeded to Jeru-

¹ For Thurstan cf. supra, s.a. 1119, note.

H.S., Abps. of Y., in Raine’s York, ii, 208:—“And our [archbishop] complained not at all to the king that the [supporters of Canterbury] had opposed him as much as they could, when he accused the bishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Scotland of having withdrawn themselves from the church of York; [an act] which was opposed to the dignity of the king of England.”

² Cf. supra, 1109 × 1114, note.

salem and there stayed for some months, graciously entertained by the patriarch, whose place he very often took in the episcopal duties.

1122, Jan.

POPE CALIXTUS II TO JOHN, BISHOP OF GLASGOW ; IN RAINE'S YORK. VOL. III, P. 44.

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother John, bishop of Glasgow, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Thou wert consecrated as bishop by the lord of holy memory our predecessor, by request of the church of York. And whereas thou oughtest humbly to have acknowledged this benignity, thou hast, as we learn, been so uplifted with pride that thou hast refused to offer profession to thy metropolitan, the archbishop of York, even in spite of our command.

Know surely that we cannot longer endure continuance in this contumely : wherefore with repeated command we order thee as a not ungrateful son to recognize thy mother, the church of York, in whose chapter thou wert elected as her suffragan ; and to offer profession to our venerable brother Thurstan, thy metropolitan.

Otherwise by authority of the Lord we ratify the sentence which with canonical right he has pronounced against thee.

Given at Tarentum, the eighteenth¹ before the Kalends of February.

1122, Jan.

POPE CALIXTUS II TO ALEXANDER I OF SCOTLAND ; IN RAINE'S YORK. VOL. III, P. 45.

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious and glorious king of Scots, Alexander, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Because of the presumption of the bishops who are in thy realm, and in the cause of our venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, we have already sent thee other letters : but in no point, in so far as we have learned, have we been obeyed by thee hitherto.

Wherefore we exhort thy Nobility in the Lord by the visitation of the present letters, and command that thou by no means permit the bishops of thy realm to consecrate one

¹ 15th January.

another without permission of the metropolitan. But when the circumstance of the churches requires, let the bishops elect go reverently to thy metropolitan, to wit the archbishop of York, and receive consecration either by his hand, or, if need compels, by his permission.

And indeed by apostolic authority we command both them and thee thyself to obey the archbishop as father and teacher.

Given at Tarentum, the eighteenth¹ before the Kalends of February.

1122, Jan.

POPE CALIXTUS II TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND: IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 45-46.

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved brothers in Christ, all the bishops throughout Scotland, suffragans of the church of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We remember that we exhorted you all long ago in our letters to yield honour and obedience to our venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York: but, as we have been informed, you have till now neglected to do so.

Therefore we repeat to you the injunction of the apostolic see and command you to lay aside all pretext and dissimulation and to recognize our brother aforesaid, archbishop of the church of York, as your metropolitan appointed over you, and to show him honour and obedience.

Moreover let the elected of the churches go to him to receive consecration as to their metropolitan. And let not one presume to consecrate another without [the metropolitan's] permission: his consecration also shall be void, and we shall not be able to forego doing canonical justice concerning it, God supporting us.

Given at Pisa, the eighteenth² before the Kalends of February.

? 1122, May.

POPE CALIXTUS II TO THURSTAN OF YORK: IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 46-47.

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

¹ 15th January.

² 15th January.

Our brother John, bishop of Glasgow, about whom you have written, has come to us and laboured by great persistence in prayers and in several other ways that we should free him from the exhibition of that profession which thou demandest of him. But we, both wishing to preserve to the church of York her dignity and recalling to memory thy affection, have not granted assent to that father's prayers, neither to his words nor to his promises. Therefore he has set out for Jerusalem, as has been told us by others, and departed from the city without our permission or knowledge. What he will do we know not.

Do thou therefore, dearest brother, so study to love thy mother, the Roman church, and to visit her with thy messengers: and so also be mindful of our affection, that thou mayest ever be more worthy of, and ever have, the favour of apostolic good-will.

Given at the Lateran, the seventeenth ¹ before the Kalends of June.

1122, July.

SYMEON OF DURHAM. HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 265.

Sibylla, queen of Scots, daughter of King Henry, departed by sudden death on the fourth ² before the Ides of July.

† 1122, Aug.

POPE CALIXTUS II TO JOHN OF GLASGOW; IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III. P. 47.

Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to John, bishop of Glasgow, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Moved by many prayers of our beloved son Alexander, king of Scots, we have given thee respite for some time for thy return, within the term of the day appointed, with due humility to obedience to our venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York.

And as we have learned by the immediate information of his letters, thou hast presumed to withdraw thyself from obedience and subjection to him; and therefore we command thee to return to subjection and obedience to the archbishop aforesaid, within thirty days after the receipt of these letters. Otherwise we confirm the sentence which has been pronounced by him upon thee.

¹ 16th May,

² 12th July.

Given at the Lateran, the seventh ¹ before the Kalends of September.

1122

EDMER, HISTORIA NOVORUM, PP. 298-302.

During these varied circumstances ² the above-named bishop of Scotland [Edmer] lived on at Canterbury, as he used formerly to do before he had been chosen for the bishopric ; not readily forsaking the assembly of the brethren, but conducting himself after the manner of the others in all things. In the above matters passed a whole year and a half.

There came to Canterbury meanwhile various bishops and abbots, and all the prelates who had formerly known the man from dwelling with father Anselm, and made inquiry concerning his affair. And learning the manner of the case, they with one accord declared that, according to the ordinances of the canons, he could in no way without condemnation resign a church the authority over which he had received by canonical election, although he had not been consecrated : thus arguing that election stood higher in some sort than consecration. He therefore followed the advice given by them and by some others, being also incited by the example of his blessed father Anselm, whose blessed way of life had formerly been his guide in many things, and who had once been driven from England even as he from Scotland, for a like cause, in a similar manner, as has been mentioned long before : ³—and wrote and sent to the king of Scots a letter which, behold, we write below :—

“ To Alexander, illustrious king of Scots, Edmer, formerly bishop elect of Scotland, eternal health in Christ, and faithful service.

“ For the good will which your Excellence at one time deigned to show that you had towards me, the thanks which I can, most worthy lord, I render to you. And indeed I am not ignorant that it was of your kindness and not for merits of mine that you passed over innumerable men adorned with both uprightness of life and the dignity of knowledge and wisdom, and chose me for the bishopric, and wished me to rule over your kingdom in the things which are God's. May almighty God give you for such good will the recompense which good will deserves in his sight. And this my soul prays for and desires every day.

¹ 26th August.

² Affairs of 1120 to 1121, October.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, 79.

“ But that the affair has turned out differently from what was the course of our common purpose must be ascribed. I doubt not, to God’s dispensation, which no one can penetrate or escape. What I have learnt, however, upon my departure from the bishopric I would make known to your sacred confidence, if the opportunity were given me of speaking more privately with you. For though in the body I departed from you, yet know surely that I will not, with God’s help, violate the allegiance which I owe to you. And hence I shall faithfully seek your honour and the honour of your kingdom, if you despise not, in every way I can,—be He witness, who truly and alone surveys my conscience. And I say not this because I greatly desired to be bishop in your kingdom, but because I would that the dignity of your land be increased rather than diminished.

“ Moreover may your Beatitude know that all who hear how I was chosen, received and installed in the bishopric, and how I was put in the place of the bishop, with one voice declare that neither can I rightfully resign the bishopric, nor can another while I live, according to the law of the Lord, be put in my place. For neither can a man legally give up his wife or a wife her husband, in order to marry another. But perhaps you say, ‘Thou hast resigned it.’ I did resign it: but (may I say it with your peace) under the influence of force which I was unable to oppose. For seeing that constant discord and endless hostilities were directed against me on your behalf by those whom I knew to be your friends unless I wholly abandoned the bishopric, and seeing that your conduct towards me agreed therewith, and the confiscation by which you despoiled me, without law or justice, of necessity I resigned what was taken from me and I could not keep.

“ But to treat of these things in the short space of a letter is not conveniently practicable. Wherefore I pass them over; and in brief,—if you allow it with your peace, and wish, as is becoming to your royal Highness, to assist my return to you with honour to complete in your land God’s service and yours, according to God’s will,—I suggest that I shall endeavour to undertake the journey and in all things to obey your will, unless (which God forbid) it seem to oppose the will of God.

“ But if you will not at all agree to this, I can do no more: to God I commit his church’s cause: let him see, let him dispose, let him assign to each in this his affair what each deserves. I have freed, as I think, my soul; I have laid

my case where I ought, before him, prepared in all things to follow his will.

“Lest you think, however, that I wish to detract in anything from the freedom or the dignity of the realm of Scots, I wish you to be satisfied that what you asked of me, and what I then refused to agree to, thinking otherwise than than as I ought to have thought, according to what I have since learned, regarding the king, that is, of the English, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the episcopal benediction: if you still continue in your opinion, you shall no longer have my refusal; nor shall these things sunder me in any way from the service of God or from love to you, by my not doing what you wish. Those things only which belong to the right of the bishop of St. Andrews be it permitted me to administer, with your good will and devout support.

“I had brought this ere now to your knowledge; but because the report ran everywhere, all doubt being laid aside, that you were coming to England at one time, or at another time, or this time certainly, I delayed writing that which I chose rather to declare to you in a private interview.

“Whether you accept this, or discard it for loftier counsel, I for my part have acted with simple and pure conscience, He seeing and surveying everything who knows with impartial rule what to render to each one. Since therefore in his hands are the hearts even of all kings, with my inmost heart I pray him by his grace to turn your heart and actions to himself, so that both his church which sojourns in your land may progress from day to day with your help in the holy way of life, and your soul may receive accordingly the reward of eternal bliss after this life, glorious lord and worthiest son of the holy church of God. Amen.

“What pleases your Sanctity in these matters I humbly crave you to inform me, your vassal, in your letters.

“Farewell, good and holy lord.”

Archbishop Ralph also and the brethren of the church of Canterbury sent in those days a letter to the king, containing (with other things) the following:—

“To the glorious king of Scots, Alexander, Ralph, unworthy minister of the holy church of Canterbury, and the convent of the brethren serving in that church Christ the Lord, to rule on earth through Him whom all the heavenly host obeys.

“Your Wisdom knows, dearest lord, how great a time the episcopal see which is held to be the greatest in your

land has lacked its shepherd ; and without doubt as greatly as it has been despoiled of its vigour, by so much worse will result thereby the downfall of its subjects. And hence we exhort your noble Energy (which God's favour has till now so honoured among other kings, free from outstanding blame, that it is by all held to be worthy of praise,) that you put an end to so great a loss to religion, and of your good will recall to his see the pastor whom you have canonically elected and we have legally sent to you. And since no fault is apparent either in you or in him whereby this may not worthily be done, we understand not how, by authority of the fathers, your church referred to can, in his lifetime, appoint another bishop : for a godly spouse spurns all but her lawful husband, while hers lives, lest she become adulterous. Wherefore for whatsoever reason this has been delayed till now, for the sake of your glory recall to the first degree of your affection and to the office laid upon him a man who is, as we hope, of use to you, and who has been nobly trained from his boyhood in the law of God.

“The God of peace and of love, from whom every good counsel comes forth, be with you always.

“What you think of that which we enjoin upon you, we pray you have it written to us in reply. May affection for you flourish with the lady the queen your wife, and with all who love you and desire the things which are right, glorious lord and honourable son of holy mother church. Amen.”¹

1123

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 269, S.A.
1123.

Meanwhile² John, bishop of Glasgow, was recalled by the pope from Jerusalem to Rome, and instructed to return to his bishopric.³

¹ Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, died the same year, 1122, on the 20th October ; Edmer. 302 (on the 19th September, according to S. of D., ii, 267.)

² I.e., during the dispute between York and Canterbury, when both archbishops went to Rome immediately after the consecration of William of Corboil in Canterbury, 25th February, 1123. *ibid.* : 16th Feb., J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 77.

³ John of Glasgow (erroneously called “John, bishop of Lothian”) went with John of Crema and the archbishops from London to Rome “soon after” the 29th September, 1125 : A.S.C., MS. E : Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 219. Cf. H.S., Abps. of Y., in Raine's York, ii, 210.

1124, April.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. E, S.A. 1124.

And thereafter died king Alexander of Scotland, on the ninth day ¹ before the Kalends of May.²

1124

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, EPISTOLA, IN TWYSDEN, COL. 368.

Moreover Alexander was sufficiently humble and amiable to clergy and monks, but to the rest of his subjects beyond measure terrible; a man of great heart, applying himself in all things beyond his strength. And he was literate, and most zealous in establishing churches, in seeking out the relics of the saints, in the making and regulating of priestly robes and holy books; and also to all visitors most liberal, beyond his means. And regarding the poor he was so devout that he seemed in nothing to have greater delight than in receiving them, washing, nourishing, and clothing them.

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, P. 275, S.A. 1124.

Now in the same year, four months before his death, Alexander had caused to be elected to the bishopric of the church of St. Andrews which is in Scotland Robert, prior of the regular canons at Scone.

But his ordination was for a long time deferred,³ because of the debt of subjection which, according to custom, Thurstan, archbishop of York, demanded of him. But the Scots on the other hand said with foolish prating that this was not owing to be done, according to any authority or custom.

ORDERIC VITAL, VIII, 20, IN MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188, COL. 621.

And David, youngest of the brothers, by wise decision shunned the savage invasions of the Scots, and sought the

¹ The 23rd April: so the Scots Peerage, i. 3. Alexander died on the 25th April, 1123, according to J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii. 78: 25th April, 1124, according to the Chr. of Melr., and Chr. of Hol.: on the 26th April, 1124, according to S. of D., H.R., ii. 275. "after reigning eighteen years and three months." R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv. 111, places his death in 1125: so also O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 622: M.P., H.A., i. 235: Fl. His., ii. 51.

² J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii. 78, s.a. 1123:—"To Alexander, King of Scots, succeeded his brother David": R. de T., n.s. 111, "a man of great sanctity, and religious": M.P., Chr. Maj. ii. 152. "a man of great sanctity and wonderful generosity." Cf. supra, s.a. 1093, note.

³ V. infra, s.a. 1128.

court of Henry, king of the English. And, while intestine slaughter harried the Scots, and in madness of war unappeasably took arms against its own vitals, he stayed permanently in the court of his sister's husband,¹ and grew up, trained among the boys of the household: and merited the familiar friendship of the wise and powerful king.

And hence he received from him the distinguished arms of knighthood; and, presented with manifold gifts, took his seat near him, among the chief nobles.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, EPISTOLA, IN TWYSDEN, COL. 368.²

Moreover king David took to wife, king Henry giving her to him, Matilda, daughter of earl Waldeve and of Judith, who was the niece of the first king William. And of her [David] had a son Henry, a man gentle and pious, a man of sweet nature and of pure heart, and worthy in all things to be born of such a father.

And with [Henry] I have lived from the cradle, and have grown up with him, as boys together: and in my youth I have known his youth also.

And in the body, but never in mind or affection, in order to serve Christ I left him, in the full bloom of his prime; as also his father, now flourishing in hale old age, whom I have loved beyond all mortals.

ORDERIC VITAL, VIII, 20, IN MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188,
COL. 621-622.

Now his first-born offspring, of male sex, was cruelly slain by a certain miserable cleric, who for an unheard-of crime which he had committed among the Norwegians had been punished by the loss of his eyes and the cutting off of feet and hands. For there, after receiving the sacraments, when the people had retired, he struck a certain priest while he celebrated mass a strong blow with a great knife in the abdo-

¹ Cf. A. of R., *supra*, s.a. 1100.

² O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 621:—"He also took to wife the daughter of earl Waldeve and of Judith, cousin of the king; and he held both the earldoms, of Northampton and of Huntingdon, which earl Simon de Senlis had possessed with the woman aforesaid. [Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii, 312.]

"And she bore [David] a son, called Henry; and two daughters, Clarice and Hodierna."

So also R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 111. Perhaps both writers follow the lost work of David Scotus; cf. Howlett, *ibid.*, note.

The marriage took place about 1113-1114; Scots Peerage, i, 3. Cf. A.S.C., *supra*, s.a. 1114.

men; and horribly scattering his intestines, sacrificed him upon the altar.

He was afterwards received by earl David in England, for the love of God, and sufficiently sustained in food and clothing, along with a child, his daughter: and as if wishing to caress the two-year-old son of his benefactor, he cruelly thrust him with the iron fingers which he used, being maimed: and thus, by instigation of the devil, without warning scattered the entrails of the suckling between the hands of his nurse. And thus was done to death the eldest child of David.

Therefore [the cleric] was bound to the tails of four wild horses; and when they pulled vigorously in different directions, he was torn asunder, for the terror of miscreants.

1124

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *GESTA REGUM*, VOL. II, PP. 476-477.¹

When Alexander was laid with his ancestors, David, the youngest of Malcolm's sons, ascended the Scottish throne. Him the king had made an earl, and had presented with a noble woman in wedlock.

He was a youth more courtly than the others, and one who had rubbed off all tarnish of Scottish barbarity through being polished from his boyhood by intercourse and friendship with us.

Indeed, when he obtained the kingdom, he immediately relieved from payment of three years' taxes all his countrymen who were willing to dwell in a more civilized manner, or to be attired with more refinement, or to be more particular about their food.

And indeed it has never been placed upon the records of history that three kings and brothers were of so great sanctity as they, redolent of the nectar of their mother's

¹ Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1153, for David's character: also *supra*, s.a. 1093.

S. of D., H.R., ii, 275:—"And his brother David succeeded him, and immediately held in peace and loyalty to him on all sides the kingdom which he had received without opposition, and which his brother had held with the greatest labour."

A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1124:—"And David, his brother, who was earl in Northamptonshire, succeeded to the kingdom: and had them both together, the kingdom in Scotland and the earldom in England." Cf. the charters (1124 x 1134) in *Chr. of Ramsey*, 280, 255, 226.

Matilda died after 1147 (*Scots Peerage*, i, 3.) and the earldom of Northampton appears to have passed to her son Simon. (Cf. *supra*, Introductory.)

On the death of prince Henry in 1152 Simon received the earldom of Huntingdon also; *Dugdale, Baronage*, i, 58-59.

piety.¹ For besides their frugality in food, the liberality of their charities, their persistence in prayers, they in such measure overcame the vice familiar to kings that never is anyone rumoured to have entered their chambers except their lawful wives; nor is any of them reported to have sullied his modesty with any concubinage.

1124

ORDERIC VITAL, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VIII, 20; IN MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188, COL. 622.

But Malcolm,² base-born son of Alexander, affected to snatch the kingdom from his uncle [David], and fought against him two sufficiently fierce battles. But David, who was loftier in understanding and in power and wealth, conquered him and his followers.

1125

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 277-278, S.A. 1125.

Over the kingdom of Scotland also the same John [of Crema] received the office of legate, the pope sending the following letter to the king of that nation about it:—

“Bishop Honorius, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son David, illustrious king of the Scots, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“It befits humble and devout sons of St. Peter to perform very heedfully the things which they know redound to the honour of the holy Roman church. And therefore we ask and command thy Nobility respectfully to receive and to honour our beloved son John, the cardinal, to whom we have delegated our authority in those parts. Cause also the bishops of thy land to assemble to his council when they are summoned by him. The controversy which has long been kept up between Thurstan, archbishop of York, and the bishops of thy land, we commit to this our legate to be very carefully

¹ O.V., VIII, 20, in Migne, 188, 624:—“Thus all these brothers reigned in turn in Scotland, and flourished, excelling in good customs and the love of God: and lived, according to their measure, inasmuch as they were youths and laymen, laudably.”

² Cf. O.V., infra, s.a. 1130.

A. of R., (after alluding to Alexander's attempt to deprive David of the earldom of southern Scotland,) calls Malcolm “the heir of his father's hatred and persecution” (of David?); De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 193; infra, s.a. 1138. These words seem to deny that Malcolm was the son of Alexander, as O.V. alleges. Cf. infra, s.a. 1151, note.

investigated and discussed; but we reserve the final decision for the judgment of the apostolic see.

“ Given at the Lateran, on the Ides of April.”¹

By this authority John aforesaid, going round England, came also to David, king of the Scots, at the river Tweed, which separates Northumbria and Lothian, in a place which is called Roxburgh.² And after fulfilling there the office of his legacy he returned and held a council at London.³ . . .

1125, Dec.

POPE HONORIUS II TO THE BISHOP-ELECT OF WHITHORN. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 48-49.

Bishop Honorius, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son the elected of Whithorn, greeting and apostolic benediction.

He to whom it is granted by God to rule another, let him not be prevented by any pride from being befittingly subject to those preferred before him. And therefore by the present writings we command thee to go to be consecrated to our dearest brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, as to thy proper metropolitan: and to receive consecration from his hand with the devotion of humility, the favour of the Holy Spirit being present.

Given at the Lateran, the fifth⁴ before the Ides of December.

? 1126

GILLALDAN OF WHITHORN'S PROFESSION OF OBEDIENCE, IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, P. 60.

To his reverend lord and father Thurstan, by God's grace metropolitan of the church of York, Gilla-Aldan, humble bishop-elect of Whithorn, greeting and obedience.

I have learned both in publicly authenticated documents and in the truthful testimony of ancient men that the bishop of Whithorn from of old owes respect to his mother the metropolis of York, and submission to her in the things which pertain to God.

Wherefore I, Gilla-Aldan, the elected of Whithorn, pro-

¹ 13th April.

² H.S., in Raine's York, ii, 210: "After going round almost the whole of England, and travelling nearly to Scotland."

³ 8th to 10th September, A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1125; cf. H.S., u.s. The 9th September, 1126 (wrongly), S. of D., H.R., ii, 278.

⁴ 9th December.

mise to preserve henceforth due subjection, as appointed by the holy fathers, and canonical obedience to the holy church of York: and to thee, archbishop Thurstan, and to thy successors canonically appointed.

1125, Dec.

POPE HONORIUS II TO JOHN OF GLASGOW: IN RAINE'S YORK.
VOL. III, PP. 49-50.

Bishop Honorius, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother, the bishop of Glasgow, greeting and apostolic benediction.

It has often been enjoined upon thy Fraternity by apostolic writings to yield obedience to our venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, as to thy proper metropolitan. But thou hast not yet obeyed the apostolic commands. Therefore by the present writings we order and command thee to yield obedience and honour to the same brother of ours, Thurstan, archbishop of York, as to thy metropolitan.

Given at the Lateran, the fifth ¹ before the Ides of December.

1126

HUGH SOTTEWAIN, ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK. IN RAINE'S YORK.
VOL. II, PP. 214-215.²

Because now our archbishop [Thurstan] saw in the court ³ master John, bishop of Glasgow, it was not his purpose to be silent concerning him. He complained therefore that this John, elected as his suffragan in the church of York, and through his letters consecrated by pope Paschal [II], afterwards refused to show any obedience or honour for letters (which he caused to be read there) of the same pope Paschal and of Calixtus. When these letters had been heard, he was understood to be bound by them to some extent.

Likewise also he complained of the bishops of Scotland. From the beginning of their arrival the lord pope had been persuaded by certain men that Scotland was not part of the kingdom of England. For they wished to ask for a *pallium* for the bishop of St. Andrews, and that thus he should be

¹ 9th December.

² Cf. Chr. of Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 383-384.

³ In the council held at Rome to settle the dispute between the archbishops of York and Canterbury. The archbishops had been summoned to Rome for the 2nd February, 1126: H.S., u.s., 209. (Thurstan had been robbed on the way: *ibid.*, 212.)

created an archbishop. But our archbishop both in secret and publicly in the court showed that Scotland was part of the kingdom of England, and that the king of Scotland was the vassal of the king of England for Scotland; and this the lord pope must believe to be so.¹

The bishop of Glasgow replied to the complaint of our archbishop that he had come without being summoned, but on an embassy from his lord the king of Scotland; and so it was decreed that he ought not now to be compelled to reply, but that a day should be appointed for him, and that some who were not present should be summoned by letters of the lord pope.

The [archbishop] of Canterbury and his followers opposed us to the extent of their power, through hatred roused by the refusal of profession; unjustly claiming for themselves the whole province of Britain, so that the lord pope smiled and shook his head, and said to one of them, "Brother, have enough!"² . . .

As had been pre-arranged, the lord pope appointed a day for our archbishop and for the bishop of Glasgow, from the first to the second of Lent: ³ speaking thus to bishop John: "Brother, we loose thee not from them to whom pope Calixtus of blessed memory has bound thee."

He determined to summon by his letters the bishops of Scotland for the day appointed.

1126

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. MS. E. S.A. 1126.

And then after Michael's mass ⁴ David the Scots' king came from Scotland hither to land, and king Henry received him with great honour: and then he dwelt all the year in this land.

In this same year the king caused his brother Robert to be taken from bishop Roger of Salisbury, and committed him to his son Robert, earl of Gloucester; and caused him to be taken to Bristol, and they put him in the castle there.

That was all done through his daughter's ⁵ counsel, and through the Scots' king David, her uncle.

¹ The Latin is corrupt.

² *Frater, indulgeat tibi.*

³ 16th to 17th February, 1127.

⁴ 29th September.

⁵ Matilda's husband, the emperor Henry, had died the previous year.

1126

HUGH SOTTEWAIN, ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK, IN RAINE'S YORK,
VOL. II, P. 217.¹

In the following September king [Henry I] returned to England. And on the following Christmas our archbishop [Thurstan] came to the king's court, ready to go thence to Rome. for the plea which had been fixed in the following Lent by the lord pope. as we have said before, between [Thurstan] and John, bishop of Glasgow, and the bishops of Scotland. . . .

There were then at court David. king of Scots, and Conan, count of Brittany. . . .

After passing Christmas at Windsor, where the court was, [Thurstan] came on the morrow to London. expecting that the king would come thither on the fifth day, and preparing to make the journey [to Rome].

The king came there. bringing with him the king of Scots, and by some provision of agreement between our archbishop and the bishops of Scotland. by a concession also of king David, persuaded our [archbishop]. who was ready to start, to defer for the present his journey, and to send ambassadors to Rome, asking on the king's behalf and his own that a truce should be given him in this case till the second Lent; ² and permission for an agreement between them meanwhile.

The archbishop yielded this and sent. and obtained this truce with difficulty.

1126—1127

SYMEON OF DURHAM, HISTORIA REGUM, VOL. II, PP. 281—282,
S.A. 1128.³

Henry, king of the English, held his court at Windsor upon [the day of] the Lord's nativity.⁴ He went over thence to London; and there at his command upon [the day of] the Lord's circumcision ⁵ swore the archbishops, the bishops,

¹ Cf. Chr. of Abps., in Raine's *York*, ii, 384—385.

² I.e. in 1128, when Ash Wednesday was on the 7th of March. There seems to be no record of this council; probably some agreement intervened.

³ Cf. A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1127. J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 84—85, s.a. 1126. W. of M., H.N., ii, 528—529. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 48.

Cf. the renewal of the oath in 1131: W. of M., G.R., ii, 534.

⁴ 25th December, 1126.

⁵ 1st January, 1127.

the abbots, and David, king of the Scots,¹ the earls and barons of the whole of England, that they would be loyal to his daughter the empress [Matilda],² and secure for her after him the kingdom of England by hereditary right, unless when he died he should leave a son of lawful wedlock as his heir. To the queen also they swore that all that the king had given her they would always preserve inviolable and unchanged.

1127

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, P. 84, S.A. 1125.³

. . . [William of Curboil, archbishop of Canterbury,] came to Rome and was honourably received by Honorius, the chief pontiff who had succeeded Calixtus. And that pope intrusted to [William] to represent him in England and Scotland,⁴ and appointed him legate of the apostolic see.

1127, July.

LIBER VITÆ ECCLESIE DUNELMENSIS, PP. 67-68 AND 59.⁵

In the year from the Lord's incarnation 1127, the sixteenth⁶ before the Kalends of August, on the festival of St. Kenelm, the martyr, when Thurstan, archbishop of York, and Ranulf, bishop of Durham, and Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, and John, bishop of Glasgow, and Geoffrey, abbot of St. Albans, were together in Roxburgh with king David, the same bishop Robert summoned prior Algar and sub-prior Roger⁷ to the door of the church of St. John the Evangelist, saying and protesting that he had claimed no privilege, no custom, concerning the church of Coldingham, except as all churches of the whole of Lothian in common owe obedience

¹ "First of the laymen swore David, king of Scotland, the uncle of the empress." W. of M., H.N., ii, 529; cf. *ibid.*, 538, 585.

² "His daughter Alice, who was formerly the wife of the emperor of Saxony," says A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1127. She is also called Adela, J. of H.; Adaliza, R. of W.

³ Cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 281, s.a. 1127.

⁴ "Throughout England." S. of D., u.s.

⁵ The version on page 67 was written by a hand of the twelfth century; that on page 59 by one of the thirteenth. (Robert's charter is printed by Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 59-60. H. & S., ii, 213-214.)

Preceding this is the following letter, *ibid.*, 67:—"David, by God's grace king of Scots, to Edward, monk of Coldingham [C^oll], greeting.

"I command and request thee to give me enough of thy timber to supply my wood-pile at Berwick, from the wood which is between thee and Linf son of Uctred, in Calang'.

"Witness Herbert the Chancellor. At Peebles."

⁶ 17th July.

⁷ Prior and sub-prior of Durham.

to the bishop of St. Andrews ; but that he wished this church to be freer and quitter from all service than any other church in Lothian, for the sake of the love of his brethren the monks of Durham.

The following were there present at the time when he said this :—

Robert, clerk, brother of the same bishop ; Blahan, priest of Linton ; Adulf, priest of Aldehamstoc ; Henry, priest of Lienhall ¹ ; Orm, priest of Houm ² ; Osbern, priest of Ednam ; John, priest of Legerwood ; Godwin, butler of the same bishop ; Godwin, his treasurer ; and Baldsan, and many others who were present as witnesses when the bishop said this.

1128

SYMEON OF DURHAM. HISTORIA REGUM. VOL. II. P. 281.

In the year 1128 the abbacy was removed from Selkirk ³ to Kelso, near Roxburgh ; and the church of St. Mary was founded for the aforesaid monks of Tiron, and there the devout king David enriched it with great gifts and beautified it with many adornments, and endowed it nobly with broad lands and possessions.

1128

JOHN OF WORCESTER. IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, P. 89, S.A. 1128.

Upon the request of David, brother and successor of Alexander, Thurstan archbishop of York consecrated at York as bishop Robert, whom Alexander, king of Scotland, had intruded upon the church of St. Andrews. In this ceremony [Thurstan] summoned to him as helpers Ranulf [Flambard.] bishop of Durham, and a certain Ralph [Nowel], long since ordained bishop of the Orkney isles.⁴

But because he had been ordained neither by election nor consent of the prince ⁵ of the land, or the clergy, or the people, this Ralph [Nowel] was opposed by all, and by none received as bishop.⁶

¹ I.e. Coldstream.

² Hume ?

³ Cf. supra, s.a. 1113.

⁴ Cf. supra, s.a. 1114.

⁵ Cf. W. of M., G.R., ii. 485 :—“ Paul, earl of the Orkneys, although subject by hereditary right to the king of the Norwegians, so regarded king [Henry I's] esteem that he sent him frequent presents. For [Henry] took ready delight in viewing the wonders of foreign lands. . . .”

⁶ A letter (1119 × 1124) of pope Calixtus II on Ralph Nowel's behalf appears in Raine's York, iii, 39 :—“ Bishop Calixtus, servant of the servants

Because he was bishop of no town, at one time adhering to the bishop of York and again to the bishop of Durham, he was supported by them and regarded as the vicar of either in episcopal ministries.¹

By these, then, Robert was consecrated, but was not allowed by the Scots, so it is said, to make any profession of any kind of subjection or obedience to the church of York or to its bishop, although he was a canon of York.

1128

THURSTAN OF YORK, A GENERAL LETTER. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 51-52.²

Thurstan, by God's grace archbishop of York, to all sons of holy church, greeting.

Be it known to all, both present and to come, that I have, for love of God and of the venerable king David of Scotland, irregularly³ consecrated Robert as bishop of St. Andrews, without profession and obedience, saving the complaint of the church of York and the just right of the church of St. Andrew; and if ever an archbishop of York wish to speak

of God, to his beloved sons in Christ, Eistein and Sigurd, kings of Norway, greeting and apostolic benediction.

"... Therefore, dearest sons in Christ, we visit your affection with apostolic letters, and ask you, and admonish you in the Lord, to receive kindly our son the bishop of Orkney, elected, as we understand, canonically, and consecrated according to the custom of the church by his metropolis of York; and to protect him from wrong, and to cause him to remain more peacefully in his episcopate."

So also a letter from pope Honorius II to Sigurd of Norway, in December 1125:—Raine's York, iii, 50-51:—"Bishop Honorius, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son in Christ, Sigurd, illustrious king of Norway, greeting and apostolic benediction.

"It has been brought to our ears that our venerable brother Thomas, archbishop of York, consecrated Ralph as bishop of Orkney. But afterwards, as we have learned, another has been intruded there. But either one or none can obtain the episcopal chair; and therefore we command thy Nobility by the present writings to restore the episcopal see, Orkney to wit to Ralph above-named, along with the lands and its other appurtenances, as to the proper bishop and pastor of that place; and henceforth to keep him in thy care, lest thou incur God's wrath for it.

"Given at the Lateran, the fifth before the Ides of December [9th December]."

¹ Ralph Nowel accompanied Thurstan at Rheims in 1119; Chr. of the Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 164, 166, 172. He represented Thurstan at the battle of the Standard, *infra*, 1138; and William of St. Barbara at the consecration of William, archbishop of York, in September 1143; J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 315. H.S., *Contin.*, in Raine's York, ii, 222.

² Cf. a similar document of David I of Scotland, in Raine's York, iii, 52; also H. & S., ii, 215.

³ *absolute*, = without prayer.

of his complaint, the king will afford him full justice where it shall be justly owing.

Witnesses:—Ranulf, bishop of Durham; John, bishop of Glasgow; Ralph, of Orkney; Geoffrey, abbot of the monastery of York; Herbert of Roxburgh; Waldeve of Crowland; Adulf the prior¹; Nicholas of Seone; Walter of Gaunt; Eustace Fitz John; Hugh the dean,² and the whole chapter of St. Peter; Geoffrey Murdac; Aschetin³ de Bulmer; and from Scotland:—Allmar, knight; Alden, son of Athelwold⁴; Ulchil, son of Mervin; Ulchil, son of Maldred; Gille Cholman⁵; Blugedent⁶; Robert de Waterville; Roger Conyers.

1128⁷

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, P. 90.

Geoffrey, prior of Canterbury, by request of David, king of the Scots, and with archbishop William's consent, was chosen abbot of the place in Scotland which is called Dunfermline; and was ordained by Robert, bishop of the church of St. Andrew.

1130

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, MS. D, S.A. 1080.⁸

In this year Angus⁹ was slain by the Scots' army, and a great slaughter was made there with him. There was God's right avenged on him, because he was all forsworn.

1130

ORDERIC VITAL, HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA, VIII, 20; IN MIGNE, PATROLOGIA, VOL. 188, COL. 622.¹⁰

In the year from the Lord's incarnation 1130, while king

¹ "Prior of Seone," Letter of David, u.s., omitting Nicholas.

² In text, *de Caro*; read *decano*, as in the Letter of David, u.s.

³ "Anketin," David, u.s.

⁴ "Son of Alsmald," David, u.s.

⁵ "Gilecolyn," David, u.s.

⁶ "Slugepah," David, u.s.

⁷ In this year the false crusade of Hugh of the Temple drew treasure and men to Jerusalem from Scotland also; but "when they came there, it was nothing but lies. Thus were all these people pitifully betrayed." A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1128.

⁸ This is a late addition at the end of MS. D, s.a. mlxxx instead of mxxxx. V. Plummer, S.C., ii, p. xxxii.

⁹ Angus was earl of Moray, and nephew of Malsnechtan; cf. *supra*, s.a. 1078.

¹⁰ Cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 118:—"In the same year Angus (*Aragois*), earl of Moray, with Malcolm, illegitimate son of Alexander, who

David cautiously executed justice in the court of king Henry, and diligently examined the crime of treachery which, as they say, Geoffrey de Clinton had committed against the king,¹ Angus earl of Moray entered Scotland with Malcolm² and five thousand armed men, and strove to subdue the whole region to himself.

But Siward's son Edward, (who was tribune of the Mercians under king Edward,) leader of the knighthood and cousin of king David, collected an army and suddenly opposed the army of the enemy. At last a conflict took place, and he slew earl Angus, overwhelmed, captured and routed his troops. Thereafter with his cohorts, now elated by triumph, he eagerly pursued the fugitives and entered Moray, which lacked a defender and lord, and with God's help obtained the entire earldom³ of that extensive district.

Thus David increased his power, and was exalted above his predecessors; and by his zeal the district of the Scots was adorned with religious and learned persons.

1131, Nov.

POPE INNOCENT II TO JOHN OF GLASGOW. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 61-62.

Bishop Innocent, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother John, bishop of Glasgow, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Our predecessor pope Paschal, of holy memory, saving indeed the right of the church of York, laid upon thee the hand of consecration. And afterwards his successors Calixtus and Honorius, of holy remembrance, pontiffs of Rome, commanded thee by apostolic writings to offer obedience and

was brother of king David and had reigned before him, and with five thousand armed men entered Scotland, and wished to reduce the whole region to himself.

"At that time David was present in the court of the king of the English; but Edward, his cousin and leader of his knighthood, went against them with an army and slew earl Angus, and overthrew, captured and routed his troops.

"Then he entered Moray, which lacked a defender and lord; and the earldom (*ducatum*) of the whole spacious region was, with God's help, through Edward made subject thenceforth to the religious king David."

Perhaps both versions are derived from the lost work of David Scotus; Howlett, *ibid.*, note. O.V. does not name his source of information. Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1068, note.

¹ Geoffrey de Clinton was "charged with false treason to the king," H. of H., 252. For him cf. O.V., XI, 2, in Migne, 188, 789.

² Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1124.

³ *ducatum*: control?

honour to our venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, as to thy proper metropolitan.

But although, as he states, thou didst promise to obey him, nevertheless thou hast not yet carried it into effect. Wherefore we command thee by the present writings to lay aside all delay and tergiversation, and humbly to obey our brother aforesaid, archbishop Thurstan : otherwise we cannot fail him in his just right.

Given at Auxerre, the third ¹ before the Kalends of December.

1131, Nov.

POPE INNOCENT II TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND ; IN RAINE'S
 YORK, VOL. III, p. 62.

Bishop Innocent, servant of the servants of God, to all bishops throughout Scotland, suffragans of the church of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

It is just that he who desires to rule others should by no means blush to be subject to those preferred before him. For obedience and humility are guardians of the virtues ; but an arrogant and disobedient man incurs the wrath of God, and becoming intolerable drives from him his neighbour's love.

But even as obedient and humble sons are to be cherished in the bosom of the apostolic see, so conversely those who are rebellious and proud are, in the strict rigour of justice, to be constrained by condign chastisements.

That therefore due honour and justice be preserved to each, we order and command you by apostolic writings humbly to offer obedience and honour to our venerable brother archbishop Thurstan as to your proper metropolitan, without any opposition : and to obey him inviolably, in so far as was commanded you by our predecessors of happy memory, the Roman pontiffs Calixtus and Honorius.

Given at Auxerre, the third ² before the Kalends of December.

1133

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 285.³

In the year 1133, the month of August, before the Assump-

¹ 29th November.

² 29th November.

³ H. of H., 253, s.a. 1133 :—" Also the king made a new bishopric at Carlisle, and crossed the sea." He crossed on the 3rd (J. of H., u.s.) or 2nd

tion ¹ of St. Mary, at York, were consecrated by archbishop Thurstan bishops Geoffrey, chancellor of king Henry, to the bishopric of Durham; Aldulf, prior of Nostell, to the town of Carlisle, which king Henry initiated as an episcopal see, giving to him the churches of Cumberland and Westmoreland which adjoined the archdeaconate of York.

? 1134, May.

POPE INNOCENT II TO THURSTAN OF YORK. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 63-64.

Bishop Innocent, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

The apostolic see has long ago proved by sure signs the admirable firmness of thy faith and thy estimable constancy in religion and in catholic unity. Hence it is that thou hast so great solicitude of thy holy mother, the church of Rome, and, like a kind son, thou hast never forgotten her.

Therefore we love thy person with sincere affection in the lord, and recognize what things will be to the benefit of thy Fraternity and of the church committed to thy rule, and gladly apply ourselves thereto.

And concerning the oppressions and wrongs inflicted upon thee and the church of York, as we have learned, by the king of Scotland and by John, bishop of Glasgow, we sympathize with paternal affection; and when the opportunity is granted us by the Lord, the apostolic see will preserve to thee and to that church her just right. . . .

Given at Pisa, the sixth ² before the Nones of May.

of August (R. de T., ut infra). The eclipse which took place at his crossing was on the 2nd of August; L'Art de Vér. les Dates, i, 111.

R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 123, s.a. 1133:—"Also king Henry made a new bishopric at Carlisle in the boundaries of England and Scotland; and he placed there as the first bishop Aldulf, the prior of regular canons of St. Oswald, to whom he was used to confess his sins. And this bishop placed regular canons in the church of his see." R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii, 212, s.a. 1132, adds "and already enriched it with many possessions." According to R.W., Carlisle is "on the border of England and Galloway"; *ibid.*

Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 223, where the bishop's name is spelt Adulf. R. de T., supra, gives his name as Adalulf; R.W. as Athelulf; B. of P., infra, as Adelwald.

Aldulf obtained his diocese in 1138; infra, s.a. He was in his see in 1148; J. of H., u.s. 322. For his death cf. B. of P., i, 349:—"And the aforesaid [Aldulf] died in the year 1157 on the morrow of the Lord's Ascension [10th May]; which year was the fifth of the reign of king Henry II." 1157 was in reality the third.

Cf. R. de T., u.s., 189, s.a. 1156. Ann. of Wav., u.s., 237, s.a. 1156

¹ 15th August.

² 2nd May.

1135

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, CONTINUATIO PRIMA ;
S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 142.¹

And in [Thurstan's] third year [of office] king Henry died, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1135. And to him immediately succeeded Stephen, that king's nephew by his sister ; and he held the English kingdom with the greatest labour for nineteen years, the chief men of the whole realm being at discord among themselves.

Now the cause of the discord was this. In king Henry's day they had sworn the kingdom to his daughter, who, once empress of the Germans, was at this time united in wedlock with the earl of Anjou.² For this reason David, king of Scots, and all the earls of England were at discord with king Stephen ; and while they mutually opposed one another they afforded all ill-doers the opportunity of working wickedness, so that the greater part of the realm was left desolate.³

1136

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 287, S.A. 1136.⁴

David also, the king of Scotland, uncle of the empress, not unmindful of the oath which he and the whole realm had sworn to king Henry concerning his successor, immediately rose against the kingdom of England, and very quickly obtained the fortresses of Cumberland and Northumbria with the peoples of the district as far as to Durham, excepting Bamborough.⁵

He received also oaths and hostages from the nobility, in pledge that they would keep their faith to his niece.

¹ Cf. A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1136.

² Geoffrey Plantagenet. Cf. A.S.C., MS. E, s.a. 1127. This marriage was held by some to have rendered the oath of the barons void : W. of M., H.N., ii, 530.

³ Cf. G. of C., ii, 72.

⁴ Cf. R. of H., G.R.S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 145-146.

A. of R., Saints, in Raine's Hexh., i, 183 :—" David, king of the Scots, was fired with zeal for the king's daughter, to whom he with the whole of England had been bound by oaths."

⁵ R. of H., G.R.S., u.s., iii, 145 :—" Likewise soon after Christmas [1135] David, king of Scotland, that lady's uncle, with a large army seized and held five towns in the province of Northumbria : namely Lugubalia, which in English is called Carlisle, and Carham, which is called by the English Wark, and Abwiek, and Norham, and Newcastle. But Bamborough he could by no means take."

1136

ALFRED OF RIEVAULX, SAINTS OF HEXHAM, IN RAINE'S
HEXHAM, VOL. I, P. 183.

David, king of the Scots, . . . gathered an army and harried Northumbria with slaughter and fire.

But he conceded so much to the church of Hexham as not only to suffer none to touch anything which pertained to it, but also to decree that as many as could flee thither and carry with them aught of their goods should rejoice in his peace.

Hence it was that, when the most cruel nation of the Galwegians raged with unheard-of brutality, and spared not sex nor age, our countrymen who were with king [David] were moved by compassion and sent many, rescued from their hands, to Hexham, as to a sure defence of their safety.

1136

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, PP. 258-259.¹

When king Stephen had come to Oxford, in the first year of his reign, at the end of Christmas, he heard a messenger tell him: "The king of Scots, pretending that he came to thee to be a guest, has entered Carlisle and Newcastle, and has guilefully taken them both."

And king Stephen answered him, "What he has guilefully taken I will retake victoriously."

The vigorous king therefore moved forward so great an army against David, king of Scots, as none could remember to have been in England before.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, GESTA REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES
OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 145-146.

[David] intended also to attack Durham; but king Stephen came thither with a very great army at the beginning of the fast, which fell that year on the Nones of February²; and abode there fifteen days.

¹ So Hoved., i. 190.

M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 164:—"During the same time David, king of Scots, who had given an oath to the empress, came as a foe into England and took Carlisle and Newcastle on Tyne, and placed his men in them." Cf. M.P., H.A., i. 253.

W. of M., G.R., ii, 539:—"Afterwards" [i.e. after the burial of Henry at Reading] "shortly before Lent king Stephen went into Northumbria to meet David, king of Scotland. For he was said to have hostile thoughts."

² 5th February; this was Ash Wednesday in 1136. Cf. J. of H., in

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 259.¹

Therefore king David came to meet him at Durham, and was reconciled with him, giving back to him Newcastle; but Carlisle he kept, by concession of king Stephen.

Yet king David did not become king Stephen's man, because first of the laymen he had sworn the oath to king [Henry's] daughter, his own niece, to uphold England for her after Henry's death. But king David's son Henry became king Stephen's man, and king Stephen gave to him in addition the castle which is called Huntingdon.²

And returning thence king [Stephen] held his court at London in Lent on the festival of Easter. . . .

1136

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, HISTORIA NOVELLA; VOL. II,
P. 539.

And Stephen obtained from him without difficulty what he wished. For [David] was bent both by the mildness of [Stephen's] manners³ and by the approach of old age, and gladly yielded to the repose of real or pretended peace.⁴

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, GESTA STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF
STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 146.⁵

But at last a conference was held in that province, and peace was made between the two kings, and Henry, son of David king of Scotland, did homage to king Stephen at York.

And the king gave him besides his father's earldom of Huntingdon Carlisle and Doncaster, and everything that pertains to them; and, as some say who testify that they

S. of D., ii, 287:—"King Stephen met [David] at the beginning of the fast at Durham, on the nones of February; and there stayed fifteen days."

According to W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 33:—"David, king of Scots, who had broken into Northumbria across the river Tyne, was with great strength repulsed and humbled."

¹ So Hoved., i, 190; cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 164; H.A., i, 254.

² M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 164:—"And the king gave him in perpetual right Huntingdon, to be held of him."

³ Cf. his character as delineated *ibid.*, 539.

⁴ ". . . And David, king of Scotland, began to war upon him. Then, notwithstanding this, their messengers passed between them; and they came together and were reconciled; though it little availed." A.S.C., MS. E. s.a. 1135.

Cf. (from H. of H.) R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 129; Ann. of Tewk., in A.M., i, 45; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 225.

⁵ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 287.

were present in this assembly, he promised him that if he should wish to give to anyone the earldom of Northumbria, he would first cause the claim upon it of Henry, the king of Scotland's son, to be justly adjudged in his court.

Also David, king of Scotland, restored to king Stephen of England four of his castles aforesaid which he had occupied; ¹ for the fifth, namely Carlisle, had been given to him: and the hostages were restored, and the vassals of either side conciliated in the same peace.

1136, Mar.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, GESTA REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 146.²

Also in the following Easter ³ Henry, son of the king of Scotland, was at Stephen king of England's court, which he held with festivity at London; he was received with the greatest honour, and sat at table at the king's right hand.

Wherefore both William, archbishop of Canterbury, withdrew from court: and certain nobles of England, displeased with the king, summoned Henry in [the king's] own presence.⁴

And David, king of Scotland, was very much displeased with this affair, and when he got back his son refused to send him again to the king's court, although he was often sent for.

1136, Apr.

POPE INNOCENT II TO THURSTAN OF YORK. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 66-67.

Bishop Innocent, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Thurstan, archbishop of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We have received with due benignity thy letters and messenger, and return to thy devotion manifold thanks for yearly contributions sent to us: and implore the divine clemency to keep safe for long time so devoted a son of St.

¹ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 287: M.P. H.A., 253-254.

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 287:—"But in the festival of Easter king Stephen, advancing this Henry in honour, caused him to sit at his right hand. Therefore William, archbishop of Kent, and certain nobles with Ranulf, earl of Chester, said things insulting to the young man, and withdrew from the king's court.

"And when king David got back his son he refused to send him again to king Stephen."

³ 22nd March, 1136.

⁴ *coram ipso Henrico calumpnias intulerunt.* Cf. infra, s.a. 1140.

Peter, and that thou mayest receive eternal rewards for temporal benefits. . . .

And we have by our writings commanded our venerable brother William, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the apostolic see, to pronounce the sentence of anathema against John, pseudo-bishop of Glasgow, until he be healed of his errors and return to the metropolitan right and to subjection to thee.¹

Be it thy care to pronounce the sentence of anathema against that John, unless within three months he return to his holy mother the church of Rome and of York.

Given at Pisa, the tenth ² before the Kalends of May.

1136

GESTA STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 20-21.

. . . And when the castle [of Bathampton] was yielded into king [Stephen's] hands the hard condition was imposed upon [the defenders],³ whether they would or not, that they should wander in exile from the whole realm until the king's merey should recall them. And they abode for a long time, as we have heard, with the king of Scotland.

1137

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 150-151.⁴

The next year, that is in 1137, the treaty of peace was broken, and immediately after Easter ⁵ David, king of Scotland, gathered his army and purposed to ravage Northumbria.

But by instruction of king Stephen, who was then in Normandy, the chief part of the earls and barons of England came with a great army of knights to Newcastle, which is in Northumbria, ready to oppose him if he should invade the realm of England.⁶

At last through messengers between them a truce was

¹ Innocent II's letter of the same date to William of Curboil is given in Raine's York, iii, 67.

² 22nd April.

³ The castellans of Robert of Bathampton. Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1138.

⁴ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 288.

⁵ Easter fell on 11th April in 1137.

⁶ J. of H., u.s. :—"Very quickly a host of the earls and nobles of England assembled at Newcastle, to oppose his efforts."

given and taken until the Lord's Advent ; and after the forty days they returned to their own.¹

But when in the Lord's Advent ² king Stephen returned from Normandy, after he had given a great sum and received a two years' truce from the earl of Anjou, the ambassadors of David, king of Scotland, and of his son Henry immediately arrived, restoring to him their truce unless he gave to Henry the earldom of Northumbria.

But the king by no means agreed to their request.³

¹ J. of H., u.s. :—"Thurstan also, archbishop of York, although far spent with age, spoke with the king of Scotland and his son at Roxburgh, and obtained a truce until the return of king Stephen from Normandy."

² 28th November.

³ "And the truce was broken off," J. of H., u.s., 288.

O.V., in Migne, *ISS*, 960 :—"For certain miscreants made a conspiracy and had animated one another mutually by secret machinations to wickedness, that on a fixed day they should slay all Normans and deliver the principality of the realm to the Scots."

PART V

1138

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC.,
VOL. I, P. 33.

WHILE thus [Stephen] strove with vain labour in the southern parts of England against those who had rebelled against him and were acting hostilely, the fury of the Scots reviving broke out again and took possession of Northumbria, exhausted by the cruellest despoliations.

1138

GESTA STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III,
PP. 32-33.

When Bedford had at last been taken [by Stephen], and you might have thought that now an end had been put to the strife, and that all disturbance of rebellion had been stilled and wholly allayed, behold, the root and source of all the mischief arose to promote strife and war, plundering and burning, in that part of England which is called Northumbria. . . .¹

GESTA STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III,
P. 34.

There was a king in Scotland,—which is conterminous with England, a certain river dividing the two kingdoms with a definite boundary;—a king of meek heart and born of pious parents, whom he too emulated upon the righteous path of life.

Because he, with the other magnates of the realm, indeed first of them all, had bound himself by an oath in presence of king Henry that when [Henry] died he would receive none into the kingdom save either the daughter of the king or her heir, he was greatly grieved that Stephen had succeeded to the helm of the English kingdom. But since that had been

¹ Lights and portents in the sky give warning of approaching evil.

planned and brought about by the barons themselves without consulting him, he wisely weighed the consequences, and awaited in silence some while the result to which affairs begun should tend.

At last, when king Henry's daughter sent a letter to him and stated that she was alienated from her father's will, deprived of the kingdom promised and sworn to her; that the laws were broken, justice trampled under foot, and the oath of the barons of England and their sworn treaty wholly violated and regarded as nothing: and when therefore she prayed him, suppliantly and with tears, that he, as her kinsman, would help her in her forsakenness, as being bound to her by oath would afford assistance to her in her pitiable plight, then the king groaned aloud, and, fired with zeal for justice, determined to disturb the kingdom of England, both for the bond of common kinship and for the faith promised and due to the woman; in order that strife should be stirred up on all sides against king [Stephen,] and that he should be compelled, by God's help, to yield to a juster [claimant] that which he had occupied unjustly, as it seemed to [king David.]

King [David] had with him, spurring him on with the frequent rowel of exhortation to excite disturbance, on one hand the son of Robert of Bathampton and his associates, who, as has been said, had been exiled from England, and had taken refuge with him in the hope of recovering their country; ¹ and on the other hand Eustace Fitz John, king Henry's chief and familiar friend; ² and very many others, who agitated for war either for the sake of gain or for the opportunity of defending what appeared to them to be justice.

King David therefore (for such was his name) published an edict throughout Scotland, and roused all to arms; and slackening the reins of his control instructed them to inflict upon the English all the most bloodthirsty, all the most brutal deeds they could devise, laying compassion aside.

Now Scotland, which is also called Albany, is a district closed in by marshes and abounding in fertile woods, in milk and cattle, and begirt with safe harbours and wealthy islands: but its inhabitants are barbarous and unclean, neither subdued by bitter cold nor stunted by severe hunger; and they rely upon swift feet and light armour. They regard as nothing the dread close of bitter death among the members

¹ Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1136. For R. de Bathampton cf. H. of H., 259.

² For Eustace Fitz John cf. A. of R., *infra*.

of their own family, but among strangers they surpass all in cruelty.¹

An insurgent host of this nation, therefore, [king David] amassed from the nearer regions of Scotland into an inconceivable army, and moved it toward England. And crossing the boundaries of the two kingdoms he pitched his camp in the province of Northumbria, which was broad and populous, and abounded in all necessities for troops. There the troops and ranks of soldiers were drawn up, and [advanced] against all the land, which was extensive² and rich.³

1138, Jan.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 289.⁴

On the fourth⁵ before the Ides of January king David's nephew William Fitz Duncan in an invasion before day stoutly extended around the town of Wark the part which he led of the army, and began to attack and to pursue. And king David⁶ came with a greater company and assailed the town with many engines and catapults, with great valour, for three weeks.

But Jordan de Bussey,⁷ nephew of Walter Espec, master of the knights in the town, by the invincible steadfastness of the minds of his knights spurned and set at naught all the king's endeavours.⁸ For they slew the king's standard-bearer, and every day many others.

¹ Cf. Gildas, De Exc. Br., in M.G.H., AA., xiii, 35:—"The foul hordes of Scots and Picts, who differ in part in their customs, but agree in one and the same thirst for the shedding of blood, and in being readier to cover their gallows faces with hair than the shame of their bodies, and parts next thereto, with clothes." (In margin of one MS. is the note:—"Here he libels the Scots, because they are not well clad"; M.H.B., II, note.)

² In text *spaciosa*: read *speciosa*?

³ Here there is a lacuna in the MS.

O.V., XIII, 17, in Migne, 188, 969-970:—"Moreover David, king of Scotland, for favour of the Angevins assisted the pestilent disturbers of the realm, because of the treacherous invitation of seditious men by whom he had been incited to the injury of their country: or because of the oath which, by command of king Henry, he had already given to his niece.

"For he held the very strong town of Carlisle which, as they say, Julius Cæsar founded: and there he had placed a very fierce band of Scots. Naturally they invaded England cruelly, and assailed the neighbouring peoples with war, and in brutal fashion worked their barbarity upon them. They spared none, but slew alike young and old: pregnant women also with cruel sword they disembowelled and did to death."

⁴ Cf. R. of H., G.R.S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 151.

⁵ 10th January. So A. of R., in Raine's Hexh., i, 78, n.

⁶ "And his son Henry," R. of H., u.s.

⁷ The leader's name is not mentioned by R. of H.

⁸ R. of H., u.s., 151:—"But he profited nothing: nay, by God's help, his every effort was turned to his own hurt."

So king David set apart some to persevere with the siege,¹ and sent on William Fitz Duncan with the Scots into Northumbria. And he came on the day of the conversion of St. Paul² to the vill of Warden, which is adjacent to the lands of Hexham, and encamped there with his forces.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, PP. 260–261.³

Now the king of the Scots, because he had given an oath to king Henry's daughter, acted through his followers execrably, as if under the veil of sanctity. For they cleft open pregnant women, and took out the unborn babe ;⁴ they tossed children upon the spear-points,⁵ and beheaded priests upon the altars ;⁶ they cut off the heads of crucifixes, and placed them upon the trunks of the slain ; and placed again the heads of the dead upon the crucifixes.⁷ Thus wherever the Scots arrived, all was full of horror and full of savagery. There was the screaming of women, the wailing of old men ; groans of the dying, despair of the living.

¹ R. of H., u.s., 151 :—" Now the king saw that his labour there was turned to naught, and that serious loss increased to him from day to day ; and burning with great displeasure and wrath left the town at last and hastened with his whole host to the devastation of Northumbria."

² 25th January.

³ So Hoved., i., 192–193. Cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv., 134 ; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii., 226. R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii., 221 ; M.P., Chr. Maj., ii., 166–167.

The passage is copied imperfectly from H. of H. by B. of P., G.H., II. i., 64, under the invasion of 1174.

Cf. A. of R., Eulogium Davidis, in Pinkerton, 445–446 :—" After the death of king Henry, when [David] led an army into England, that nation, savage and most hostile to the English, raged beyond the manner of men, and wrought cruel dooms upon the church and the priests, upon either sex and every age. And all these things were done, although against his will, yea, even against his command ; yet he might have refrained from leading them, might, having had experience of them once, not have led them again : he might perchance have restrained them more ; and we confess with tears that he sinned. May others excuse him, . . . For he himself preferred to accuse rather than to excuse himself. . . ."

⁴ Such an incident is referred to in A. of R.'s speech of Walter Espec, De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii., 187. Cf. J. of H., u.s., 290 :—" They cut to pieces pregnant women, and children."

⁵ A. of R., u.s., 187 :—" Little children tossed in the air and caught on the points of spears have furnished a delightful spectacle for the Galwegians."

⁶ R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii., 152 :—" And they dug up the altars, and near them and upon them mangled priests and innocents."

⁷ R. of H., u.s., 152 :—" They say also that they dismembered the crucifixes in the churches in the basest manner they could, to Christ's dishonour and their own confusion."

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 151-152.¹

So that execrable army, savager than any race of heathen, yielding honour to neither God nor man, harried the whole province and slaughtered everywhere folk of either sex, of every age and condition,² destroying, pillaging and burning the vills, churches and houses.³ For they slaughtered by the edge of the sword or transfixed with their spears the sick on their pallets, women pregnant and in labour; the babes in their cradles, and other innocents at the breast or in the bosom of their mothers, with the mothers themselves; and worn-out old men and feeble old women, and the others who were for any reason disabled, wherever they found them. And the more pitiable a form of death they could destroy them by, the more did they rejoice. . . .

It is even reported that in one place they slew many little children gathered together, and draining their blood collected it in a stream which they had previously dammed up, and thus drank that bloody water,—nay, now for the most part blood.⁴ . . .

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 187-188 (*speech of Walter Espec.*)

It chanced that in the same house were found several little children. A Galwegian stood, and seizing one after the other by both feet struck their heads against the door-post. And when he had piled them in a heap he laughed to his comrade, and said, "See how many Gauls I alone have slain to-day!"

¹ A similar but shorter account is given by J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 290. Cf. A. of R., Speech of Espec, in Chr. of Ste., iii, 187.

² A similar expression occurs in A. of R., u.s., 187. Cf. A. of R., Eul. Dav., supra; J. of H., u.s., 290.

³ J. of H., u.s., 290:—"It is incredible to relate what crimes and outrages, and blasphemies against God, and abuses of humanity itself that army of the Scots committed. All places were full of slaughter, rapine and fire."

⁴ Cf. the speech attributed to Walter Espec before the battle of the Standard, A. of R., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 187:—"Wearied by the slaughter of innocents, with unwashed knives,—with which they had scattered the entrails of their hapless victims,—they cut the meats to eat; and mixing with water human blood, they quenched their thirst with the cruel draught, saying that they were most blessed whom fortune had preserved till a time when they could drink the blood of Gauls." [Highland Scots still call the Lowlanders "Gauls" (*Guill* for an earlier *Galli*); the meaning is "foreigners."]

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 152-153.¹

Now that wicked army was composed of Normans, Germans, English, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, of [men of] Teviotdale and Lothian, of Piets (who are commonly called Galwegians,) and of Scots; and none might know their number. For wherever the district had wealth an endless number joined themselves to the above-named, without any command, from love of plunder or for the opportunity of revenge, or from the mere desire to do harm.

So they scattered through the province, and spared none; and on this occasion wasted with steel and fire almost the whole of Northumbria as far as the river Tyne, excepting the towns and the sea-board district, which is on the eastern side. But that they intended to have destroyed on their return.

One part of that army also crossed the Tyne, and slew innumerable folk in the desert places, and ravaged in the same manner most part of the land of St. Cuthbert towards the west.

1138

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, P. 102.

Those who know say that an indescribable invasion was made by many enemies of different nationalities into Northumbria and through the neighbouring districts far and near, for nearly six months.

Very many were taken captive, robbed, imprisoned, tortured; ecclesiastics were put to death for the possessions of the church; and scarce any can reckon the number of the slain, either on our side or on theirs.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 290.

They slew all the men, and bound together with cords the maidens and widows, naked, in troops, and drove them away into Scotland under the yoke of slavery.²

Nevertheless the king restored to Robert, prior of Hexham, in pledge of their liberty, as many as fell to him as his share of the booty.

The Scots also broke into the sanctuaries of the Lord,

¹ Cf. R. of H., D.H.E., quoted in Raine's Hexh., i. 80, n.

² Cf. A. of R., speech of Espec, u.s., 187:—"Nobles, both boys and girls, have been led into captivity."

and in the consecrated places irreverently committed acts violent, lewd and execrable.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 289.

And a certain Scot advanced from the ranks with his followers,—a man powerful and rich in the land of his birth,—and seemed to wish to proceed through the river Tyne to the church of Hexham, hoping for booty. The young men of Hexham fell upon him and put to flight his companions, and bore him to the ground, pierced through the body but resisting keenly.

Because of this, indignation was aroused through the whole army of the Scots, who to avenge his death hastened to fall upon the church of Hexham and to destroy it utterly with its inhabitants. But William Fitz Duncan called them back, anxious for the defence of the place.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 153.

Now while these things were done by his men the king of Scotland delayed with a great host at Corbridge.¹

At this time in the land of Ranulf de Merlay was destroyed a certain monastery² of the observances of the Cistercians, built in that year: and very many others were harassed by the most grievous oppressions.

And hence also that monastery which is set at the mouth of the river Tyne, and which in English is called Tynemouth, paid to the king of Scotland and his followers twenty-seven marks of silver, to buy for itself and for those who resided there peace in the present need.³

But in the madness of this stormy time the noble monastery of Hexham, although placed in midst of the course, and as it were in the way, of that wicked army and the evils aforesaid, and hemmed in by them on every side, yet through the marvellous merits of the saints Andrew, the apostle, and Wilfrid,

¹ J. of H. in S. of D., ii. 289-290:—"King David followed with his son and his forces, and remaining at Corbridge until after the Purification of St. Mary [2nd February], failed not to disturb the affairs of the province."

² A later note says "Newminster," the construction of which (near Morpeth) J. of H. places at the end of his annal for 1138.

³ For a copy of the charter v. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii. 313. It is dated on the day of St. Barnabas, [11th June.] 1138, and is granted for the souls of David's relatives, for so long as the monks themselves "will keep peace with us and our vassals."

bishop and confessor, its intercessors, and of the rest of its patrons, to wit saints Acca and Alemund and Eata, bishops and confessors, and of the other saints who rest in that church, by God's help afforded the stablest peace to its residents and to all who fled to it for refuge, and was to them all the safest shelter from all hostile attacks.

Nevertheless the Picts at first, as they advanced with a great rush to the river Tyne, which flows near that vill, intended to have destroyed [Hexham] like the rest. But immediately before they crossed the aforesaid river two of their number were slain by their compatriots;¹ and the rest perceived this, and turned back again in terror.

Moreover, two of the same nation of Picts came to a certain oratory² of St. Michael the archangel, situated on the same northern side of the river Tyne, and pertaining to the aforesaid church of Hexham. They broke open its door, and took away with them what they found there.

But the vengeance of God was not lacking. For they were presently given up to a devil, and deprived of their senses; and as madness lashed them on they ranged hither and thither by night and by day through woods and fields, in the sight of all; and first the one broke his own neck upon the stones, then the other, hamstrung by a certain man, drowned himself in the Tyne: each of them perishing miserably, punished in either case by death.

When thus these things had taken place the rest of the army were terrorstricken and dared invade no more the possessions of the aforesaid church of Hexham.

So David, king of Scotland, and his son earl Henry on behalf of themselves and of all their followers granted their perpetual peace to that monastery and to its brethren and to all that pertained to it. And this they confirmed by their charters, which are preserved in that church: this only being provided, that they too should preserve peace with [David] himself and his followers. . . .

¹ J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 290:—"But [David] respected the dignity and age of the church of Hexham, and preserved peace with it, and with all who had taken refuge in it; sending five Scots thither, to see that no one dared to invade it with hostile intention."

² St. John's Lee; Raine, Hexh., i, 80, 16. For this incident cf. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 17. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 290.

³ Cf. A. of R., speech of Espee, in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 188:—"Michael will be with us with his angels to avenge his wrong; for they have defiled his church with human blood, have polluted his altar by placing upon it a human head."

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 290.

Afterwards they pursued across the Tyne the provincials who had taken refuge in the desert places, and in a place which is called Tanfield they fell upon the multitude of the whole province, peaceful and inapprehensive, slaughtered them all, and bore away abundant spoil.

At last king [David] returned with his followers to his own: and in Lent ¹ king Stephen came at Wark with his forces of knights into the land of the king of Scotland, and instructed his men to slay and to pursue.²

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 155.³

And [David] turned aside to Carham, and afterwards entered his own land and lay hid with his army in certain desert places not far from Roxburgh, preparing a trap for the king of England. For he hoped that [Stephen] would stay in Roxburgh. And he had instructed its citizens to receive him with friendship, as if they would keep faith with him: but also instructed them that when he should arrive in the night with his army the host of soldiers also whom he had placed in the town should come forth suddenly, and with the citizens should join him, and all combining should surround the unwary king of England and annihilate him and all his men.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, PP. 290-291.

For [David] was on the watch for an occasion and for favourable opportunities by night to fall upon him. Indeed

¹ Ash Wednesday was the 16th February in 1138.

² R. of H., G.R.S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 155:—"Meanwhile about the Purification of St. Mary [2nd February] Stephen, king of England, came with an immense number of earls and barons, and with a very great army of horse and of foot. And when the king of Scotland learned this he left Northumbria with his army, and hastened to his own land."

H. of H., 261:—"King Stephen therefore bestirring himself burned and destroyed the southern parts of the kingdom of king David, while David himself dared not meet him." So Hoved., i, 193: R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 134: Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 226. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 167:—"King Stephen therefore moved a great army into Scotland: but before he came there the king of Scots retired into his own, and took to impregnable places. And the English king burned with fire the southern parts of Scotland, and so returned to England." Cf. M.P., H.A., i, 257.

³ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 290:—"But king David gathered himself and his followers not far away within a certain swamp, quite small, and wholly inaccessible on all sides, except by a certain narrow footpath: and instructed the citizens of Roxburgh boldly to receive the king of England within the town, if he should come."

he was sure that he would have as allies in his prearranged betrayal very many of the nobles of the English army: for they too, conspiring with secret plans, had incited him to the conflict.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM. DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI. IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 155.

But God who sees the plans of men, how vain they are, brought this trap to naught. For the king of England crossing the river Tweed turned not aside to Roxburgh, but harried and burned a great part of the land of the king of Scotland: and, because many of his knights wished not to bear arms nor to wage war (for it was the beginning of Lent,) and also because the king of Scotland and his subjects dared not meet him in battle, and also because his army lacked for food, he returned with his men to south England.¹

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, PP. 261-262.²

But after Easter³ a villanous madness of treason broke out. . . .

King Stephen being thus occupied with the southern parts of England David, king of Scots, led forth an innumerable army into England.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM. DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI. IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 155-156.⁴

But immediately in the first week after the celebration

¹ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 291:—"But the trap was made known to king Stephen, who prepared to return, and in anger compelled Eustace [Fitz John] to resign into his hands again the castle of Bamborough: and in haste returned to England."

J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 102:—"After [the capture of Bedford], hearing a report of the invasion of enemies, the devastation of lands, the burning of vills, the besieging of castles and towns, [Stephen] set out for Northumbria with a strong force. And after staying there a short while he returned, scarcely having accomplished to his wish the things for which he had gone."

² Similarly Hoved., i, 193: R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 134-135; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 227; M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 167; H.A., i, 258.

Cf. J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 111:—"Meanwhile David, king of Scotland, with a mighty host of horse and foot issued forth for the third time from the sheath of the confines of his kingdom, and around the borders of Northumbria began to burn fields, towns and castles, and to ravage nearly the whole land."

³ 3rd April.

⁴ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 291:—"After the celebration of Easter week king David of Scotland again moved an expedition into Northumbria, and destroyed everything along the sea-coast, which had been exempt from

of Easter was over, on the sixth day of the week,¹ the oft-mentioned king of Scotland returned to Northumbria again with his wicked army; and destroyed first the sea-board province, which the other time he had left untouched, and whatever else besides this he had anywhere passed over unharmed; and then the greatest part of the land of St. Cuthbert, in the eastern district between Durham and the sea, with no less fury and cruelty than has been above related. Very many also of the farms of the monks who serve God and St. Cuthbert day and night he destroyed in like manner, both this and the other time: and with them their cultivators.

But at last St. Cuthbert had compassion upon his own. For while his men were so employed the king tarried with his knights not far from Durham. And there a serious sedition arose because of a certain woman, and the Picts threatened to destroy the king and his followers.

And while he was in much anxiety over this alarm behold it was published by a false rumour that a very great army from south England was approaching. Therefore he left the food which had been made ready for him, and fled, with no man pursuing, towards his own land with all his men.

And he turned aside to the town of Norham, which is in the land of St. Cuthbert, and besieged it, attempting by various methods and machines to storm and take it.

And while he remained at the siege he sent his nephew William Fitz Duncan with the Picts and part of his army on an expedition into Yorkshire. And they came thither and gained the victory, for the people's sins, and in great part destroyed by sword and fire the possessions of a certain noble monastery which is situated in Furness, and the province which is called Craven.²

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 291.

Meanwhile William Fitz Duncan slaying and pursuing

his former devastations. He proceeded also to Newcastle, and sent forward his forces to do cruelly hostile deeds, around Durham, towards the Tees; and turned aside thence to Norham, the fortress of the bishop of Durham; and, causing it to be besieged, very soon compelled the townsmen to surrender. And he ordered the town itself to be destroyed."

¹ Friday, 8th April.

² This seems to have been a demonstration in support of William's claim (through his wife, Alice de Romille) to the honour of Skipton and Craven, in possession of which he was confirmed by king David in 1151: cf. J. of H., infra, s.a. 1151.

Furness was Wimund's monastery; v. W. of N., infra, s.a. 1151,

around Clitheroe encountered a force of English knights arrayed against him in four troops. This force he put to flight by the stoutness of his first attack, and gave them up to slaughter; and carried off much spoil, and a multitude of captives.

[This battle was waged between the English and the Piets and Scots at Clitheroe, on the sixth day of the week, the fifteenth ¹ before the nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the aforesaid year, that is, in 1138.]²

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 156-159.

They spared therefore no rank, no age, neither sex, no condition; and first slaughtered as pitiably as they could children and relatives in the sight of their kindred, and masters in the sight of their servants, and conversely; and husbands before the eyes of their wives: then, alas! promiscuously with the other women and with their spoil, they carried off as well the noble widowed matrons and the chaste maidens. Stripped also, and bound and fastened together in troops by cords and thongs, they drove them away before them, goading them with their spears and arrows.

This same thing they did in other wars, but to a greater extent in this.

Thereafter when these were apportioned with the spoil certain of [the enemy] were moved to pity, and set some of them free, giving them up to the church of St. Mary in Carlisle. But the Piets and many others took with them to their country those who fell to their lot. And then these bestial men, who regard as nothing adultery and incest and the other crimes, after they were weary of abusing these most hapless creatures after the manner of brute beasts, either made them their slaves or sold them to other barbarians for cows.

Now so soon as the king of Scotland learned of this [victory at Clitheroe] he rejoiced with his followers with great joy, and began to assail the aforesaid fortress [of Norham] more vigorously than usual. The townsmen at first defended themselves very well; but afterwards because they were few, and several of them had been wounded,—and indeed they were [in all] but nine knights;—and also because they hoped for no aid from their lord Geoffrey, bishop of Durham,

¹ 10th June.

² The sentence in brackets is a later insertion. .Arnold, *ibid.*, note.

and also because they had been little practised in such struggles, they were dismayed and made surrender to the king while both their wall was very good and their tower very strong, and while they had abundance of provisions.

Therefore the knights and others who were in the town incurred great ignominy because they had defended the fortress ill, and had yielded too soon : and not they only, but their lord also, because he had not defended his fortress according to his opportunity and the needs of the time.

The knights returned with their men to Durham.

So the king gained the town, and took the food which was found there in sufficient abundance : and announced to the bishop of Durham that if he forsook Stephen, king of England, and would swear fealty to his party, he would return to him his fortress and make good the losses he had caused him.

The bishop refused : the king therefore caused the town to be destroyed.

And while these things took place there about Rogation time,¹ knights went out from the town of Carham and seized below their town, along with the waggons and attendants, king David's provisions, which were being carried back and fore near them.

The king was fired therefore with excessive anger, and hastened with all his host to besiege them : and again began to storm the town with machines and by every method he could. But by God's help his every effort fell void. Moreover also very many of his men were wounded and hurt by them, and several were killed.

Likewise also in encounters which they had had with the king's son Henry before this siege they had slain some men, and wounded and taken others, and had received ransom for them. Blessed be God in all things, who has protected the righteous and betrayed the unrighteous !

But when the king saw that he laboured in vain about the town, he caused the crops to be destroyed through the fields.²

¹ Rogation Sunday was 8th May.

² J. of H., in S. of D., ii. 291 :—“ After these days knights went out from Wark and seized attendants and waggons with king [David's] provisions, driving them back into the town. And also they made an attack upon Henry, the king's son, and upon his companions, some of whom they slew, and others they wounded and held to ransom.

“ The king bore this ill, and condemned them to a renewal of the siege, wasting their crops in the fields, and refusing them all their supplies.”

Then from his own land and every land from which he could he caused to be collected an army more numerous than any he had ever had before.¹

Eustace Fitz John also,² one of the king of England's barons, who had a very strong castle called Alnwick in Northumbria, and who had long secretly favoured the king of Scotland, on this occasion with open treachery denied his natural lord, to wit the king of England: and he himself with all his forces gave aid to the Scots against the realm of England. And thus he took with him a great multitude of soldiers, and set out with the king of Scotland to destroy Yorkshire: and intended to have given up his other very strong castle, Malton by name,³ . . . to the king of Scotland and his men.

So king David intrusted the siege of Wark to two of his thanes,—that is, of his barons,—with their people, and set out with the greatest part of his army for the town which is called Bamborough.

And there before the fortress he took a certain rampart, and killed nearly a hundred men.⁴

Then after devastating the crops around [Bamborough] and around Mitford,⁵ the town of William Bertram, and in many other places throughout Northumbria, he crossed over the river Tyne, and entering the land of St. Cuthbert awaited the part of his army which had not yet come to him.

¹ J. of H., u.s., 292:—"In the same year and at the same time, namely in the autumn, king David united his forces and directed his march to Yorkshire, leaving two barons in the meanwhile with a host to besiege Wark."

J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 112 (after the battle of the Standard):—"He had an innumerable army, as well of French as of English, Scots and Galwegians, and from all the islands which pertained to him and to his dominion."

A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 181:—"When therefore king Stephen was occupied with his southern regions the king of Scots collected an innumerable army, summoning not only those who lay under his empire but also no small host of the islanders and the Orcadians. And advancing with the greatest pride and ferocity he intended either to reduce to himself the whole district of northern England, or to harry it with slaughter and fire."

² "From whom king Stephen had taken Bamborough," J. of H., u.s., 292.

³ Malton castle was taken by the Northumbrian barons after the battle of the Standard: cf. R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 165.

⁴ J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 292:—"They set out therefore by Bamborough. And the youths of that place rashly ventured from the protection of a rampart which they had driven out in front of the fortress, and molested the Scots with taunts as they passed by. Aroused to anger, the Scots at once applied themselves to the destruction of the wall: and very quickly burst in, and slew as many as they caught."

⁵ In text *Mitford*; read *Mitford*.

And without delay assembled to him by his command the Piets and the Cumbrians and the men of Carlisle and of the surrounding district. When therefore his whole army was collected he rejoiced with excessive joy, because it seemed to him abundant and invincible: for in truth it was vast, consisting of more than twenty-six thousand men. And his heart was uplifted, and his followers'; and they placed their trust in themselves and in their numbers, and had no regard towards God, but spoke all too unbecomingly and proudly.

And not Yorkshire alone did they purpose and threaten to depopulate but also the greater part of England. For they deemed not that any host would venture or be able to oppose them.

Now these things happened within the octaves of the nativity of St. Mary [Magdalen.]¹ And the king went past Durham with his army, and caused the crops to be harried as far as to the river Tees, and the vills and churches which he had left untouched on the other occasion to be broken into, plundered and burned according to his custom.

Also crossing the Tees he began to do the same.²

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE. MS., E, S.A. 1138.

In this year came David, king of Scotland, with an immense army to this land: he wished to win this land.

And against them came earl William of Albemarle, to whom the king had intrusted York, and two other trusty men, with few followers: and fought against them, and put the king to flight at the Standard, and slew very many of his company.

1138, Aug.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 159.

But the divine compassion was stirred by the tears of innumerable widows, orphans and hapless men, and suffered him no longer with impunity to practise so great cruelty. For while he prepared himself and his men for wickedness of this kind all his preparations, and what he intended to do

¹ 23rd × 29th July.

² Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 33-34:—"And [the Scots] crossed the Tyne, and, sparing neither sex nor age, advanced to the river Tees; and not even there did they place for themselves the limit of their orgies, but now with confident hopes occupied the whole province of Deira, with the city of York."

and where he intended to go, were known to the men of Yorkshire, both by the report of rumour and by the passage of sure messengers. Therefore the barons of that province assembled at York, and eagerly discussed among themselves what plan they should adopt in this emergency. These were Archbishop Thurstan, who (as will appear in the following) occupied himself very greatly with this affair; and William of Albemarle, Walter of Gaunt, Robert de Bruce, Roger de Mowbray, Walter Espec, Ilbert de Lacy, William de Percy, Richard de Courcy, William Fossard, Robert de Estuteville, and the other powerful and sagacious men.

And since very many hesitated, distrusting one another because of the treason in which many were supposed to be involved, and because they had not a prince and leader in the war,—for king Stephen their lord was at that time surrounded by no lesser difficulties in south England, and could not for the present come to them,—they feared with a few to oppose so great a multitude, and almost seemed to abandon wholly the defence of themselves and their country, had not their archbishop Thurstan, a man of great steadfastness and courage,¹ aroused them by his speech and counsel. . . .

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 182.²

And Thurstan also, the archbishop of York, published an episcopal edict throughout his whole diocese that all who could proceed to the wars should hasten to the nobles from each of his parishes, preceded by the priests with cross and banners and relics of saints, to defend the church of Christ against the barbarians.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 161–162.³

During the commotions of this time came to them Bernard

¹ “Indomitable in the steadfastness of his heart in fair fortune or foul; burdened with years, weak in body, so that he was carried in a litter wherever the situation of affairs required.” *J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 292.* Cf. *R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 261.*

² Cf. *J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 111*:—“But on this last occasion, when [David] threatened to advance as far as York and the Humber, Thurstan, archbishop of York, held a conference with all the men of the province of York, and caused all by common consent and counsel to take an oath in fealty to king [Stephen] that they would oppose [king David].” Cf. *W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 34.*

Cf. the account given in the 12th century *Lives of the Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 528–529.*

³ Cf. *J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 292–293.*

de Balliol,¹ one of the nobles of the same province, sent by the king of England with a host of cavalry. And he greatly roused their minds to the same thing, both on the king's behalf and on his own.

So by king [Stephen's] command and by exhortation of their archbishop they all with one accord fixed upon one plan, and each returned to his own.

And after a short time they assembled again at York; each with his men, armed and supplied with weapons of war. After receiving, therefore, their individual confession, the archbishop enjoined upon them and likewise upon all the people a three-days' fast with alms; and then solemnly bestowed upon them absolution, and God's blessing and his own. . . .

Then he gave them his cross, and the banner of St. Peter, and his vassals.

And they went to the town which is called Thirsk.² And thence they sent Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol to the king of Scotland, who was already ravaging the land of St. Cuthbert, as has been said above; and with great humility and friendliness they besought him at least thenceforth to cease from his cruelty. And if he would accede to their counsel they promised most faithfully that they would obtain from the king of England for his son Henry the earldom of Northumbria which he had demanded.

But [David] and his followers hardened their hearts, and both spurned their words and with indignity derided them.

Therefore Robert returned to him the homage which he had done him, and Bernard the oath which on one occasion he had sworn him when he had been taken prisoner by him, and they returned to their comrades.³

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 192-195.

At that time Robert de Bruce, a man aged and of great resources, grave in manner, scant of speech, but speaking

¹ For Bernard de Balliol cf. R. of H., D.H.E., in Raine's Hexb., i, 62.

² "All inspired by an equal resolution of mind." J. of H., u.s., 293.

³ J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 293;—"Then Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol proceeded to the king of Scotland on the banks of the Tees, promising the earldom of Northumbria to his son Henry, and urging him to cease from this invasion. The king refused to agree. Therefore Robert freed himself from the homage which he had done him for the barony which he held of him in Galloway." [i.e. Annandale.] "and Bernard freed himself from the loyalty he had long ago promised him; and thus they returned to their comrades."

with a certain dignity and weight, while he was of the right of the English king had yet from his youth adhered to the king of Scotland, and had attained to the greatest friendship with him. He, therefore, as a man of veteran military experience and sufficiently acquainted with such affairs, foresaw with natural insight the danger which threatened the king. And prompted by old friendship he got permission from his comrades and went to the king, either to dissuade him from war or lawfully to renounce allegiance to him after ancestral custom. For he was bound to him not only by friendship, but also by the obligation of fealty.

So when he saw the king anear he said : " I am here. O king, thy vassal, to give thee now counsel honourable for thee, advantageous for thy kingdom, to the benefit of thy children hereafter. For it is no wise man's part to look to the beginning of things, and not to their result and conclusion ; or for the present alone to lay aside recollection of the past or provision for the future. Against whom dost thou bear arms to-day and lead this huge army ? Against the English, truly, and the Normans. O king, are not these they with whom thou hast ever found useful counsel and ready help, and willing obedience besides ? Since when, my lord, I ask thee hast thou found such faith in Scots that thou dost with such confidence divest and deprive thyself and thine of the counsel of the English, the help of the Normans, as if the Scots would suffice alone for thee even against the Scots ? New to thee is this confidence in Galwegians, attacking with arms to-day those by whose aid hitherto thou hast ruled the Scots with affection, the Galwegians with terror. Thinkest thou then, O king, that the heavenly Majesty will behold with favouring eyes when thou seekest to destroy those through whom the kingdom was procured for thee and thine, and security in the kingdom ? With what forces or by what aid did thy brother Duncan overthrow the army of Donald, and recover the kingdom which a tyrant had usurped ? Who but our army restored to the kingdom Edgar thy brother, nay, more than brother ? Thou thyself, oh king, when thou didst demand from thy brother Alexander the part of the kingdom which the same brother [Edgar] had bequeathed to thee at his death didst obtain without bloodshed all that thou wouldst, through the fear of us. Remember when in a past year thou didst beseech for the aid of the English against Malcolm, the heir of his father's hatred and persecution, how joyful, how eager, how willing to help, how ready for the danger came Walter

Espece and very many other nobles of the English to meet thee at Carlisle : how many ships they prepared, how they made war, with what forces they made defence ; how they terrified all thy enemies. until they took Malcolm himself, surrendered to them : taken, they bound him ; and delivered him over bound. So did the fear of us while binding his limbs bind still more the courage of the Scots, and by quenching all hope of success remove the presumption to rebel.

“ Whatever hatred, therefore, whatever enmity the Scots have against us is because of thee and thine, for whom we have striven so often against them, and have bereft them of the hope of rebellion, and have reduced them in all things to thee and to thy will. Let the Scots laugh therefore, in that thou procurest for them vengeance upon us, since they have naught else to avenge upon us but that we have loved thee and thine, have been loyal to thee and thine ; that with our arms, our shields, even our very bodies we have protected thy life, have preserved the kingdom for thee.

“ Spare therefore, O king, spare thyself. spare thy kingdom, above all spare thy son, most brilliant of youths : whom to-day, divested of counsel and despoiled of all aid, thou exposest to the betrayal and subjectest to the fury of the Scots. Beware moreover lest thou be involved in the sins of wicked men, at whose hands are required the slaughter of children, the grief of pregnant women, the injury of priests, contempt for even the Divinity ; against whom the blood not of one Abel but of unnumbered innocents cries from the earth. Thou hast seen, O king, the vile abominations which these men have done. Thou hast seen, I say, thou hast seen, hast abhorred, hast wept, hast beaten thy breast, hast exclaimed that it was done against thy command, against thy will, against thy decree. Show now that thou hast spoken the truth by restraining them from like iniquity, that they may return and be punished without thee, if without thee they have done such things.

“ And this would be sufficient even if none opposed thy attempt, or if the certainty of victory were assured. But now stands against thee an army not to be despised, as much more powerful than thine in arms and strength as it is less powerful in number. Thou knowest not, O king, how dangerous is despair when death is certain but there is still choice of the manner of death. If thou conquer we shall surely die. We shall die, I say ; we, and our children : our priests will be slaughtered on the altars, our wives will be defiled by

base lust. We have chosen therefore either to conquer or to die gloriously, although we have no doubt of the victory.

“Hence my grief, hence my tears, that I shall view either the cruel death or the dishonourable flight of my gentlest lord, my dearest friend, my old comrade, in whose friendship I have grown aged; whose generosity I have experienced in the bestowal of manifold gifts, in the granting of lands also and many possessions; after the youthful sports which we practised together, after the affairs of wars where in many dangers we were ever together; after the splendid feasts which the kingdom of one supplied to both, after the delights which the hunting of birds and beasts conferred.”

When he had spoken thus his speech was broken by tears and sobs. And the king was moved and melted to tears by his compassionate nature, and all but entered into a compact.

But William, the king's nephew, a man of high spirit and the chief provoker of war, intervened and with the greatest fury accused Robert himself of treason, and bent the king from his purpose.

And [Robert] delayed not, but after the ancestral custom broke the chain of fealty by which he had hitherto been bound to the king, and returned, not without great grief, to his countrymen.

1138, Aug.

VITA THURSTINI ARCHIEPISCOPI, IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. II,
p. 266.¹

In the year from the Lord's incarnation 1138, on the eleventh² before the Kalends of September,—and also in the twenty-third year since [Thurstan] had received the archbishopric,—there was a battle between David, king of Scotland, and archbishop Thurstan: and king David was conquered, and conquered were all the Scots.

For the same archbishop met secretly with the king's knights upon Cowton moor, near Northallerton; and commanded to be made in subterraneous passages certain instruments, called in English *petronces*, which gave forth horrible sounds.

And when they resounded the wild beasts and other animals³ which went before the army of the aforesaid king David, to

¹ Cf. a passage inserted in A. of R., De S., MS. C; Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 182, n. Cf. Raine's Hexh., i, 92, n.

² 22nd August.

³ *feræ et cætera armenta*. A. of R., MS. C, has *armamenta*. Possibly the use of war-dogs is referred to.

assist it, were terrified through fear of the din, and recoiled fiercely upon the army of the same king David.

And thus the aforesaid archbishop Thurstan with the above-mentioned knights put him to flight, and after slaying [twelve] ¹ thousand carried away much spoil also.

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, P. 111.

And hence ² the king of Scotland was the more enraged ; and he could be held back by persuasion of none, but advanced to the Tees on the octave ³ of the Assumption of St. Mary, which was the second day of the week ; and determined to take our men by surprise, because exactly upon that day there was a very close mist. And thus, hoping that he should come upon them unawares, he left many vills untouched, and did not allow his men after their wont to burn anything on that day.⁴

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 162.⁵

At the same time the archbishop ⁶ sent to them Ralph, sur-named Nowell,⁷ bishop of the Orkneys, along with one of his archdeacons ⁸ and others of the clergy ; that he should in his stead both enjoin penance and give absolution to the people who daily flocked to them from all sides in crowds. He sent to them also the priests with their parishioners, as he had promised them.

While thus they awaited the arrival of the Scots behold, their scouts returned, whom they had sent in front to recon-

¹ In text *pro*: read 12 ?

² I.e., because of the gathering of the barons.

³ 22nd August.

⁴ W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i. 34, asserts that the Scots burned their camp behind them.

⁵ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii. 293.

⁶ Thurstan had been "very prudently restrained by the chief men from this departure to the battle." J. of H., u.s., 293; cf. R. of H., G.R.S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii. 161. He was prevented from going by disease, according to H. of H., 262.

⁷ "His suffragan bishop," J. of H., u.s. Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1128. A speech before the battle is attributed to him by H. of H., 262, followed by Cotton. MS. of A. of R., Raine's Hexh., i. 89; Hoved., i. 193-194; cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii. 167-168, where the St. Albans compiler in error calls Ralph bishop of Durham; so also M.P., H.A., i. 259.

From this speech is borrowed that attributed by B. of P. to the earl of Arundel at Breteuil; G. H. II, i. 52-53.

Ralph Nowel proclaimed "to the people the necessity of fighting as a remission of sins," and absolved them: A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii. 196.

⁸ Possibly Hugh Sottewain; cf. R. of H., u.s., 163; *infra*.

noitre; and they learned that the king had already crossed the river Tees with his army, and was already destroying their province after his wont.

Therefore they went with the greatest haste to meet them, and passing the vill which is called Northallerton came in the earliest morning ¹ to the plain which is two miles distant from that place.²

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 185-187.

(*From the speech of Walter Espec.*)³

. . . "For why should we despair of victory, when victory has been given to our race [the Normans] as if in fee by the most High? . . ."⁴

"Who then would not laugh, rather than fear, when to fight against such men runs the worthless Scot with half-bare buttocks? They are those, they are only those who of yore thought not to oppose us, but to yield, when William conqueror of England penetrated Lothian, Calatria and Scotland as far as Abernethy, where the warlike Malcolm was made ours by his surrender; and now they challenge to war their conquerors, their masters; they oppose their naked hide to our lances, our swords and our arrows, using a calf-skin⁵ for a shield, inspired by irrational contempt of death rather than by strength."⁶

¹ I.e. of the 22nd August; so *J. of W.*, supra.

J. of H., in *S. of D.*, ii, 293:—"On the octave, therefore, of the Assumption of St. Mary, on the eleventh before the Kalends of September, the second day of the week, the whole army gathered round the Standard." Cf. *R. of H.*, in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., iii, 164. Cf. *A. of R.*, addition in *MS. C.*, *ibid.*, iii, 181, n. *W. of N.*, *ibid.*, i, 34, gives the date as the fourth year of king Stephen.

² "In a certain plain of the vassalage of St. Cuthbert," *J. of H.*, in *S. of D.*, ii, 293. Cf. the additions in the Cotton, *MS. of A. of R.*, "namely upon Cowton Moor, near Northallerton," *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., iii, 182, n: and again, "This battle was fought . . . on Cowton Moor," *ibid.*, iii, 199, n. "At Allerton in Cowton Moor," *Hoved.*, i, 193.

³ *A. of R.* ascribes to Walter Espec a long rhetorical exhortation of the English before the battle (u.s., 185-189.) The allegation of sacrilege plays a large part both in this speech and in that attributed to Ralph Nowel by *H. of H.*

⁴ He goes on to profess victories achieved throughout France and Italy.

⁵ Calf-skins stretched on hoops were used as carrying-trays until quite recently in Scotland. The lightness and roundness of the Scottish shield suggests the sarcasm.

⁶ Cf. *H. of H.*, pp. 262-263, speech of Ralph Nowel, bishop of Orkney:—" . . . And now Scotland, subject to you by right, strives to repulse you, displaying unarmed rashness fitter for a brawl than for the fight: while in them is no knowledge of the art of war, no skill in strategy, no tolerance of discipline. There is therefore no ground for fear but rather for shame, because these whom we have always sought and conquered in their own land

“ Why therefore does the great length of those spears, which we perceive afar off, alarm us ? The wood is fragile, the iron blunted ; when it smites it is destroyed, when it is struck it breaks, scarcely sufficing for one blow. Catch it on a stick, and the Scot stands there unarmed.¹

“ Is it the multitude we fear ? . . . I say naught of what I think of their number, lest I seem to detract anything from our future glory. . . . ”

AILRED OF RIEVAULX. DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 189-191.

Meanwhile ² king [David] gathered together his earls and the highest nobles of his realm, and began to discuss with them the array of the battle. And it pleased the greater number that all the armed men, knights and archers whom they had should go before the rest of the army, so that armed men should attack armed men, and knights engage with knights, and arrows resist arrows.

The Galwegians ³ opposed this, saying that it was their right to fill the front line, to make the first attack upon the enemy, to arouse by their courage the rest of the army.

The others said that it was dangerous if at the first assault unarmed met armed men : for if the first rank sustained not the brunt of battle but yielded to flight the courage of even the brave would be readily dispelled.

None the less the Galwegians persisted, demanding that their right be granted to them. “ For why art thou fearful, O king,” said they : “ and why dost thou so greatly dread those iron tunics which thou seest afar off ? We surely have iron sides, a breast of bronze, a mind void of fear ; and our feet have never known flight, nor our backs a wound. What gain were their hauberks to the Gauls at Clitheroe ? Did not these men unarmed, as they say, compel them to throw away their haubergeons, and have reversed the order and swarmed, drunken and senseless, in our country. . . . Why do we hesitate then to advance against unarmed and naked men ? . . . ”

¹ For the weapons of the Scots cf. H. of H.'s account of the Anglo-Saxon occupation, 38 :—“ And since the [Picts and Scots] fought with javelins and spears, and the [Saxons] strove very stubbornly with axes and long swords, the Picts were unable to sustain so heavy an onslaught, but consulted their safety in flight.”

² During the English preparations for battle.

³ “ The Picts, who are commonly called Galwegians,” says R. of H., supra : i.e., the Picts south of the Forth. It is not impossible that the inhabitants of West Lothian were still included in the name, which in origin (*Gall-ghaidheil* = foreign Gaels) was applicable to all users of the Gaelic tongue who had been under foreign rule.

berks, to forget their helmets, to leave behind their shields ? Let then your prudence see, O king, what it is to have confidence in these, which in a strait are more burden than defence. We gained at Clitheroe the victory over mail-clad men : we to-day shall use as shield the valour of our minds, and vanquish these with spears.”

After this was said, when the king seemed rather to incline to the counsels of his knights, Malisse, earl of Strathearn,¹ was greatly wroth, and said : “ Why is it, O king, that thou reliest rather upon the will of Gauls, since none of them with their arms to-day will advance before me, unarmed, in the battle ? ”

And Alan de Percy, base-born son of the great Alan,—a most vigorous knight, and in military matters highly distinguished,—took these words ill ; and turning to the earl he said, “ A great word hast thou spoken, and one which for thy life thou canst not make good this day.”

Then the king, restraining both, lest a disturbance should suddenly arise out of this altercation, yielded to the will of the Galwegians.

The second line the king's son arranged with great wisdom ; with himself the knights and archers, adding to their number the Cumbrians and Teviotdalesmen.

Now he was a youth beautiful of face and handsome in appearance ; of such humility that he seemed lower than all, of such authority that he was feared by all ; so gentle, so lovable, so affable that he was beloved of all ; so chaste in body, in speech so sober, in all his ways so honourable,—so zealous in the church, so diligent in prayer ; so kind to the poor, against ill-doers so resolute, so submissive to priests and monks,—that he seemed as a king to simulate the monk, as a monk, the king. He was moreover of such bravery that none in that army was like him, either in attacking the enemy or in courageously receiving his attack ;—bolder than the rest in pursuit, keener for the repulse, unreadier to flee.

To him Eustace Fitz John had joined himself, and was present in his line,—of the great nobles of England the most intimate with the late king Henry ; a man of the highest prudence, and in secular matters of great resourcefulness. He had left the English king because he had been seized by him in court, contrary to ancestral custom, and had been forced to give back the castles which king Henry had intrusted to

¹ For a similar identification of an earl of Strathearn with the cause of the Galwegians cf. *infra*, s.a. 1160.

him. For this reason he was offended, and betook himself to [Stephen's] enemies, to avenge the wrong inflicted upon him.

The men of Lothian formed the third rank, with the islanders and the men of Lorn.

The king kept in his own line the Scots and Moravians; several also of the English and French knights he appointed as his body-guard. And thus was the northern army arrayed.¹

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 162-163.²

And presently some of [the English] erected the mast of a ship in the middle of a machine which they had brought thither; and they called it "The Standard." And hence [wrote] Hugh Sottewain, archdeacon of York:—"From the stand it was called the Standard, because there stood the brave knights to conquer or die."³

And upon the summit of this tree they hung a silver pyx with the body of Christ, and the banners of St. Peter the apostle and of Saints John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon, confessors and bishops. Now this they did with the purpose that Jesus Christ our Lord should by the presence of his body be their leader in the battle, which they had undertaken in defence of his church and of their country.

In this they provided also for their men, that if by any chance they should be separated and parted from the rest they might have a plain and certain sign by which to return to their comrades: and might there regain their support.

Thereafter they had scarce donned their warlike arms when behold, the king of Scotland was reported to be close upon them, with his whole army most ready and eager for battle.⁴

¹ In A. of R.'s speech of Espec, Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 189:—" [The Scots] are preceded by actors, dancers and dancing-girls: we, by the cross of Christ and relics of the saints."

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 293. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 135. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 227.

A. of R., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 181-182:—" And they planted the royal banner, which in the common tongue is called the Standard, in the very wide plain near Northallerton, and there decided to intercept the enemy." Cf. H. of H., 262.

³ No more of this poem by H.S. has been preserved.

⁴ J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 111:—" But our men were warned, though late, by a certain esquire; and almost taken by surprise very quickly armed and arrayed themselves, and sent forward archers before the van; and by them the army of Scots was greatly injured.

" Then the king's barons themselves advanced with the knights, who had all descended from their horses and were in the first rank: and with their hands and weapons they joined issue with the enemy."

Therefore the greater part of the knights left their horses and became foot-soldiers. The picked men of these, mixed with archers, were arrayed in the front rank : while the rest, excepting the disposers and prompters of the fight, were massed with the barons in the heart of the battle, near to and around the Standard.¹ And the rest of the host surrounded them, formed closely on all sides. But the company of horse and the horses of the knights were removed a little farther, lest they should be frightened by the shouting and din of the Scots.²

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF
STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 191-192.

But the southerners, since they were few, very wisely massed into one column. For the most vigorous knights were placed in the first front, and the lancers and archers so distributed through them that they were protected by the arms of the knights, and could with equally greater vigour and security either attack the enemy or receive his attack.

But the nobles who were of maturer age were arrayed (that they might support the others) around the royal banner, some being placed higher than the rest upon the machine itself.

Shield was joined to shield, side pressed to side ; lances were raised with pennons unfurled, hauberks glittered in the brilliance of the sun : priests, white-clad in their sacred robes, went round

¹ According to A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 182-183, the leaders of the English army were William, earl of Albemarle ; Walter of Gaunt ; Ilbert de Lacy ; Robert de Bruce, who " although he very greatly loved the king of Scotland, yet failed not his people in this crisis," (u.s. 182,) with his son Adam [Robert died in 1142, Adam in 1143, according to J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 312, 315 :] Roger de Mowbray ; Walter Espec, who receives from Ailred special eulogy. (He was the founder of the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx, whence were founded " very many monasteries in both kingdoms ; that is, of England and of Scotland," A. of R., u.s., 184. For the arrival of the Cistercians cf. supra, s.a. 1113.)

Ralph Nowel is placed first on the list by Hoved., i, 195.

J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 293, includes in his list of the leaders de Percy, de Balliol, de Courcy, Fossard, de Estuteville ; Peverel, de Ferrers and Halsalin.

The barons took oaths to conquer or die : A. of R., u.s., 189 ; R. of H., *ibid.*, iii, 162.

After the victory Stephen " made William of Albemarle earl in Yorkshire, and Robert de Ferrers earl in Derbyshire," J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 295. Cf. R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 165.

Cf. also R. de T., *ibid.*, iv, 135 ; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 227. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 167.

² Cf. A. of R., De S., u.s., 189 :—" And that the hope of flight should be wholly removed from them all, they decided to remove all their horses farther, and to engage as infantry, wishing either to die or to conquer." Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 293.

the army with crosses and relics of the saints, and most becomingly fortified the people with speech as well as prayer.¹

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 195.

And at once² the northern army left its position and advanced with spears erect. There followed the peal of clarions, the blare of trumpets, the clashing of spears striking one against the other. Earth trembled, heaven groaned; the mountains and hills around returned the echo.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 163.

Likewise on the enemy's side king [David] himself and almost all his [knights] became foot-soldiers, and their horses were kept apart.

In the front of the battle were the Picts. in the middle the king with his knights and his English; the rest of the barbarians extended round them on all sides, roaring.

And while they advanced in this order to battle, behold, the Standard was seen with its banners not far off; and immediately the hearts of the king himself and his followers stood still with fear and dread. Nevertheless they persisted in their wickedness, and laboured to complete the evils they had begun.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 263.³

The whole people of the English replied,⁴ and the mountains and hills re-echoed, "Amen, Amen!" And at the same time the army of the Scots cried out the warery of their fathers,—and the shout rose even to the skies.—"Albani, Albani!"⁵ But the shouting was drowned in the fierceness and frightful crashing of blows.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 196.

And the column of the Galwegians after their custom gave vent thrice to a yell of horrible sound, and attacked the

¹ Here A. of R. places the mission of de Bruce: v. supra.

² After the return of de Bruce.

A rhythmical account of the battle is printed in Twysden, 331-332.

³ Cf. Hoved., i, 194. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 168-169.

⁴ I.e., to Ralph Nowel's benediction.

⁵ M.P., H.A., i, 259 gives the cry as "Albany, Albany!" Perhaps it is the middle-Gaelic *Albannaig*, "men of Scotland."

southerns in such an onslaught that they compelled the first spearmen to forsake their post: but they were driven off again by the strength of the knights, and [the spearmen] recovered their courage and strength against the foe.¹

And when the frailty of the Scottish lances was mocked by the denseness of iron and wood they drew their swords and attempted to contend at close quarters. But the southern flies swarmed forth from the caves of their quivers, and flew like closest rain: and irksomely attacking the opponents' breasts, faces and eyes, very greatly impeded their attack.²

Like a hedgehog with its quills, so would you see a Galwegian bristling all round with arrows, and none the less brandishing his sword and in blind madness rushing forward now smite a foe, now lash the air with useless strokes.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 264.³

Thus the chief leader of the men of Lothian⁴ was struck by an arrow: he fell, and his whole nation turned in flight. For God above was offended against them, and all their valour was broken like spiders' webs.

And seeing this the chief line of Scots, fighting most keenly in another part, lost courage and yielded to flight.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 196-197.⁵

And struck with panic all the rear were on the point of melting into flight, when the noble youth, king [David's] son, came

¹ Cf. H. of H., 263, 264:—"The beginning of the fight: when the line of the men of Lothian, who had extorted from the Scots' king against his will the honour of the first blow, smote with their thonged javelins and very long spears upon the line of our knights, they found them impenetrable as if they struck against a wall of iron. . . . For the whole nation of the Normans and the English were massed together in one array around the Standard, and stood immovable." So Hoved., i, 195. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 169; H.A., i, 259-260.

J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 293:—"The Scots were placed in the front rank: for they as one man claimed this for themselves, because of the dignity of their race. And they, naked and almost unarmed, advanced against columns mailed and thus invulnerable."

Both H. of H. and J. of H. avoid the name of "Galwegians" for the men in the van of the Scottish army.

² H. of H., 263-264:—"But the archers, scattered among the knights, beclouded and transfixed those truly unarmed men."

³ So Hoved., i, 195. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 169.

⁴ Cf. supra, note. (Gospatrie II, earl of Dumbar, died about this time.)

⁵ Cf. H. of H., 264:—"But the king's most vigorous son paid no heed to what he saw was being done by his side, but yearned solely after glory and valour: and while the others fled he assailed with great bravery the enemy's line, and smote it with a wonderful onslaught.

"For his company alone remained on horseback, being composed of

up with his line and hurled himself, fierce as a lion, upon the opposing wing : and after scattering that part of the southern army like a spider's web, slaying all who opposed him advanced beyond the royal banner. And thinking that the rest of the army would follow him, to remove from the foe their refuge in flight he attacked those stationed with the horses, routed and dispersed them, and compelled them to flee as far as two furlongs.¹ At this wonderful onslaught therefore the unarmed folk fled in terror.

But by the fiction of a certain prudent man, who raised aloft the head of one of the killed and cried that the king was slain, they were brought back and attacked their opponents more eagerly than ever.

Then the Galwegians could sustain no longer the shower of arrows, the swords of the knights : and took to flight after two of their leaders had been slain, Ulgric and Donald. Moreover the column of the men of Lothian scarcely awaited the first attack, but immediately dispersed.

Then the king leapt from his horse, and with the nobles who were with him advanced against the enemy.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 294.

King [David] thought it the due of his promise to conquer or die, for the oath which he had sworn, and the whole of England with him, to the heirs of king Henry.

And so the Scots and the Picts held out with difficulty from the first hour when the struggle commenced to the third :² for they saw themselves pierced and transfixed with the arrows, and overwhelmed and distressed. And they all slipped away from the field, casting their baggage from them. In derision of this affair that place is called Bagmoor.³

English and Normans who lived in his father's household. But even on horseback they could by no means long hold out against the mail-clad knights who stood firm on foot and were massed immovably. And they were compelled to flee, with broken spears and wounded horses, though they had fought gloriously." Cf. *Hoved.*, i. 195. *M.P., Chr. Maj.*, ii. 169 ; *H.A.*, i. 260.

¹ *stadia*.

² Cf. *R. of H.* in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., iii. 164 :—" Therefore on the [22nd August] . . . between prime and terce the conflict of this battle was begun and ended. For immediately in the first encounter innumerable Picts were slain, and the rest threw away their arms and took to dishonourable flight."

Cf. *J. of W.*, in *Fl. of W.*, ii. 111 :—" And in the first moment of encounter they made an end and gained the victory : the Scots yielding to them, and either falling at once or fleeing in the greatest fear."

W. of N., in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., i. 34 :—" But the battle was not kept up long, since little or nothing was done there with the sword. For the men of light armour, when arrows pierced them from afar, soon turned their backs, and left the field to us with victory."

³ For the opprobrium of the defeat cf. *M.P., H.A.*, i. 260.

Immediately the steadfastness of the rest of the army was shaken and weakened. Therefore the aldermen made haste and compelled the king to call back the horses, and to depart with his column in close formation, lest he too should go to destruction with his followers.¹

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN
CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, p. 164.

The plain was filled with corpses: very many prisoners were taken, and the king and all the others took to flight. Indeed of so great an army all were slain, or captured, or scattered like sheep when the shepherd is struck down; and in marvellous fashion, as if bereft of sense, they fled away from their country into the surrounding districts of their foes no less than back towards their land. And wherever they were found they were killed like sheep for the slaughter.²

And by a just judgment of God they who had pitiably slain many, and left them unburied, were themselves slain much more pitiably, and, without benefit of ancestral or alien burial, left exposed as prey to dogs, birds and wild beasts, either were torn and picked to pieces or decayed and putrefied beneath the sky.

The king too, who recently had seemed to touch with his head the stars of heaven, through the excessive exaltation of his mind and magnitude of his army, and who therefore threatened to depopulate the whole or the greater part of England, presently escaped ingloriously and accompanied by but a few, in the greatest confusion and disgrace, barely with his life.³

And thus the power of God's vengeance was most plainly

¹ Cf. H. of H., 264 :—" And the royal line, which king David had drawn from several nations, so soon as they saw this [flight of the main body] began to flee away, first singly, then in groups, till the king held out almost alone. And when the king's friends saw this they seized his charger and compelled him to retire." So Hoved., i, 195. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 169: H.A., i, 260. Cf. A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 197, and note.

A. of R., *ibid.* :—" The English army advanced against them and would surely have slain or taken the king himself with all his men had not his knights lifted him by force upon his horse, though he refused utterly to flee, and compelled him to retire."

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 294 :—" But very many Scots lost their way through ignorance of the district; and they were slaughtered wherever they were found."

O.V., XIII, 19, in Migne, 188, 971 :—" The Scots, fearing the threatening sword, fled to the water, and ran into the great river called [Tees], without a ford: and fleeing from death were straightway swallowed up in death." For *Zedam* (the Jed) in the text read *Teisam* (the Tees) ?

³ J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 112 :—" But he himself fled away, beaten, in the greatest fear and disgrace." Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 34.

made manifest in this also, that the army of the conquered was inestimably greater than that of the conquerors.

And the number of the slain could not be reckoned by any ; for, as many bear witness, of the army which came forth from Scotland alone more than ten thousand were found to be missing from among the survivors.¹ For in the various districts of the Deirans, Bernicians, Northumbrians and Cumbrians and other provinces, many more were slain after the battle than had fallen in the battle.

But the English army lost few of its men, and by God's help gained the victory quickly ; and taking the booty, which was found there in sufficient abundance, dispersed in a short time almost wholly. And as they returned each man to his own they rendered again with joy and thanksgiving to the churches of the saints the banners which they had received. Indeed they had advanced to the battle in their finest raiment and with all their riches, as if to a royal wedding.

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, DE STANDARDO, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, P. 197.

Then they who had fled saw the royal banner retiring, (for it was blazoned in the likeness of a dragon, and easily recognized,) and knew that the king had not fallen but was in retreat. And they returned to him and formed a column terrible to their pursuers.

Meanwhile that pride of youths, glory of knights, joy of old men, king [David's] son, looked back and saw that he was left with a few followers in the midst of the foe ; and turning to one of his comrades he smiled and said, " We have done what we could, and have surely conquered in so far as is in our power. Now there is need of resourcefulness no less than of valour. And nought else is a surer mark of a steadfast mind than not to be downcast in adversity ; and when thou hast not strength thou mayest overcome the enemy by stratagem. Therefore

¹ Cf. H. of H., 264 :—" Rumour says that eleven thousand of the Scots were slain, in addition to those who were found and killed in the corn-fields and woods. But our men triumphed fortunately, with very little blood shed." Cf. Hoved., i, 195 ; R.W., ii, 225 (E.H.S. ed.) ; Ann. of Tewk., in A.M., i, 46. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 169 ; H.A., i, 260.

Cf. J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 112 :—" But of [David's] army nearly ten thousand fell in different places, and as many as fifty were captured of his picked men " (in text, *eis* ; read *ejus*.) Cf. G. of C., i, 105.

The Scottish losses were " many thousands." W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 34 ; Chr. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 22. Twelve thousand, according to R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 135 ; R. de D., i, 250 ; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 227 ; Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 15.

throw aside the banners by which we are marked out from the others, and let us mix with the enemy as though we pursued with them, until we outstrip them all and come as soon as may be to my father's column, which I see afar off yielding to necessity, but continuing still in its strength."

So saying he spurred his charger and rode through the midst of the enemy, until having passed the foremost he reined in his steed to a milder pace. And that you may know how confidently he ruled his mind in adversity, and with what forethought:—while the rest of the knights cast the load of their armour anywhere from them, the noble youth, patient of toil, bore up till he came to a certain poor man's hut; he called out the poor man, undid his cuirass, and throwing it before the man's feet said "Take it, that ¹ what is a burden to me may furnish thy need."

But the king had now advanced far, already proceeding in terrible array; so that by taking some of his pursuers he very greatly deterred the others who were pressing on. And thus he came as far as to Carlisle; and there, secure as to himself but anxious for his son, he awaited for two days, doing nought beside. At last on the third day he recovered his long-looked-for son, safe and unhurt.

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, PP. 111–112.

But our men, because they were on foot and had caused all their horses to be removed to some distance, could not pursue them long; otherwise they would either have taken or put to death the king himself, and his son, and all who were with him.² . . .

But the king's son came on foot with one knight only to Carlisle, while his father scarce escaped through woods and passes to Roxburgh. . . .

Of two hundred mailed knights whom [David] had, only

¹ Here the York MS. ends: the remainder is from the 13th century Cambridge MS. (Cf. Howlett, *ibid.*, liii, liv.)

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 294 (after the escape of the king):—"Also the army of York did not pursue them as they retired, but hastened each man to return to his own."

A. of R., De S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 198–199:—"The English nobles pursued long, and slew both Scots and Galwegians, and took many of the knights.

"A single knight fell on either side. The English leaders, however, all came back safe and sound. . . ."

The brother of Iibert de Lacy was the only knight slain on the English side; H. of H., 264; Hoved., i, 196; cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., iv, 135; R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii, 225; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 227.

nineteen brought back their hauberks : because each had abandoned as booty to the foe almost everything that he had. And thus very great spoils were taken from his army, as well of horses and arms and raiment as of very many other things.

Eustace Fitz John came with him, and met with the same fate as he ; for, wounded, he scarce escaped with his life to his castle.¹

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN
CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC.. VOL. III, PP. 165-166.²

Now the king of Scotland reinforced the siege of Carham after he had got back Henry, his son, and had gathered again his men, who had fled scattered from the battle not as allies but rather as bitterest foes.

For the English and the Scots and the Picts and the rest of the barbarians, wherever they chanced to meet one another, whichever of them were in greater force either slaughtered and wounded the others, or at the least robbed them : and thus by the just judgment of God they were oppressed as much by their own men as by strangers.

The king therefore, when he heard of it, inflicted heavy penalties and fines upon his followers, and extorted an endless sum of money from them ; and in addition he bound them to him by oaths and hostages more strictly than he had ever done before, to the effect that they would never again desert him in battle.

JOHN OF WORCESTER, IN FL. OF W., VOL. II, PP. 112-113.³

And after his return, to comfort his men and console himself the king of Scotland besieged with all his strength and with many engines and diverse contrivances the castle which is called Wark or Carham, and which belongs to Walter Espec : which castle he had before besieged, but had been put to flight from it by the earl of Mellent.

¹ I.e. to Alwick : *supra*. After the battle his castle of Malton was besieged ; R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 165.

² J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 294-295 :—“ The ranks also of the Picts and Scots themselves, when they came together in their retreat, strove with disastrous enmity, and destroyed one another.

“ When therefore the king was received into his own realm he summoned to him the Picts and Scots, and fined them of a great quantity of money ; and took hostages and oaths from them that in every struggle and danger they would stand faithfully by him and for him.”

³ Cf. R. of H., G.R.S., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 166 :—“ Thereafter he attempted to take the town of Carham, with machines and new implements, and in many other ways.”

But the warders of the castle defended themselves manfully and stubbornly, and he could profit nothing at all.

For they sallied forth more frequently than ever from the castle, and either cut down or burned his engines, slaying many men. And hence he now despaired of the possibility of its capture.

1138, Sep.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN
CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 166-167.

But the townsmen broke with machines his machines, and slew many of the king's men by diverse deaths, and wounded very many, while losing but one of their own knights.

For he had left the castle and, trusting too greatly in his valour, and therefore rashly bold, was overcome and slain by a multitude of Scots while he incautiously delayed at the destruction of a machine.

And thus the king, seeing that his every effort was of no avail but rather did much harm to himself and to his men, removed his machines and abandoned his attacks, and compelled his men strictly to blockade the town, although they were unwilling. For they were wearied of the prolonged siege, because of the great losses and privations and hardships which they had often suffered there.

At that time certain pestilential men, whose whole aim and joy was to plan and perpetrate crimes, combined together in detestable union, the more effectually to attain the desires of their malevolence. And of this execrable company the chiefs and leaders were Edgar, base-born son of earl Gospatric [of Dunbar,] and Robert and Utred, sons of Maldred.

Urged by greed, therefore, and encouraged by impunity, and spurred by madness, they raided through Northumbria like wolves seeking a prey to devour.

They crossed also the river Tyne, and came into the land of St. Cuthbert; but not finding there ought which they had power or courage to seize they returned with empty hands. They therefore carried off the booty which they found in a certain vill called Errington, of the parish of the church of Hexham. Then after two nights' interval the same marauders invaded another vill called Dissington. Now this was the vill belonging to the canons of the aforesaid church, and was distant from Hexham eight miles toward the east. There, then, they slew three of the servants of the canons, and inflicted many

indignities upon their prior,¹ who had chanced to arrive there that night : and they departed with their booty.

And this happened to the canons contrary to their hope, because the king of Scotland, as has been said above, had, on his own behalf and on behalf of all his subjects, granted the firmest peace to them and to their vassals, and to all their possessions, and to their parish, and expressly to this vill of theirs.

About the same time came to these parts one Alberic, bishop of Ostia, whom Innocent [II], pope of the Roman see, had sent to act in the office of legate in England and Scotland.²

RICHARD OF HEXHAM. GESTA REGIS STEPHANI. IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 169-170.³

And at last [Alberic] came to Durham.

At that time William Cumin, king David of Scotland's chancellor, was detained there, having been taken and imprisoned as he fled from the aforesaid battle. And presently [Alberic] rescued him from prison, and restored him in freedom to his lord.⁴

So [Alberic] came through the wilderness to the cloister of Hexham,⁵ having with him two bishops, Robert of Hereford and Aldulf of Carlisle, and three abbots and very many clerics. And he was received with sufficient honour by the brethren of that place, and very diligently consoled them for the loss which had recently befallen them, as we have related above, in the slaying of their vassals and the plundering of their land.

Thereafter he came through Northumbria and Cumberland to Carlisle, on the fourth day⁶ before the feast of St. Michael, and found there the king of Scotland with the bishops, abbots, priors and barons of his land.

Now [the Scots] had long differed from the cisalpine, indeed

¹ "And disgraced the prior . . . with insult and jest." J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 298.

Robert Bisset was prior from 1130 to 1141 : *ibid.*, 284, 311.

Cf. J. of H., u.s., 298 :—"And three days before [Alberic's] arrival at [Hexham] Edgar, son of earl Gospatrick, with his abettors had broken out from the camp of the king of Scotland, taking booty from a certain vill of the territory of Hexham. . . ."

² Cf. J. of H., u.s., 297. Alberic brought letters from the pope to the kings of England and Scotland : R. of H., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 169.

³ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 297-298.

⁴ Cf. J. of W., in Fl. of W., ii, 112 :—" [David's] chancellor, William Cumin, was held prisoner by the bishop of Durham ; but now released from his chains he gave thanks to God, hoping exceedingly never to fall into such a plight again." For William Cumin cf. *infra*, s.a. 1141, note.

⁵ On his way to the king of Scotland : J. of H., u.s., 298.

⁶ 26th September.

from almost the universal church, and seemed to favour too greatly Petrus Leonis, of hated memory, and his apostasy.¹ But at this time inspired by divine grace they all with one accord received pope Innocent's commands and his legate with great honour.

So he discussed with them diligently for three days of the affairs of his legation.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 298.

And for three days, with the bishops and princes of the realm of Scotland,—for they had met him there by the king's command,—[Alberic] corrected what was to be corrected and decreed what was to be decreed.

And he obtained bishop Aldulf's restoration to the favour of the king, and to his see of Carlisle.²

John, bishop of Glasgow, who had given up the episcopal office and had betaken himself to the monastic life at Tiron, he recalled by apostolic authority.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 170-171.

And since he learned that John, bishop of Glasgow, had intrusted to none the care of souls which he had received, and had left his bishopric without permission and secretly, and, compelled by no apparent necessity, had become a monk at Tiron, [Alberic] decided concerning him that a royal messenger should be sent for him, with letters both from himself and from the king; and that if he refused to return sentence should be passed upon him. And so it was done.

He also summoned king [David] for the re-establishment of peace between him and the king of England: and for the sake of this fell at his feet, entreating him to take pity upon holy church and upon himself and his subjects, to whom he had caused so many and so great evils. But he with difficulty obtained the truce that [David] would bring no army and no evil upon the land of the king of England before the festival of St. Martin,³ excepting the blockade which existed round Carham.

This also he obtained of the Picts,⁴ that they should bring

¹ Petrus Leonis (Anacletus II) died earlier in the same year, 1138. Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 297. He had been appointed pope in 1130, but was successfully opposed by Innocent II.

² For Aldulf's consecration v. *supra*, s.a. 1133.

³ 11th November.

⁴ J. of H., u.s., 298:—"He had also the assent of the Scots and the Picts in this, that they should bring back all their captives to Carlisle before the

back to Carlisle before the same time limit all captive girls and women whom they might have and restore them to liberty there.

[The Picts] also, and all the others, promised him most faithfully that they would by no means violate churches thenceforth : and that they would spare children and woman-kind, and [men] who were disabled by weakness or age ; and that they would thenceforth slay no one at all unless he opposed them.

The king also spoke with the prior of Hexham, who had come thither with the legate, before [the prior] had appealed to him, concerning the loss sustained by him and by his brethren : and deplored it much, and promised that he would cause the whole to be restored : and moreover that he would compel his men to compensate them for the wrong which had been done to them and to their church, and for the slaying of their vassals.¹

And this in great part he did. For both their money and that of their vassals was almost wholly returned.

When thus these things had been done the legate departed thence on the day of the festival of St. Michael,² and returned by Hexham and Durham to south England, and related to Stephen, king of England, and his subjects what he had effected with David, king of Scotland, and his men.

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, GESTA REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, VOL. III, PP. 171-172.³

And after a few days the king of Scotland learned from some men who had come out of the town of Carham that they who were in the town were now oppressed by the greatest scarcity of food. And so he instructed that they should be more strictly blockaded.

Nor was this report untrue : for the knights who were in the town had killed their horses through lack of food, and, after preserving them in salt, had now for the most part eaten them. But not even yet would they surrender the town. Indeed they planned, when their food wholly failed, to go forth armed from the castle and to break through the midst of the foe, defending

feast of St. Martin, and should give them their liberty : and that none of them should dare thenceforth to violate churches or to slaughter women, boys or old men."

¹ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 298 :—" The legate, with his mind sufficiently in sympathy with [the brethren of Hexham] over this wrong, remonstrated with the king at Carlisle, and persuaded his royal mind to punish this outrage."

² 29th September. So J. of H., u.s., 298.

³ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 291-292.

themselves so long as they could, unless meanwhile God should provide them with another plan.

Therefore about the festival of St. Martin William, abbot of Rievaulx, came to that province; and on behalf of Walter Espec, to whom that town belonged, as has been said above, told them most surely that they should yield it to the king of Scotland. For [Espec] knew well how they had been reduced to extreme straits for lack of food.

King [David] therefore gave them twenty-four horses, through the abbot's intervention, and allowed them to depart with their arms: and having received the town caused it immediately to be destroyed.¹

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN
CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN. ETC., VOL. III, P. 176.²

Now while these things proceeded³ [Alberic] very often and very zealously discussed with many, and especially with the queen of England, the re-establishment of peace between the two kings. And after he knew that the queen's mind was strongly fixed for the accomplishment of this object he frequently solicited the king himself upon the matter, by her mediation and by the persistence of her woman's wit and assurance.

And they found him at first obdurate, and as it were spurning this reconciliation. Indeed many of his barons, to whom serious losses had resulted from their quarrel, had pressed upon him urgently by no means to make peace with the king of Scotland, but to avenge himself valiantly upon him.

Nevertheless her glowing woman's breast, not knowing defeat, ceased not from prompting him, night and day, in every way she could, until she bent the royal mind to her wish. For she greatly loved her uncle David, king of Scotland, and Henry, his son and her cousin; and therefore she endeavoured the more to make peace between them and her husband, the king of England.

1139

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 265.⁴

In his fourth year, after Christmas, king Stephen took the

¹ "And in the town nothing was found left to eat except one horse alive and another in salt." J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 292.

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 299.

³ I.e. in the council begun at Westminster on the 13th December, 1138; R. of H., u.s., 172-176.

⁴ Cf. Hoved., i, 196. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 136; cf. Ann. of

castle of Slede by siege. And after this he advanced into Scotland; and since he conducted his cause there with Mars and Vulcan as his leaders ¹ the king of Scotland was compelled to be reconciled with him.

So [Stephen] taking with him into England Henry, the son of the king of Scots, besieged Ludlow; and there this Henry was dragged from his horse by an iron hook, and almost captured; but the king himself brilliantly rescued him from the enemy.

1139

RICHARD OF HEXHAM, DE GESTIS REGIS STEPHANI, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. III, PP. 177-178.²

Now immediately after the oft-named legate [Alberic] had departed from England messengers passed between the two kings, and peace was made in this wise:—

Stephen, king of England, granted to Henry, son of king David of Scotland, along with all the lands which he had had before, the earldom of Northumbria excepting two towns, namely Newcastle and Bamborough; for these two he kept in his own hands. But for these towns he was to give him cities to their value in south England.

He instructed also that the barons who held of the earldom, as many as would, should acknowledge their lands to be subject to earl Henry and do him homage, saving the fealty which they had sworn to himself. And this most of them did.

But the king of Scotland and Henry his son, with all their subjects, thenceforth so long as they lived were to continue at peace with and most loyal to king Stephen of England in all things. And that he might be the surer of their loyalty they were to give him as hostages the son of earl Gospatric, and the

Wav., in A.M., ii, 227. R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii, 225-226. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 170; H.A., 261-262.

¹ "Since he wasted everything with sword and fire," Hoved., u.s. But contrast with this the account given by the Hexham chroniclers, *infra*.

² Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 300:—"And by the perseverance of the queen of the English peace was concluded between the two kings; Henry, son of the king of Scotland, receiving at Durham the earldom of Northumbria."

Hoved., i, 198, s.a. 1140:—"In the same year king Stephen gave Northumbria to Henry, the son of David, king of Scots."

O.V., XIII, 19, in Migne, *I*88, 971-972:—"After prolonged warfare between the two kings, waged by both sides fiercely to the injury of many, legates of peace were divinely aroused and went between the two kings, who were now weary of the loss and slaughter and constant trouble and labour; and restored them to peace."

son of Hugh de Moreville,¹ and the son of earl Fergus :² and the son of Mal—— and the son of Mac——,—the sons, that is, of two earls of Scotland.³

The laws also, both the customs and the statutes, which king Henry his uncle had established in the earldom of Northumbria, they were to defend there inviolably in all things.

And this agreement was confirmed at Durham, on the fifth⁴ before the Ides of April, by Henry, son of the king of Scotland, and by their barons, in the presence of Matilda, queen of England, and of many earls and barons of south England.⁵

This also was carefully marked out, that earl Henry was to have no right over either the land of St. Cuthbert or the land of St. Andrew of Hexhamshire, because it pertained to the archbishopric of York.

Thereafter [earl Henry] set out with the queen to the court of king Stephen, and found him at Nottingham; and after confirmation by him of what they had done at Durham [Henry] stayed through the whole summer in south England; and frequenting the king's court expended great sums in his service.⁶

1139

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 300.

And [Henry] also received as his wife Ada,⁷ sister of earl William de Warenne and of Waleran, earl of Mellent, and of Robert, earl of Leicester. And he had by her his sons Malcolm, William and David.

1119 × 1140

CHRONICLE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS, IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. II, P. 385.

And [Thurstan] ordained three bishops at diverse times,

¹ Hugh de Moreville, constable of Scotland.

² Fergus, earl of Galloway.

³ *Scotia* clearly still means Scotland north of the Forth.

⁴ 9th April. So *J. of H.*, u.s., 300.

⁵ "In presence of the earls and barons of England, the Scots giving hostages in support of their promise," *J. of H.*, u.s., 300.

⁶ *Cf. J. of H.*, u.s., 300.

⁷ Ada was "the daughter of William, earl of Warenne, and uterine sister to wit of Waleran, earl of Mellent"; *R. de T.*, in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., iv, 172. For the family history v. William of Junnières, VIII, 40-41; in *Migne*, 149, 908.

O.V., XIII, 19, in *Migne*, 188, 972 (continued from note, supra):—"And thus Henry, son of king David of Scotland, approved their friendship in this fashion, and loved Adelina, the daughter of William, earl of Surrey, and asked for her in marriage. Bound by such relationship he adhered closely to the friendship of the Normans and English: because he foresaw, by advice of the wise, that this would be beneficial and most useful for him and his."

For Ada cf. a charter of *J. of H.* in *Raine's Hexh.*, ii, 87-88.

namely Geoffrey to Lindisfarne ;¹ Ethelwold to Carlisle ; Gillaldan to Candida Casa, that is, to the church of Whithorn ;² and Girard as abbot to the monastery of Dunkeld.³

And from all these he received written professions [of obedience.]

1140

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 306, S.A. 1140.

In the same year earl Henry with his wife proceeded to the king of England.

Ranulf, earl of Chester, rose in hostility against him because of Carlisle and Cumberland, which he demanded to be given back to him by right of inheritance ; and upon [earl Henry's] return wished to entrap him with an armed band. But king [Stephen], urged by the queen's prayers, protected him from the threatened danger, and restored him to his father and to his country.

And [Ranulf's] displeasure was transferred to plotting against the king's safety.

¹ Geoffrey Rufus, bishop of Durham, 1133 ; S. of D., H.D.E., i, 141-142. Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1141.

² Cf. *supra*, 1125, December.

³ *Caldensi* : " of Calder," Raine.

PART VI

1141

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, CONTINUATIO ALTERA,
IN S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 162.

WHEN therefore [Stephen] was imprisoned, the empress, king Henry's daughter, was received with great favour by the men of London.

Learning this, David, king of Scotland, set out for her court, taking with him his chancellor, who had prevailed upon him for a price to treat with the empress in his cause. And now [his chancellor] wished to be named the bishop-elect of Durham; and to this he easily persuaded the flatterers who collected round him from all sides.¹

¹ For the extraordinary affair of William Cumin (1141-1144) see H.D.E., *Continuatio Prima*, in S. of D., i. 143-160; *Continuatio Altera*, *ibid.*, i. 161-167; J. of H., *ibid.*, ii. 309, 312, 313-314, 316-317.

Geoffrey, bishop of Durham, died after Easter, 1141: (May 14, according to H.D.E., C.P., u.s., 143;) his body was preserved in salt and his death kept secret till William Cumin should return from Scotland (*ibid.*: J. of H., u.s., 309.) Cumin had gone to Scotland as if to obtain king David's support in his unscrupulous candidature for the bishopric of Durham (C.P., u.s., 143.) He returned as if armed by David's authority (*ibid.*: J. of H., u.s., 309.) "But all this in secret, in darkness, and in the shadow of death: until the king of Scotland should come, and speech be held openly about these things by the barons who accompanied the king; Eustace, namely, and Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Balliol, Hugh de Moreville. For these had been easily induced to join his party, by hope of advantage no less than by promise of gain." (C.P., 144.)

Delegates were sent to Matilda's court with the king of Scotland to relieve the Durham church of this invader. But Cumin himself went to court: C.P., 145. The papal legate, Henry of Blois, "interdicted William himself from all church fellowship if he received the bishopric unless canonically promoted." (*Ibid.*)

In spite of this, Matilda wrote to the chapter of Durham supporting his claim and no other. (*Ibid.*) He accompanied David and Matilda in the flight from London, and after the rout at Winchester he met David in Durham about the 29th September (*ibid.*)

"At length, after much had passed, William was left by king [David] in the castle, as guardian of the bishopric under the empress's hand: and the king himself was made surety between the garrison and the prior and brethren of the monastery, that they should not desire or do injury one to the other" (C.P., 146.) "But he was ever pleasant and affable to the monks, by whom he hoped to be promoted" (C.A., 162.)

After David's departure, however, he administered as bishop, received

1141

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 309.

King David, therefore, seeing that many things combined for the advancement of his niece the empress, set out after

homage of the barons, oppressed those who opposed him, and was anathematized by the papal legate and by the church of York; "but when he heard of his condemnation, William cared little or nothing about it" (C.P., 146.)

Herbert, abbot of Roxburgh, tried to supplant him, hoping for David's support, but failed (C.P., 146-147.)

Cumin induced a Cistercian monk to forge papal letters directed to him and to king David. "By such trickery he had no difficulty in deceiving the king, who ordered the letter to be copied everywhere in his kingdom; and he gave the monk a palfrey, and honouring him with other gifts sent him back to William" (C.P., 147.) But Richard, abbot of Melrose, "captured the monk himself, the pseudo-legate; and made him confess all his plot, and how he had been instructed and incited by the acts and promises of William" (C.P., 148.)

The papal legate demanded the attendance of the prior of Durham; and Cumin tried to prevent his escape. Failing in this attempt he began to practise cruelties upon the monks, shutting out messengers, servants and food (C.P., 148.) Messengers returned from Rome commanding a canonical election. The day was fixed; but Cumin invested all the roads, and tried to forbid the election.

William of St. Barbara was elected (C.P., 149.) "And the pope placed William Cumin under his anathema, and the archdeaconate which he held in the church of Worcester was given to another, with no hope of demanding it again" (J. of H., 314.) Cf. the letters of Gilbert Foliot, in Migne, 190, 767-768, 760-761, 814. (Cumin had been made archdeacon of Worcester about 1130 A.D.; Hardy's *Le Neve*, *Fasti*, iii, 73.)

Cumin forbade the consecration of the bishop-elect (C.P., 150.) and when it had taken place, in June, 1143, abused the brethren, especially the priests who respected his excommunication. He compelled continuance of ecclesiastic rites.

He could not extort homage from Roger de Conyers, to whom the bishop betook himself. They advanced against Cumin, but were driven back by force. The bishop's supporters took refuge in the church of St. Giles (C.P., 151; J. of H., 314.) but Cumin's men broke in upon them. The bishop returned to de Conyers, and was harassed from the rear (C.P., 152.)

Cumin now began to practise the cruelties of the time. He expelled hostile monks, and, according to the continuator of S. of D., plundered, harried and burned the neighbourhood, and indulged in the ingenious tortures practised by the barons of the period (C.P., 153-154.) The barons contrived a truce, which Cumin disregarded, plundering the lands of de Balliol (C.P., 155.) Early in 1144 peace was agreed to, Cumin remaining in the castle till the pope should be consulted.

Nevertheless some hostilities occurred. The bishop secured the aid of prince Henry, earl of Northumbria, but Cumin evaded him (C.P., 157.) According to J. of H., 314, "earl Henry, son of the king of Scotland, and Alan, earl of Richmond, bribed by William Cumin's moneys, had often deluded the bishop with empty courtesies."

In August, 1144, Cumin was overcome; later, his castellans gave up to prince Henry the castle of Thornby, which Henry refused to make over to the bishop (C.P., 159.)

King David met Cumin at Newcastle; Cumin had offered to render to him the castle of Durham, but returned without any agreement (C.P., 159.)

The bishop entered Durham on the 18th of October, 1144, and Cumin

the Lord's Ascension¹ to go to her in south England. And turning aside at Durham he was received into the town and commanded that everything should be reserved for the decision of the empress; and that meanwhile William Cumin should have charge of the direction of affairs.

And so the king came to his niece, and had the consent of very many of the leading men that she should be advanced to the apex of the whole kingdom.

But she by no means followed the king's counsel; and, with her womanish vanity raised to a certain haughtiness of royal pride, distressed her chief men by contemptuous threats.² . . .

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, CONTINUATIO PRIMA, IN
S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 162.

When at last [William Cumin] was established at court the empress was at length induced to consent, by mediation of the king of Scotland as well as of the others.

An agreement had been arrived at, and [Cumin] hoped immediately to be invested by the empress with the episcopal staff, when suddenly in that assemblage of the court a disturbance arose, stirred up by king [Stephen's] supporters; and the empress with all her followers fled, having learned of a plot of the Londoners.

surrendered, professing penitence and offering to make amends (C.P., 160.) An agreement was come to, and he was absolved (C.A., 166-167; J. of H., 316-317; H.S., Contin., in Raine's York, ii, 222-223;) but enmities continued. His nephew Osbert was killed:—"a young knight most beloved by all who were in the service of earl Henry, son of the king of Scots" (J. of H., 316-317.) "Also Richard de Lovetot seized William Cumin himself, and for many days afflicted him in prison with grievous tortures and sufferings" (J. of H., 317.)

Bishop William II "lived nine years in the bishopric, suffering during his tenure many evils as well on account of the unjust exactions of the king of Scotland as because of the depredations of his neighbours, and their plunderings not frequent so much as almost incessant" (C.A., 167.)

¹ 28th May.

² Cf. H. of H., 275; Hoved., i, 205. Ges. Ste., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 73, 74.

Cf. Ges. Ste., u.s., 74-75:—" . . . And what was a mark of her excessive pride and arrogance, when the king of Scotland and the bishop of Winchester and the earl of Gloucester, her brother, (for these, the chief men of the whole kingdom, she kept at that time in constant attendance upon her,) came before her with bended knees to entreat her for anything, [she began] instead of rising with respect, as was fitting when they inclined themselves before her, or acquiescing in their demands, very often to dismiss them dishonourably, unheard and mocked with a disdainful answer. She almost [began] not to rely upon their counsels, as was fitting and as she had promised them, but to order everything wholly after her own foresight, and after the preconception of her own purpose."

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 275.¹

And after some days ² [Matilda] collected her forces and came with her uncle the king of Scots and her brother Robert and besieged the tower of the bishop of Winchester.³

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, CONTINUATIO ALTERA, IN S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 162.

And not long afterwards while the empress stayed at Winchester she was besieged there by the nation of the Londoners. . . . And there an encounter took place between the barons who had flocked together on both sides in support of either party : and Robert, earl of Gloucester, was taken, and the king of Scotland put to flight, and all the others scattered hither and thither.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN SYMEON OF DURHAM, VOL. II, P. 311.

But the king of Scotland, after losing almost all his comrades, escaped the threatening danger and betook himself hastily back into his own kingdom.⁴ For one of his god-sons concealed him ; David Holifard, an ally of them who had besieged the town of Winchester. For this reason they who anxiously searched for the king did not find him.

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE, CONTINUATIO PRIMA, IN S OF D., VOL. I, PP. 145-146.

But while the empress was besieged at Winchester William [Cumin] escaped by flight among the fugitives, and came to Durham about the feast of St. Michael ; ⁵ and there he found

¹ So Hoved., i. 205. Cf. W. of M., H.N., ii. 580, 578. J. of H., in S. of D., ii. 310. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i. 41. R. de T., *ibid.*, iv. 141. R. de D., i. 254-255. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii. 173 ; H.A., i. 267, s.a. 1140.

Cf. Ges. Ste., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii. 79 :—" There [at the siege of Winchester] was David, king of Scotland :—twice, as has been set down before, ignominiously put to flight from England :—yet a third time to be dishonourably routed, along with innumerable others, not without disgrace to himself and the greatest peril to his men."

² After her flight from London.

³ Henry of Blois.

⁴ Cf. Ges. Ste., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii. 83 :—" Why should I mention the king of Scotland, who, as they say, was captured for the third time ; but ever a bribe passed between and he was set free, and escaped with difficulty in grief and weariness to his own, with but a few ? "

Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i. 42 :—" Moreover David, king of Scots, not to fall into the hands of the enemy, escaped his pursuers by a ruse. And some men conducted him warily, and he returned in great fear and peril to his own."

⁵ 29th September.

the king of Scots, returned the day before from the same siege, gusted in the monks' court. And immediately [Cumin] entered the castle.

1147

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 321, S.A. 1148.

In the same year died John, bishop of Glasgow ; ¹ a most intimate friend of king David of Scotland, because of the excellence of his virtue.

And he was buried in the church of Jedburgh, where he had himself established a convent of regular clergy.

In his stead was elected Herbert, abbot of Kelso,² he too a vigorous man ; and he was consecrated by pope Eugenius [III] at Auxerre.

1149

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, IN CHRON. OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, P. 70.

But the northern district, which had fallen into the power of David, king of Scots, as far as the river Tees, remained in peace,³ through that king's industry.

1149, May.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 211, S.A. 1148.⁴

And Henry, son of Matilda the empress, now a youth of sixteen years, nourished in the court of David, king of Scots, the [uncle]⁵ of his mother, was knighted⁶ by the same king David in the city of Carlisle : he having first given an oath that, if he became king of England, he would give to [David] Newcastle and all Northumbria, and would permit him and his heirs to possess in peace without counter-claim for ever the

¹ Cf. s.a. 1147 Chr. of Melr., 73 ; Chr. of Hol., 35.

² "Hubert, abbot of Kelso." Chr. of Melr., 73. He is called "Herbert, abbot of Roxburgh." in H.D.E., C.P., i, 146 ; cf. supra, s.a. 1141, note. Chr. of Melr. places his consecration on the 24th of August, 1142.

³ I.e., free from baronial anarchy.

⁴ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 183, s.a. 1148.

⁵ Cf. (s.a. 1148) R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 159 :—" In the festival of Whitsuntide [22nd May] king David girt with the arms of knighthood Henry, . . . who had crossed in the previous year from Normandy to England." (In MS. H of R. de T. a marginal note of the 13th century adds : " According to others, on the nativity of John the Baptist " [24th June] ; *ibid.*, note.)

⁶ Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 70 ; and s.a. 1148 R. de D., i, 291 ; Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 233 ; Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 16. M.P., H.A., i, 285. Fl. His., ii, 67.

⁵ In text *avi* ; read *avunuli*.

⁶ Cf. A. of R., Epis., in Tw., 347.

whole land which lies from the river Tweed to the river Tyne.¹

Thereafter by aid and counsel of David, king of Scots, Henry sailed over into Normandy; and he was received by the nobles of Normandy, and so made duke.

1149

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, PP. 322-323.²

In the year 1150 Henry, son of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou, and of the empress Adela, came at Pentecost³ to Carlisle. king David received him with great honour, and with lavish provision of bounteous liberality. For he gave him the belt of knighthood,⁴ his son Henry assisting him, and Ranulf, earl of Chester.

Now this Ranulf had laid aside the indignation in which he had been accustomed to demand again Carlisle, by hereditary right; and had done homage to king David. For by discussion they had agreed between them that instead of Carlisle he should have the honour of Lancaster; and that the son of earl Ranulf should take to wife one of the daughters of Henry, the king of Scotland's son.

1149

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, P. 282.⁵

In the fourteenth year of [Stephen's reign] David, king of Scots, gave the arms of manhood to his [grand-]nephew Henry.

And when they were gathered together at that festival,—the king of Scots with his forces, and his [grand-]nephew with the nobles of the west of England,—king Stephen, fearing that they would invade York, came into the town with a great army,⁶ and stayed there during the month of August.

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 323.

And king David and the young knight Henry, duke of

¹ W. of N., u. s. i. 70:—"Having first, as is said, afforded surety that he would at no time deprive [David's] heirs of any part of the lands which had passed from England into the dominion of that king."

² Cf. G. of C., i. 141: ii. 75.

³ 22nd May.

⁴ "With several of like age," G. of C., i. 141.

⁵ Cf. G. of C., i. 141.

⁶ Cf. J. of H., in S. of D., ii. 323:—"In these days came king Stephen to York, and gave the small fort of Coldric into the hands of the citizens, to be destroyed. For by the promise of great sums of money they had induced the king to come thither, because of the terror of the townsmen, who dared not go into or out of the town in that part."

Normandy, and Ranulf, earl of Chester, came to one decision, to unite forces and march against king Stephen.

King David advanced with his forces to Lancaster, and the aforesaid Henry with him; for there earl Ranulf had promised to meet them with his ranks assembled. But he performed none of the things which he had agreed upon, and deranged their plans.

Therefore duke Henry returned to his own land. . . .

1149

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, HISTORIA ANGLORUM, p. 282.¹

And Eustace, the son of king Stephen,—for he too had assumed the arms of manhood the same year,—invaded the lands of the nobles who were with Henry, the empress's son. So as there was none to oppose him, accompanied by Mars and Vulcan he inflicted upon [Henry] no little loss.

But the English king and the Scottish king,—of whom the one was at York, the other at Carlisle,—being afraid one of the other and fearing to take the offensive, departed each on his own account and retreated to the abodes of their kingdoms.

1150

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, p. 211.²

In the year of grace 1150 . . . was made the abbacy of Holmeultram,³ and the abbacy of [Kinloss] in Moray.⁴

In the same year the Premonstratensian order came to Dryburgh, at the feast of St. Martin.⁵

1134 × 1151

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, pp. 73–76.

Of bishop Wimund and his inepiscopal life; and of how he was blinded.

He was born in a most obscure spot in England; and, since he had not by acquisition of the rudiments of letters wherewith to subsist upon in the schools, being a novice in

¹ Cf. G. of C., i, 141.

² Abbreviated from the Chr. of Melr., 74.

³ On the 1st of January; Chr. of Melr. According to Tanner, Notit. Monast., Cumberl. VII, it was founded by prince Henry; not, as J. of H., infra, s.a. 1153, by David.

⁴ On the 21st of May; Chr. of Melr. Hoveden gives the name as *Kinros*.

⁵ 11th November.

the art of writing, he filled the office of antiquary to certain men of religion, to relieve his poverty.

Thereafter at Furness, tonsured and having professed the regular life, when with competent ease he had acquired abundance of writings, aided by a three-fold gift, namely keen intelligence, unerring memory, ready eloquence, he so advanced in little time that he seemed to show great promise.

As time passed he was sent with some brethren to the island of Man; and by the pleasantness of his eloquence and the cheerfulness of his face, and also because he was of a build tall and robust, he so pleased the barbarians that he was sought by them as their bishop; and their desire was fulfilled.¹

¹ *et eorum quidem completum est desiderium.*

Olaf, king of Man, had written to T[hurstan], archbishop of York, asking him to consecrate one Nicholas as bishop of Man; adding, "and let not the clamour of the [monks] of Furness disturb you in any way, nor their unjust complaint; for unless they are silent they shall sooner lose what they seem to have among us than acquire more, since it increases not with God's favour or men's." Raine's York, iii, 59-60. Cf. another letter written by Olaf about the foundation of the bishopric, *ibid.*, 58-59, while "E." was abbot of Furness.

R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 167:—"The first bishop [of the island of Man] had been Wimund, a monk of Savigny; but because of his cruelty he was expelled and deprived of his eyes." So R.W., E.H.S. ed., ii, 250, who has "harshness" (*importunitas*) instead of "cruelty." The Furness monks were Cistercians of Savigny. Furness abbey was founded in 1126.

Chr. of Abps., in Raine's York, ii, 372:—"The same Thomas [II of York] ordained also Wimund, bishop of the isles; and [Wimund] made profession to him and gave it in writing, which thus begins: 'I, Wimund, of the holy church of Skye,' etc."

But Thomas II of York died in 1114; and it was not till 1134 that "Olaf gave to Yvo, abbot of Furness, part of his land in Man to found an abbey in the place which is called Rushen. And he enriched the church in the Isles with revenues, and endowed it with privileges" (Chr. Reg. Man., in Langebek's *Scriptores*, iii, 222.) Whether this was the occasion of the resuscitation of the bishopric of Man is not clear. The Chr. Reg. Man. records an earlier attempt to resuscitate it: *ed. Munch*, 29.

Wimund went with the colony of monks to Rushen, and was consecrated bishop probably by Thomas's successor, Thurstan.

Wimund's successor was John, a monk of Seez. R. de T., u.s., s.a. 1152; R.W., u.s., s.a. 1151. M.P., H.A., i, 291. For Wimund's last years cf. W. of N., *infra*, s.aa. 1152-1153.

It is impossible to identify William of Newburgh's Wimund with the Malcolm Macbeth (or Mac Heth) of the Scottish chroniclers. Wimund represents himself as being the son of Angus. After his father's death in 1130, and the confiscation of his estates, Wimund became a monk in Furness abbey. Thence he went to Man, probably in 1134; and not long afterwards became bishop of that diocese. He was unconquered by David, but it is implied that he was blinded during David's reign; not later than 1151, if we may argue from J. of H., 326, *infra*. And in that year or the next a new bishop was appointed in Man.

Apart from his name we have no indication in the early chronicles as to the parentage of Malcolm: he is called Macbeth in the Chronicle of Holyrood: 38, 42. A Malcolm, said by O.V. to be the illegitimate son of Alex-

Immediately he was elated by his success, and began to strive after great things. And not content with the rank of episcopal office, he now roamed in his mind among great and marvellous things concerning himself; and he had, along with the vainest heart, a mouth talking big things.

At last he collected men needy and daring, and, respecting not the judgment of truth, announced that he was the son of the earl of Moray,¹ despoiled by the king of Scots of the patrimony of his fathers; and that he was minded not only to prosecute his right but also to avenge his wrongs: that he wished to have them as sharers of his peril and fortune; that while the affair was one of considerable labour and danger, yet it was one of great distinction and of the highest gain.

Therefore all were aroused, and, swearing by his words, began to make fierce ravages through the neighbouring islands; and he was now as Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the Lord, disdaining to be with Peter a fisher of men, according to the obligation of episcopal office.

He was reinforced daily by troops of satellites, amongst whom indeed he stood the highest almost from the shoulder; and as a great leader he fired the minds of all.

He made incursions into the provinces of Scotland, harrying everything with rapine and slaughter. And when the royal army was sent against him he retired into remoter passes, or fled back to the ocean, and escaped all the preparation of war; and when the army had returned broke out again from his hiding-places to molest the provinces.

And while he succeeded in everything, and was even a terror to the king himself, a certain bishop, a very simple man, for a time miraculously checked his advance. For when

ander I, rebelled with Angus in 1130. The name Macbeth is not necessarily patronymic; it may mean "man in religion." But the hereditary pretenders in Moray were descendants of the king Macbeth, whose great-great-grandson Wimund claimed to be.

Malcolm Macbeth was imprisoned in Roxburgh from 1134 (Chr. of Melr., 69) till 1157, when he was released (Chr. of Hol., 38) and apparently restored to favour. He had married the sister or daughter of Somerled, and had sons by her old enough to take the field in 1153 (Chr. of Hol., 36). Somerled was still vigorous in 1164; so that the marriage of his daughter could scarcely have taken place before 1134. Malcolm Macbeth died earl of Ross, on the 23rd September, 1168; Chr. of Hol., 42.

¹ For Angus, earl of Moray, son of Lulach's daughter, v. supra, s.a. 1130. For further statements that Wimund's claim was false v. infra, s.a. 1153.

From Wimund's success with the Manxmen we may suppose that he could speak their language. The Chr. of the Abps. connects him primarily with the Isles; but his origin is unknown to the chroniclers,

[Wimund] proclaimed war against him and threatened him with destruction unless he paid tax, "God's will," said he, "be done; for never by my example shall any bishop be made the tributary of another bishop."

So he gathered his people and went against [Wimund] as he advanced in fury, greater than he in faith alone; for in other respects he was far from being [Wimund's] equal; and he himself for the encouragement of his men giving the first blow in the battle, hurled a small axe, and, God willing, laid low his enemy, who was marching in the front.

The people were reassured by this chance, and made a bold onset upon the marauders; and slaying great part of them they compelled their savage leader timidly to flee.

And he himself used afterwards to relate this among friends with enjoyment, as if boasting of it, that God alone had been able to conquer him through the faith of a simple bishop.

The same thing I also have learned from the relation of one who had been of the number of his satellites, and who had fled with the others who escaped.

But [Wimund] recovered his strength and harried as before through the islands and provinces of Scotland. And therefore the king was forced to make terms with the marauder; clearly following a pruder plan, to deal wisely with an arrogant and cunning enemy with whom one could not deal boldly. He therefore yielded to him a certain province, with the monastery of Furness; and for the time checked his raids.

But while [Wimund] was borne in glory like a king surrounded by an army through the province which had been made subject to him, and was severe beyond measure with the very monastery of which he had been monk, certain provincials who were galled by his power or by his insolence laid a trap for him, with consent of the nobles. And finding a favourable opportunity when [Wimund] had sent the host on to their quarters, and was following them at an easy pace and attended by a small escort, they seized and bound him, and put out each of his eyes,—since each was wicked,—and with mutilation emasculated him, for the peace of the kingdom of Scots, not for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

And afterwards he came to our [abbey of] Byland, and there lived quietly for very many years, until his death. But even then he is reported to have said that if he had had even the eye of a sparrow his enemies should by no means have exulted in their actions toward him.

1151

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 326, S.A. 1152.

In these days the cardinal priest John¹ landed at Tynemouth in Northumbria, being sent as legate of the apostolic see with palls for the Irish [bishops.] . . . And he wrote to David, king of Scotland, telling of himself and of the cause of his arrival. and asking of him safe conduct into Ireland.

And at that time the king with his army had confirmed his nephew William Fitz Duncan in the honour of Skipton and Craven, and had stormed a small fort built by the enemy, and had driven out the knights and destroyed it.—There the Scots sinned in robbing churches; and for this the king made amends, giving to each church a silver chalice.—

When the king heard the letter of the lord cardinal he hastened to meet him at Carlisle, sending forward his chancellor to meet him at the church of Hexham; for there the cardinal had been very well received, and with him a certain bishop of Ireland.

When therefore the cardinal came to him, about the feast of St. Michael,² the king and his son earl Henry received him hospitably, and merited his favour by expense and devoted courtesy.

1152

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 327.

In the year 1153 the cardinal priest John, the legate, after adjusting in Ireland the things for which he had been sent, returned after Easter to the king of Scotland, being bound to him by a strong feeling of affection because of his most devoted courtesy of reverence.

1152

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 327, S.A. 1153.³

After Pentecost⁴ died . . . earl Henry, the son of David, king of Scotland; a prince of most modest disposi-

¹ Cardinal Papparone.

² 29th September.

³ Cf. Hoved., i, 212:—"In the same year [1152] died Henry, earl of Northumbria, the son of David, king of Scots; and Matilda, his daughter." This is from Chr. of Mehr., 74, s.a. 1152.

Cf. A. of R.'s panegyric on Henry, *Eulogium Davidis*, in Pinkerton, 447-448.

⁴ Pentecost was the 18th May in 1152; 7th June in 1153. Henry died on the 12th of June, 1152, according to Chr. of Holyr., 35.

tion, a man of self-restraint, God-fearing, and devoted in charities to the poor. And he was buried in the monastery of monks at Kelso near Roxburgh, which monastery David his father had built.

But king David concealed his grief over the death of the queen of England, his niece, and of his only son, and took forthwith his son's first-born, Malcolm, and giving to him as guardian earl Duncan, with a numerous army, commanded that this boy should be conducted round the provinces of Scotland, and proclaimed to be the heir to the kingdom.

And the younger son, William, he took with himself, and came to Newcastle; and took hostages from the chief men of Northumbria, making them all subject to the dominion of that child.

1152

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, P. 328, S.A. 1153.

Henry [Murdac],¹ archbishop of York, . . . also made complaint to king David at Carlisle about his forest-land, which had been wasted by the king's men who worked in the silver mine.²

1152—1153

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, PP. 70-72.³

Of David, king of Scots, and of his son, and of his son's sons.

In these times Henry, the only son of the said king David, the earl of Northumbria and expected successor to the throne, departed by an early death from human things, to the great grief of English as well as of Scots; leaving by his wife, who was the daughter of the earl of Warenne,⁴ three sons and as many daughters. He was a most noble youth, and,—what is hard to find in a man walking the broad ways of the world,—

¹ Henry Murdac was consecrated archbishop by pope Eugenius III in 1147; J. of H., in S. of D., ii, 331. When Stephen and York refused to receive him he was received in 1148 by bishop William II of Durham, and honoured by king David and bishop Aldulf at Carlisle; *ibid.*, 322, s.a. 1149.

² Cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 123, s.a. 1133:—"Also at this time a vein of silver was found at Carlisle: and for it the explorers who sought for it in the bowels of the earth paid yearly to king Henry five hundred pounds."

The *Magnum Rotulum*, 31 Henr. I, 142, shows a revenue from this source of 45 pounds only; Howlett, *ibid.*, note.

³ Cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 172-173.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, s.a. 1139.

conspicuous both for courtesy of manners, and for their sincerity.

While this mischance struck his pious father's heart most bitterly, yet the strength of his constant mind (for he was a good and wise man) placed a becoming limit to his grief; and embracing his two grandsons (for, if I mistake not, their mother, though pregnant, had not yet given birth to the third) he considered that his son lived for him in them, and received consolation.

At last after some years, when about to pay the common debt, he declared as successor to the throne Malcolm, his son's firstborn, though still a child; and he assigned to [Malcolm's] brother William the earldom of Northumbria.¹

And the elder seemed to take more after his father, both in similitude of manners and in habit of body: while the younger seemed to take after his mother, that is, to show the likeness of his mother's race in face and manners.

So David, king of Scots, slept with his fathers: a great and glorious man in the world, and of no less glory in Christ. For, as we learn from trustworthy witnesses who know his life and actions, he was a man religious and pious; a man of much prudence, and of the greatest moderation in the administration of temporal things, and none the less of great devotion towards God: a man by no means on account of affairs of the kingdom more careless of divine offices: nor on account of the divine offices with which he occupied himself less capable in the affairs of the kingdom.

After honourable nuptials and immaculate wedlock, from which was born to him an only son who mirrored his father in most similar manners, he lived for many years in celibacy. He was so generous in pious bounties that, besides his plentiful distribution to the poor, many churches of the saints founded, enriched, decorated by him relate his charities.

And truly, while he was most like in many ways as well as in the title of his name to him whom God pronounces that he has found a man according to his heart,² yet, among many and outstanding good qualities, he departed not from his similitude in a certain grave excess.

For even as the other after many tokens of virtue fell into adultery as well as homicide,—in the one case being weak, in the other wicked:—so also he, in other respects good and pious, in more than righteous zeal for his niece

¹ "The earldom of Lothian," R. de T., u. s., 173.

² 1 Kings, XIII, 14.

the former empress, whose just cause (as he believed it) he supported, sent into the province of the English the nation of Scots, from unbridled barbarity greedy of blood, to spare neither age nor sex ; although he consented not, and forbade it in vain. But even as the other through the abundant grace of his Elector healed that wound, or rather those wounds, by pious humility : so also he expiated the guilt of so great excess by sufficient fruits (as we believe) of penitence.

Therefore not only in the performance of pious works but also in the making of fruitful repentance did this new David, a king not barbarous of a barbarous nation, reflect the royal image of the David of old.

It is to be noted also that even as the other, after repentance, was chastened by Heaven for his former sin through a most wicked son, so he also, although much more mildly, by a certain pretended monk and bishop.

And him indeed I have often seen afterwards at our [abbey of] Byland, and have learned his most insolent actions, with his most deserved mischance. And truly this ought not to be passed over in silence, that posterity also may know how in this man He was glorified who opposes the proud and gives grace to the humble.¹

1153

JOHN OF HEXHAM, IN S. OF D., VOL. II, PP. 330-331, S.A. 1154.²

In the same year David, king of Scotland, was oppressed

¹ See W. of N.'s account of Wimund, *supra*, 1134 × 1151.

Cf. also A. of R., *Enl. Dav.*, in Pinkerton, 446, 447 :—“ . . . [*David's*] *patience toward a pseudo-bishop who said falsely that he was the son of the earl of Moray. [David] triumphed over the Moravians and Islesmen. . . . Thou didst chide him, Lord ! thou didst chide him, as a father his son ; yet in mercy, since thou didst not limit thy mercy in thy wrath. For thou gavest him filial affection in his scourgings, so that he murmured not, rebelled not, but even gave thanks in the scourgings, saying with the prophet, ' All that thou hast done to us, Lord, in true judgment hast thou done it.'* These were his words when his army was routed, when he was forced by his own knights to yield to necessity. These were his words when the Lord sent against him as an enemy a certain pseudo-bishop, who falsely said that he was the earl of Moray's son : and in this sufficiently appeared God's power, in whose hands are the rights of all realms, at whose nod all things are disposed : God himself making peace and creating evil. Let not then the wise boast in his wisdom nor the strong in his strength, since the steps of man are directed by the Lord, who scourged with the lies of a certain monk a most unconquered king, who had reduced to himself so many barbarous races, and who had triumphed with little labour over the men of Moray and of the Isles. And though [the monk] obtained straightway the fitting reward of his deeds, yet in all this the most Christian king perceived the hand of the Lord.”

² Cf., s.a. 1152 for 1153, R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 167 ; R. de D.,

with sickness at Carlisle, and died on the ninth¹ before the Kalends of June; and his memory is blessed throughout all generations.²

There has been none like unto that prince in our days: devoted to divine services, failing not to attend each day at all the canonical hours, and also at the vigils of the dead. And in this he was to be praised that in a spirit of foresight and courage he wisely tempered the fierceness of his barbarous nation; that he was frequent in washing the feet of the poor, and compassionate in feeding and clothing them; that he built, and supplied sufficiently with lands and revenues, the monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holmcultram, Jedburgh, Holyrood,—these being situated to this side of the sea of Scotland, besides those which he benefited in Scotland, and in other places.³—And also in the case of foreign races he gave his bounties to pilgrims, men in religion and laymen. More boastfully would I relate that he showed himself a model even for men of the cloisters in daily frugality of food and clothing, in the sanctity of an honourable life, in the restraint of his customs.

He reigned twenty-nine years. And his body was carried to Dunfermline and buried in the sepulchre of the kings of Scotland, where also rests the holy queen Margaret, his mother.

And of him it is related that the sea which is near to Dunfermline raged under stormy blasts of wind, and threatened with shipwreck them who wished to cross with the body. But when the king's body was placed in the ship the sea was stilled from its raging; and when the body was lifted out of the ship upon the other shore, the sea was disturbed by the renewed surging of the storm.

i, 296; Ann. of Dumst., in A.M., iii, 16; M.P., Chr., Maj., ii, 190. S.a. 1153 Ann of Wav., in A.M., ii, 235. M.P., H.A., i, 293.

Cf. Hoved., i, 212-213 (from Chr. of Melr., 75):—"In the same year [1153] died David, king of Scots, on the ninth before the Kalends of June; and his grandson Malcolm, son of earl Henry, a boy of twelve years, succeeded him in the kingdom."

¹ 24th May. So Hoved., and Chr. of Melr., u.s., and a fragment in S. of D., i, 169. The Durham obituary places his death on the 11th of May; L.V.E.D., 143; the 12th, *ibid.*, 150.

² A marginal addition says:—"This devout David, king of the Scots, sweetest comrade of men in religion, star of the poor and of pilgrims, obtained a vision of the angels of the Lord so often as he wished"; v. Raine's Hexh., i, 168, n.

³ David and his son Henry are included by R. of H. among the benefactors of Hexham for the gift of dwellings in Carlisle: D.H.E., in Raine's Hexh., i, 59.

For Holmeultram cf. *supra*, s.a. 1150.

And so the whole people of the land raised up Malcolm, the son of earl Henry, king David's son ; and at [Scone,] ¹ as is the custom of that race, appointed the boy king, though he was still but twelve years old, in the place of his grandfather David.

And of this it may truly be said, "With their seed their goods remain, and their grandchildren are a holy heritage." ²

And Northumbria was subject to his brother William. ³

1153

AILRED OF RIEVAULX, EPISTOLA, IN TWYSDEN, COL. 347-350. ⁴

Of David, holy king of Scots.

The religious and pious king David has departed from the world : and though he has found a place worthy of such a soul, yet his death imposes grief upon us. For who would not grieve that a man so necessary to the world has been removed from humanity, save he who grudges to humanity peace and progress ?

For this gentle king, just king, chaste king, humble king, who may readily say how much benefit he has conferred on human life ; whom gentleness had made lovable, justice terrible, chastity fit, humility accessible ? And if all this is adjudged most worthy of praise in any private person, how much more so in a king, to whom power grants permission for everything ? For inferiors readily favour his vices, eager to imitate, quick to flatter ; when even impunity prompts boldness, and lust sharpens and inflames luxury.

For we know that he sought not the kingship, but abhorred it, and did rather receive it because of outward necessity than seize upon it greedily, conquered by the lust of reigning. And hence he so abhorred those acts of homage ⁵ which are offered by the Scottish nation in the manner of their fathers upon the recent promotion of their kings, that he was with difficulty compelled by the bishops to receive them.

And when exalted to the kingship he showed no pride in his manners, no cruelty in his words, nothing dishonourable in his deeds ; and hence the whole barbarity of that nation

¹ In text *apud Scotiam* ; read *apud Sconam* ? (But in the Chr. of Hol., 36, s.a. 1153, *apud Scotiam* means "in Scotland.")

² For Ecclesiasticus, XLIV. 11.

³ A. of R. prays Henry II to protect David's grandsons ; Epis., in Twysden, 369-370.

⁴ Ailred commends David's example to Henry of Anjou.

Cf. A. of R.'s Eulogium Davidis, in Pinkerton, 439-456.

⁵ *obsequia*.

was softened, and immediately submitted itself to a king of so great benevolence and humility; as if forgetting their natural fierceness they submitted their necks to the laws which the royal gentleness dictated, and received with gladness the peace which till then they did not know. And hence he seemed not undeservedly beloved by God and man; by God beloved indeed, because immediately in the beginning of his reign he diligently practised the things which are of God, in the building of churches, in the founding of monasteries, which also he enriched with possessions and loaded with honour.

For while he found three or four bishops only in the whole Scottish kingdom, and the other churches wavering without a pastor to the loss of both morals and property, when he died he left nine, both of ancient bishoprics which he himself restored and of new ones which he himself erected. And he granted many great monasteries in full to the brethren of the Cluniac, Cistercian, Tironian, Aroensian, Premonstratensian, Belvacensian orders. And among these he was as one of themselves, both praising what was good, and hiding his shame when anything arose that was less to be praised; impartial to all, anxious for all; granting much, demanding nothing.

O sweet soul, whither hast thou gone? whither hast thou departed? Where are those eyes full of pity and grace, with which thou wert wont to rejoice with the joyous, and to weep with the tearful?

I with my eyes have seen how once, when ready to go a-hunting, his foot was placed in the stirrup and he wished to mount his horse, yet at the voice of a poor man requesting that an audience be given him he drew back his foot, left his horse and returned to the hall, not to return on that day to his purpose; and kindly and patiently heard the case for which he had been appealed to.

Moreover he was accustomed to sit at the entrance of the royal hall, and diligently to hear the cases of poor men and old women, who on certain days were called to him singly, in whatever district he came to; and often with much labour to satisfy each. For often they disputed with him, and he with them, when he refused to take the person of a poor man contrary to justice, and they refused to agree to the reason which he gave.

Moreover, if it chanced that a priest, or a knight, or a monk, or a man rich or poor, or a citizen or a stranger, or a

merchant or peasant, had speech with him, he so talked with each concerning his affairs and duties, appropriately and humbly, that each one thought him careful of his affairs alone ; and so he dismissed all joyous and uplifted.

Touched with the infirmity by which he was to be freed from the flesh, on the fourth day of the week, that is on the thirteenth ¹ before the Kalends of June, when he understood that the dissolution of his body was approaching, he called his friends and showed them without delay what he thought about himself. But they consoled the sick man in human fashion, promising life and perfect health.

But when the disease grew worse on the sixth day of the week, and the violence of his disease took from him the power of standing as well as of walking, he summoned the priests and men of religion, and requested that the sacrament of the Lord's body be given to him.

They prepared to bring what he had commanded, but he forbade them, saying that he would receive the sacred mysteries before the sacred altar. He was carried therefore into the oratory by the hands of priests and knights, and after the celebration of mass he asked for the venerable cross which they call the Black [Rood] to be brought to him for adoration.

Now this cross has the length of a palm and is made of purest gold, of wonderful workmanship ; and it shuts and opens in fashion of a case. In it is seen a certain portion of the Lord's cross, (as it has often been proved to be by the argument of many miracles ;) having the image of our Saviour carved in hardest ivory, and wondrously decorated with golden adornments.

This cross the religious queen Margaret, who was mother of this king, and who had sprung from the royal blood of English and of Hungarians, had brought to Scotland as an heirloom, and had passed on to her sons.²

When therefore the king had most devoutly adored this cross,—not less feared than loved by all the Scottish nation,—with many tears he made confession of his sins, and prepared for his departure by receiving the divine mysteries.

Then he was carried back to his chamber ; and when the priests came to perform the sacraments of holy unction he rose as well as he could, and casting himself from his bed to the ground he received that beneficial office with so great devotion that with hand as well as voice he restrained the

¹ 20th May.

² Cf. Turgot, *Vita Margarietæ*, in Pinkerton, 334.

priests when they sang a little too fast ; and he followed every word, and responded to every prayer.

When all had been performed in order he awaited his last day in the greatest calm of body and of mind, diligently requesting his friends immediately upon his decease to announce his death to all.

“ For,” said he, “ the sooner my death is known, the sooner will the divine mercy show me some consolation from the prayers of my friends.”

In this devotion the day closed for him, and the night also following it he continued in great tranquillity.

But on the Sunday which preceded Christ's Ascension, that is upon the dawn of the ninth¹ before the Kalends of June, when this sun arising dispelled the night's darkness with the rays of his light, [David] departed from the darkness of the body to the joys of the true light, with so great tranquillity that he seemed not to have died but to have fallen asleep ; with so great devoutness that he was found to have lifted his two hands joined together above his breast toward heaven.

Assist him, saints of God : hasten to him, angels of the Lord : receive his soul, worthy of your comfort, place it in Abraham's bosom along with Lazarus, whom he despised not, but cherished,—with the holy apostles and martyrs, whose memorials he diligently reared and cherished ; with Christ's priests and confessors, whom he venerated in their successors and churches : with the holy virgins whose chastity he emulated ; with the despisers of the world, whom he allied to himself by the mammon of unrighteousness, and to whom in Christ's name he submitted himself in all humility. Be with him the mother of pity, whose power is well known to be as much greater than the others' as her mercy is more fruitful.

And I, although a sinner and unworthy, yet mindful, sweetest lord and friend, of thy benefits which from my earliest age thou hast bestowed upon me : mindful of the favour in which now at the last thou hast received me, mindful of the benevolence with which thou hast listened to me in all my petitions, mindful of the munificence which thou hast shown, mindful of the embraces and kisses in which thou hast dismissed me, not without tears, to the wonder of all who were present, I sprinkle and shower my tears for thee, and pour out my affection and my whole spirit. This I offer as a

¹ 24th May. This was Rogation Sunday in 1153.

sacrifice to my God for thee. With this exchange I requite thy benefits. And because this is the least, my mind shall remember thee, there in its inmost shrine where daily for the welfare of all the Son is offered up to the Father.

1153

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, PP. 76-78.

Of Malcolm, most Christian king of the Scots.

To the said David, king of Scots, succeeded Malcolm, not yet a youth, the oldest of his grandsons by his son.

And in many good qualities he equalled his venerable grandfather, and in some even surpassed him gloriously : and shone in the midst of a barbarous and perverse race like a heavenly star.

For he was anticipated by God in the blessing of sweetness, so that from a child he conceived the fervour of heavenly love : and in his whole life so excelled in the candour of his modesty, in the tokens of humility and innocence, in the purity of conscience, in the gentleness as well as gravity of his manners, that among laymen (to whom he conformed in dress alone) he appeared as a monk, and, among the men whom he ruled, as some angel upon earth.

Truly wonderful was this in a king, and a king of so barbarous a nation,—which he so ruled as though God directed all his works,—that he was not despised by the barbarians for these marks of virtue, but rather admired and loved ; while he was most greatly feared by the wicked and bold because of his royal authority and severity.

Yet there were not wanting those who, exalting themselves in fresh revolts, either thought fit to attack him or refused him his dues. But these, God manifestly aiding him, he so either crushed or subdued that thenceforth all men dreaded to molest a man with whom God was.

But upon the advance of youth he lacked not some who, sent by Satan, recking as nothing the loss of chastity in themselves, with wicked daring and poisonous persuasion urged him to the experience of carnal pleasure. But he, already desiring to follow the Lamb wherever he should go, had with his whole bosom inhaled the zeal for holy integrity, and knew, (no man, but God alone showing it to him inwardly,) that this treasure was to be cherished in the frail flesh as if in an earthen vessel ; and at first despised the unbecoming per-

suasions of his contemporaries, and even of those whom he held in the place of masters, and then, when yet they held not their peace, so checked them with a certain authority by word and countenance that none of them thenceforth dared try such things with him again.

But the enemy, urged on by jealousy, repulsed in this laid stronger snares for the godly child. He employed the mother, to insinuate to him the hidden poison as the counsel of motherly kindness: and not only to allure him by blandishments but even to instigate him by commands, urging him to be a king, not a monk: and showing that a girl's embraces best befitted his age and body. Constrained rather than conquered by his mother's importunity, he appeared to consent, not to distress his parent. She gladly, standing by the bedside of her reclining son, placed by his side a beautiful and noble virgin, without opposition from him. When the accomplices had gone out and he had obtained solitude, fired by the flame of charity rather than of lust he rose immediately, and for the whole space of the night left the royal couch to the virgin, and slept upon the pavement, covered with a cloak. Since he was found thus in the morning by the attendants, and the maiden's testimony followed, the virginity of both was declared.

When his mother afterwards employed either reproof or blandishment, by a certain authority of the constancy of his mind he constrained her, so that she thought not to venture further in this matter.

Let the venerators of signs say what they will, esteeming merit by miracles, and by the distinction of signs alone assigning the title of sanctity: I certainly hold this miracle in the young king of integrity so assailed and so unconquerable to be preferred not only to the illumination of the blind, but even to the raising of the dead.¹

1154

HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIE. CONTINUATIO ALTERA,
IN S. OF D., VOL. I, P. 168.

When [Hugh de Puisac] had obtained the bishopric [of Durham],² for the defence of himself and his followers he

¹ Nevertheless compare Malcolm's charter in the Liber S. Mariæ de Calchou, *Bann. Club*, 22-23.

² Hugh was installed in the see on the 2nd of May, 1154, according to the fragment in S. of D., i, 169.

built by the king's command a castle upon the river Tweed, to oppose the invasion of the Scots.

It had been built long before by Ranulf [Flambard],¹ former bishop of Durham, but had been destroyed by the Scots' army.

1155, Feb.

POPE ADRIAN IV TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND : IN HADDAN AND STUBBS, COUNCILS, VOL. II. PP. 231-232.

Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren bishops H[erbert] of Glasgow, Christian of Whithorn, R[obert] of St. Andrews, L[auraunce] of Dunblane, G[regory] of Dunkeld, T.² of Brechin, G[eoffrey] of Aberdeen, W[illiam] of Moray, S[imon] of St. Peter's in Ross, and A[ndrew] of Caithness, greeting and apostolic benediction.

As often as in any church, by disposal of God's mercy, such a pastor is appointed that we have good confidence regarding his discretion and prudence ; so much the greater joy should we be filled with, as we are obliged to be zealous for the welfare of all the churches.

And therefore we have received with due kindness our venerable brother Roger, archbishop of York, and your metropolitan ; and we have granted to him the pall, that is the plenitude of episcopal authority. And we have treated him honourably, while he stayed for some time beside us, as one whom with sincere heart's affection we love with special favour ; and have held him dear among our brethren and fellow bishops, as was fitting. We therefore commend him very earnestly to your Fraternity on his return to his church with the favour of the apostolic see and the support of our letters ; enjoining and commanding by the authority of the present [writings] that you endeavour to love and honour him as your metropolitan, and that you offer him the obedience and reverence due to him by metropolitan right, laying pretext aside.

And if you do not do this, but refuse to obey him, we wish you to know that by God's authority we shall ratify the sentence which this our brother has canonically pronounced upon one of you for this cause.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the third³ before the Kalends of March.

¹ For Norham v. supra, s.a. 1107, note.

² This is an error for Samson ; *ibid.*, 232. note.

³ 27th February.

1157

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. I, P. 216, S.A. 1157.¹

In the same year Malcolm, king of Scots, came to the king of England at Chester, and became his man, in such fashion as his grandfather had been the man of the elder king Henry, saving all his dignities.

1157

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, *HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM*, IN *CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC.*, VOL. I, PP. 105-106.²

To the king of Scots also, who possessed as his proper right the northern districts of England, namely Northumbria, Cumberland, Westmoreland, formerly acquired by David, king of Scots, in the name of Matilda, called the empress, and her heir, [king Henry II] took care to announce that the king of England ought not to be defrauded of so great a part of his kingdom, nor could he patiently be deprived of it: it was just that that should be restored which had been acquired in his name.

And [Malcolm] prudently considering that in this matter the king of England was superior to the merits of the case by the authority of might, although he could have adduced the oath which [Henry] was said to have given to David, his grandfather, when [Henry] received from him the belt of knighthood; when [Henry] asked them again, restored to him the aforementioned territories in their entirety, and received from him in return the earldom of Huntingdon, which belonged to him by ancient right.

Things being so arranged, England enjoyed for a time her ease and security in all her borders. And the king ruled more widely than all who were known to have ruled in England till that time,—that is from the furthest bounds of Scotland as far as to the Pyrenæan mountains;—and his name was held in renown in all these regions.

¹ From Chr. of Melr., 76.

² R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 192:—"After the octave of Easter" [Low Sunday was the 7th of April] "Henry, king of the English, sailed over into England from Barfleur; and Malcolm, king of Scots, restored to him all that he had of his dominion,—that is, the city of Carlisle, the castle of Maidens, Bamborough, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the county of Lothian; and the king restored to him the county of Huntingdon." "Of Maidens" (Edinburgh) is erased in MS. M, and omitted by six other MSS. (The castle was restored to the Scots in 1186.) Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 237; R. de D., i, 302; R.W., i, 16; Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 18; M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 214; Fl. His., ii, 74.

1158

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 216.¹

And the king and Malcolm, king of Scots, met at Carlisle ; but they returned without having become good friends,² and so that the king of Scots was not yet knighted.

1159, July.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 217.³

In the same year [1159] Henry, king of England, collected a great army and besieged Toulouse.⁴ . . .

Returning from this army Malcolm, king of Scots, was knighted at Tours by Henry, king of the English.⁵

1159, Nov.

POPE ALEXANDER III TO THE CLERGY OF ST. ANDREWS : IN HADDAN AND STUBBS, VOL. II, PP. 233-234.

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the archdeacon, prior, and all the clergy of the church of St. Andrew, greeting and apostolic benediction.

The petitions which our venerable brother [William,] bishop of Moray, and our beloved son master Nicholas, have placed before us concerning your church on behalf of our dearest son Malcolm, king of Scots, would have been gladly put into effect by us if it could have been done with God and with justice. And we, desiring with benefit to satisfy the same king, our son, have corrected these petitions and have brought them to a better state, for the reform of the church and the honour of his realm. For what the same messengers proposed to us on behalf of the king could not, as we have said, be fulfilled in justice : for, while for the present your church is destitute of a pastor, it was by no means fitting that the confirmation of the church in the things which were asked should be made. And the counsel of our brethren having been imparted to us, because we see that it accrues

¹ From Chr. of Melr., 76.² " But they departed not well pacified on either side " : Chr. of Melr., 76.³ Cf. R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 202-203. Also *ibid.*, Continuatio Beccensis, iv, 323 :—" On the sixteenth before the Kalends of July [16th June] Malcolm, king of Scots, sailed over into Normandy with forty-five ships : and when he came to the town of Poitou, where the English king's army was assembled, he was honourably received by that king."⁴ " And with him in that siege were Malcolm, king of Scotland, and a certain king of Wales. . . ." G. of C., i, 167.⁵ From Chr. of Melr., 77.

to greater benefit and advantage both of the church and of the king, we have thought fit to grant to our brother, now elected bishop, although he has by no means asked for it, the legation in the whole realm entrusted to our son the king aforesaid, in order to correct there what things are to be corrected, and salutarily to decree the things which ought to be decreed ; on this condition that if you unanimously agree in selecting his person, and the same king will impart his assent, he shall be ordained bishop in that church. And although such transferences ought not to take place without consultation and the assent of the Roman pontiff, yet he shall not need to return to the apostolic see for his confirmation, but thenceforth shall perform freely the legation placed upon him, and the plenitude of the episcopal office in that church. And we, after his ordination, shall be careful with God's help to confirm to him and to the aforesaid church which he shall rule its ancient and justifiable customs and dignities.

And if you cannot agree regarding him, we command you to agree by common will and unanimous desire with regard to some other person literate, suitable and honourable, and be at pains to elect him as your pastor. And if you wish to present the elect to us, we shall both treat him honourably, and endeavour to honour him in every way we see fitting. And thenceforth the legation of this [William] being at an end, he who has been confirmed and consecrated shall obtain by apostolic authority the legation through the whole realm of our aforesaid son the king, and shall exercise the office of legate freely in those parts.

Given at Anagni, on the fifth ¹ before the Kalends of December.

1160

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 217.²

In the year of grace 1160 . . . Malcolm, king of Scots, returned to his own land from the army of Toulouse.

And when he came to the vill which is called Perth earl Feretach ³ and five other earls, in anger against the king because he had gone to Toulouse, besieged the vill of Perth, and wished to take the king ; but they could not.

¹ 27th November.

² This is derived with slight change from Chr. of Melr., 77.

³ Feradaeh or Ferteth, earl of Strathearn.

King Malcolm three times went with a great army into Galloway, and at last subdued it to himself.

In the same year king Malcolm gave his sister Margaret to Conan, earl of Brittany, as wife.¹

1162

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 219.²

In the same year [1162] Malcolm, king of Scots, gave his sister Ada to the count of Holland³ as wife.

1163

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 219.⁴

In the year of grace 1163, which was the ninth year of the reign of king Henry, son of Matilda the empress, that king returned from Normandy into England. And king Malcolm recovered at Doncaster from a severe illness; and a firm peace was made between him and the king of England.

1163, July.

RALPH DE DICETO, IMAGINES HISTORIARUM, VOL. I, P. 311.⁵

Malcolm king of Scots, Rhys prince of the south Welsh, Audouen of the northern, and all the nobles of Wales did homage at Woodstock to the king of the English and to his son Henry, on the Kalends of July.⁶

1164

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, PP. 223-224.⁷

In the same year [1164] was made by king Malcolm the abbacy of Cupar.

¹ Daughter and heir of this marriage was Constance, wife of Henry's son Geoffrey, and mother of Arthur and Eleanor of Brittany. Cf. R. de D., i, 332; ii, 18. R.W., i, 55. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 244-245.

² From Chr. of Melr., 78.

³ Florence III, count of Holland 1157-1190. L'Art, iv, 309-310.

⁴ Chron. of Melr., 78.

⁵ Cf. R.W., i, 26. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 18. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 222; H.A., i, 322. Fl. His., ii, 78.

Cf., R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., iv, 218:—"Malcolm, king of Scotland, did homage to Henry, son of the king of England; and gave to the king hostages, namely David, his younger brother, and certain of the sons of his barons, in surety of preservation of peace and for his castles, which the king wished to have."

⁶ 1st July.

⁷ From Chr. of Melr., 78. where it is said that Malcolm founded it on the 12th of July.

1164

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 224.¹

In the same year Somerled, under-king of Argyle, rose against his natural lord king Malcolm; and with a great army of Irish landed at Renfrew, and there was slain by a few men of his own province.²

In the same year died Herbert, bishop of Glasgow; and to him succeeded Engelram, the king's chancellor, and was consecrated by Pope Alexander at the city of Sens.³ although the messengers of Roger, archbishop of York, very greatly opposed it.

1165

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM.
IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, PP. 147-148.⁴

Of the passing of Malcolm, most pious king of the Scots.

About this time the most Christian king of the Scots, Malcolm, of whom we have made mention, as was fitting, in the preceding book, upon Christ's summons put off the man, to be associated with angels; and lost not his kingship, but changed it. A man of angelic sincerity among men, and as it were an earthly angel, of whom the world was not worthy, the heavenly angels snatched him from the world. A man of wonderful gravity in tender years, of astonishing and unexampled purity upon the summit and in the delights of the kingdom, he was taken from a virgin body to the Lamb, the Virgin's son, to follow him wherever he should go.

¹ From Chr. of Melr., 79.

² Chr. of Melr. has:—"And Somerled, under-king of Argyle, now for twelve years in wicked rebellion against his natural lord Malcolm, king of Scots, after he had landed at Renfrew bringing with him a numerous army from Ireland and various places, was at length slain there by a few fellow-provincials, through divine vengeance, along with his son and innumerable folk."

For the affair of Somerled cf. the Carmen de Morte Sumerledi, written by one William in honour of St. Kentigern, in S. of D., ii, 386-388. It is headed, "How by a very few was slain Somerled Sicebi 'the king,' with his enormous army."

³ Chr. of Melr. adds:—"On the day of the apostles Simon and Jude" [28th October.]

⁴ Cf. Hoved., i, 231, s.a. 1165:—"In the same year died Malcolm, king of Scots; and William, his brother, succeeded him." This is abbreviated from Chr. of Melr., 80, which gives the date as Thursday, 9th December, at Jedburgh, in Malcolm's twenty-fifth year: and the date of William's succession as the 24th December. The Durham obituaries place "Malcolm II's" death on the 8th of December; L.V.E.D., 147, 152. (The 9th December was a Thursday in 1165.)

Clearly he was taken away by an early death lest the wickedness of the times should change his marvellous innocence and purity, since so many opportunities and incentives drive astray a young man on the throne.

But because among the tokens of virtue were not wanting in his admirable soul some small stains resultant from royal delights which nevertheless he rather endured than enjoyed, a visitation let fall, not sent down, from heaven chastised him with paternal lash, and refined him to purity. For before his death he so languished for several years, and besides other sufferings endured severest pains in his extremities, that is, his head and feet, that any repentant sinner would seem capable of being cleansed to pellucidity by so great flagellations.

And hence it is manifest that the child of God had experienced the severity of his father's lash not only for cleansing, but also for trial and increase of virtue or accretion of merit.

So he slept with his fathers and was buried at Dunfermline, a place to wit so called in Scotland, and renowned for sepulchres of kings.

His brother William succeeded him : a brother, indeed, as it appeared, readier for the uses of the world, but not to be more fortunate than he in administration of the kingdom.

The world which his brother wished to use simply, and for that cause piously and laudably, [William] purposed not only to use, but to enjoy : and striving much to exceed his brother's measure in temporal excellence, he yet could never equal his glory even in temporal felicity.

The good gift of wedlock, to which his brother had preferred the best gift of pious and holy virginity, he for long time deferred to use, either for offspring or for the remedy of incontinence. But at length by impulse of more wholesome council he took as wife from overseas the daughter of a man of high rank ; and thenceforth not only lived more correctly, but also reigned more fortunately.

1166

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. I, P. 253, S.A. 1166.

In the same year king Henry of England after his return from Wales¹ sailed over from England into Normandy ; and William, king of Scots, followed him.²

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 240, s.a. 1165.

² The Chr. of Melr., 80, has :—" In the year 1166 Henry, king of England, sailed across ; and William, king of Scots, followed him in connection with his lord's affairs, and after attempting certain knightly feats immediately returned."

In the same year died earl Gospatric in Scotland, and his son Waldeve succeeded him.

1166

ROBERT DE TORIGNI, *CHRONICA*, IN *CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN*, ETC., VOL. IV., PP. 228-229, S.A. 1166.

Thither ¹ came to [king Henry] William, king of Scotland, and the bishop ² of the Isles of Man and other thirty-one, which are between Scotland and Ireland and England.

These thirty-two islands the king of the Isles holds of the king of Norway in such tribute that, when a new king succeeds, the king of the Isles gives to him ten marks of gold, and does naught else for him in his whole life, unless again another king is appointed in Norway.

The bishop aforesaid came to the English king as legate of this king of the Isles.³ For the aforesaid king is the cousin of the English king on the side of Matilda the empress, his mother.

1168

RALPH OF COGGESHALL, *CHRONICON ANGLICANUM*, P. 16.

Master Simon, the second abbot, retired from Coggeshall and returned to Melrose, his monastery.

1170, Apr.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA REGIS HENRICI II*, VOL. I, P. 4, S.A. 1170.⁴

In the same year king [Henry] held his court at Windsor in the celebration of Easter;⁵ and in this paschal festival were present William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, and nearly all the noblest and the greatest men of England, as well bishops as earls and barons.

¹ I.e. at Genest in Brittany.

² Reginald. (Howlett.)

³ Godred Olaf's son was king of Man from 1154 (Langebek: in the Chr. Reg. Man., 1144) to 1187. His mother was Affrica, daughter of Fergus of Galloway.

From 1156 the kingdom of the Isles was divided between him and Dugal, son of Somerled: and from 1158 to 1164 Godred had been deprived of his kingdom by Somerled. Chr. Reg. Man., in Langebek, iii. 221, 223-225.

⁴ Cf. J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 137-138.

⁵ 5th April.

1170, May.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. II, P. 4.

Thereafter ¹ king Henry knighted David, brother of William king of Scots.

1170, June.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA REGIS HENRICI II,
VOL. I, PP. 4, 6.²

So when the celebration of Easter was concluded [Henry] went thence to London, and there held a great council for the coronation of Henry, his eldest son. . . .

And upon the morrow ³ of this consecration the king caused William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, and all the earls and barons and freeholders of his realm to become vassals of the new king, his son ; and he made them swear to him over the relics of saints allegiance and fealty against all men, saving fealty to himself.

1172, Jan.

RALPH OF COGGESHALL, CHRONICON ANGLICANUM, P. 17,
S.A. 1172.

Ordination of master Simon,⁴ formerly abbot of Coggeshall, as bishop of Moray, on the tenth ⁵ before the Kalends of February.

1173

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA REGIS HENRICI II,
VOL. I, P. 45.⁶

Moreover [Henry the younger] made other grants which he confirmed with the same [new] seal.⁷ For he conceded to William, king of Scotland, for his homage and service,⁸ the whole of Northumbria as far as the Tyne.

¹ This stands between episodes of the 3rd March and the 5th April. But cf. Chr. of Melr., 82 : " in the octaves of Pentecost " [31st May].

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 5. J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 138-139.

³ I.e. upon the 15th June. B. of P., i, 5. J. of T., u.s., 138. (The 16th according to Hoved., ii, 4.)

⁴ " Simon de Thouni," *ibid.*, 16. V. *supra*, s.a. 1168.

⁵ 23rd January.

⁶ Cf. Hoved., ii, 47.

For the events of 1173 and 1174 cf. Jordan Fantosme, in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 224-376.

⁷ A seal made for him by king Louis of France ; *ibid.*, 43.

⁸ " For his aid," Hoved., u.s.

Cf. W. of N., ii, 27. in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 171 :—" To these [enemies of Henry II] was added a fiercer foe, the king of Scots, who was about to send into the territories of England his cruel peoples, to spare neither sex nor age."

And he conceded to David, brother of the king of Scotland, for his homage and service, the earldom of Huntingdon; and in addition he gave him the whole of Cambridgeshire.

1173

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA REGIS HENRICI II*,
VOL. I, PP. 47-48.

Now of this wicked treachery in England the authors were William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, . . . [*and twelve others*].¹

William king of Scotland had and held the castle of Stirling, the castle of Maidens, the castle of Jedburgh, the castle of Berwick, the castle of Roxburgh; and the castle of Annan and the castle of Lochmaben, which were the castles of Robert de Bruce. David, brother of the king of Scotland, had the castle of Huntingdon.

1173

RALPH DE DICETO, *IMAGINES HISTORIARUM*, VOL. I, P. 376.²

William, king of Scots, asked again from the king father that which in the province of the Northumbrians³ had been granted, given over and confirmed by charters to his grandfather, king David, and which also had been long time possessed by him; but meeting with a refusal he collected an army,⁴ with an endless host of Galwegians,—men agile, unclothed, remarkable for much baldness; arming their left side with knives formidable to any armed men, having a hand most skilful at throwing spears, and at directing them from a distance; raising their long lance as a standard when they advance to battle.

Having a safe journey through the lands of Hugh, bishop of Durham, the king of Scotland began to harry England, to burn down villages, to collect incalculable spoil, to lead away young women captive, to take out the half living infants from the wombs of the pregnant.

¹ W. of N., H.R.A., II, 31, in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 180;—"And that they might act with the greater confidence through having a prince of great name, they chose as their leader and prince David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland."

For the part played in the campaign by David v. J.F., u.s., 296, 298.

² This is placed after the capture of Leicester, 28th July.

Cf. R.W., i, 95. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 289; H.A., i, 379-380.

³ "The province of Northumbria, which . . ." R.W., u.s.

⁴ "An army both of Welsh" [i.e. Galwegians] "and of Scots." R.W., u.s.

1173

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, PP. 177-178.

Moreover the king of Scots, having learned how greatly the king of the English laboured in Normandy, entered English territory with the hugest forces of his nation, barbarous and thirsting for blood; and surrounded with a siege the city of Carlisle, and defiled the whole neighbouring province with slaughter and rapine.

But learning that a great army approached from the south of England he left the siege, and after a vast wasting of the province which is called Northumbria he retreated into his own from before the face of our nobles.

And they arriving with military forces crossed the river Tweed, which divides the English kingdom from the Scottish; and carried retribution into the enemy's land, no one opposing them.¹

But presently by the eager representation of messengers they were recalled to the south of England; yet the ferocity of the king's enemy was checked through caution for a time by necessary truce, since by the cunning dissimulation of our men what had been announced was still hid from him.²

1173, Oct.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I, P. 61.³

And when this⁴ was reported to Richard de Lucy and to Humfrey de Bohun, the king's constable, who had set out with a great army⁵ to harry the land of the king of Scotland, and who had already burned Berwick, a town of the king of Scotland, and the whole province around it, they took a truce⁶

¹ Cf. R. de D., i, 376:—"Therefore to repel so great and terrible an injury the nobles of England took arms with such speed as it could be done, and suddenly compelled the king of Scotland to take to flight and retreat into Scotland. And they followed his steps and wasted with fire the whole of Lothian; and whatever was found outside of walls was given to the English as plunder. And so at the request of the king of Scots a truce was given till the feast of St. Hilary [13th January], and the nobles returned with victory." Cf. R.W., i, 95, "at the instance of the king of Scots." Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 289; H.A., i, 380.

² Robert, earl of Leicester, had landed with a fleet from Flanders.

³ Cf. Hoved., ii, 54.

⁴ I.e. the arrival of the earl of Leicester (on the 29th September, R. de D., i, 377.) and the capture of Hagenet, (13th October, R. de D., u.s.) B. of P., i, 60.

⁵ "Into Lothian," Hoved., u.s.

⁶ ". . . They were greatly afraid. And they set all other matters aside, and gave and took a truce. . . ." Hoved., u.s.

Contrast with this the version of R. de D. and R.W., supra, note.

from the king of Scotland until the feast of St. Hilary ;¹ and they gave hostages on either side. And thus as quickly as he could Humfrey de Bohun proceeded to Bury St. Edmunds, awaiting there the arrival of the earl of Leicester.² . . .

1174

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 64-66.³

But when the feast of St. Hilary approached, Hugh, bishop of Durham, held a conference between himself and the king of Scotland at Ravendale,⁴ and there took a truce from the king of Scotland until the close of Easter.⁵

And for this truce he promised him three hundred marks of silver from the lands of the barons of Northumbria. . . .

And immediately after the close of Easter, having first received the three hundred marks of silver from the lands of the barons of Northumbria, the king of Scotland moved forward⁶ his army into Northumbria, and there through his Scots and Galwegians acted execrably.⁷ . . .

Meanwhile the king of Scotland sent his brother David to Leicester, to be there against the king with the knights of the earl of Leicester ;⁸ and then with his army besieged Carlisle, which Robert de Vaux had in keeping. And when for a few days he had tarried there, he left there part of his army around the castle and went in person with the remaining part of his army through Northumbria, wasting the lands of the king and of his barons ; and took with his arms the castle of Liddell, which belonged to Nicholas de Estuteville ; and the castle of

¹ 13th January, 1174. So Hoved., R.W., u.s.

² The battle of Fornham followed, on the 17th October : R. de D., i, 377-378 (on the 16th, according to B. of P., i, 62.)

³ Cf. Hoved., ii, 56-57, 60, 63.

⁴ *apud Revedalam*, B. of P. Hoved. has *apud Revedene*, ii, 57.

⁵ 31st March.

⁶ "Wasted Northumbria with a great army of Welsh and Scots," G. of C., i, 247 ; ii, 81.

W. of N., H.R.A., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 181-182 :—"Meanwhile the king of Scots with an endless mob of his own nation and no small band of mercenary horse and foot summoned from Flanders invaded English territories and obtained two royal castles in Westmoreland, namely Brough and Appleby, finding them unprepared and without garrisons. And going aside thence he again determined to attack the town of Carlisle."

⁷ Here follows a passage upon the excesses of the Scottish army, taken imperfectly from H. of H., 260-261 : v. supra, s.a. 1138. So in Hoved., ii, 57. Cf. also G. of C., i, 247. We may note the stereotyped nature of these accounts.

⁸ Cf. Hoved., ii, 57, and note.

Brough, and the castle of Appleby, the king's castles which Robert de Estuteville kept; and the castle of Warkworth, which Roger son of Richard kept; and the castle of Harbottle, which Odenel de Umfraville held.

And afterwards he returned to his army which he had left around Carlisle, and tarried there so long that, when food had failed the burghers who were inside and himself, Robert de Vaux made with him peace in this fashion:—that upon the following feast of St. Michael¹ he would render to him the castle and the town of Carlisle, unless meanwhile he should have succour from his lord the king of England. And of this he assured the king of Scotland by promise and oaths and hostages.²

And the king of Scotland departed thence with his army, and besieged the castle of Prudhoe of Odenel de Umfraville, but could not take it. For the army of Yorkshire was preparing to come against him.³ . . .

When this was announced to the king of Scotland he left the castle which he had invested; and fleeing thence he came to Alnwick,⁴ and besieged it. And he sent thence earl Duncan and the earl of Angus and Richard de Moreville, with almost his whole army, through the surrounding provinces, to harry them.⁵ And the king of Scotland remained there with his private household.

But earl Duncan at once divided the army into three parts;

¹ 29th September.

² W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 182:—" . . . He again determined to attack the town of Carlisle. But the citizens in terror gave him surety that they would give up the city to him on a certain day, unless meanwhile a sufficient garrison were sent to them by the king of the English."

³ W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 182:—" . . . And he turned his army to the attack of a certain castle which is called Prudhoe, upon the river Tyne.

"Then came to him Roger de Mowbray aforesaid, beseeching aid. For two of his castles had been boldly stormed and taken by Geoffrey, then bishop-elect of Lincoln, the king of England's natural son; and [de Mowbray] held the third, called Thirsk, with danger.

"Now this Roger had long ago given his firstborn son as hostage to the king of Scots when he meditated an incursion into the province of York, in pledge that he would help him and obey him in all things; and had received from him in return the promise that he should by no means be deceived in [the king's] help, in whatever necessity he might be.

"And the king, when he had laboured for several days at Prudhoe with useless effort and rather to the hurt of his own men, hearing that the army of the province of York was being moved against him, crossed the Tyne and invaded the territories of Northumbria."

⁴ "The castle of William de Vesey," Hoved. ii, 60.

⁵ W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 182-183:—"By the Scots, to whom no sort of food comes amiss, was gnawed up whatever could be chewed even by dogs. And while they applied themselves to booty, it was the pleasure of this inhuman nation, more savage than wild beasts, to slaughter old men,

one he kept with him, and the remaining two he sent to burn the surrounding towns and to slay folk from the greatest to the least, and to carry off spoil.

And he himself with the part of the army which he had chosen entered the town of Warkworth, and burned it, and slew in it all whom he found there,—men and women, great and small ; and he made his satellites break into the church of saint Laurence which was there, and slay in it and in the house of the priest of that town more than a hundred men, besides women and children ; oh, sorrow ! Then you might hear the screaming of women, the crying of old men ; the groans of the dying, the despair of the [living] !¹

1174, July.

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, PP. 183–185.²

Of the capture of the king of Scots.

While things were thus in the northern parts of England

to butcher children, to disembowel women, and the like ; things which it is horrible even to speak of.

“ So having let loose upon the wretched province the army of most cruel marauders, while the barbarians raged in inhuman orgies the king himself appeared to be idle, surrounded by a body-guard of knights more honourable and milder ; and kept watch around the very strong castle called Alnwick, lest perchance a force of knights should break out from it and molest the marauders as they pillaged on all sides.”

¹ *Sic lege.* This sentence is from H. of H., 261 ; supra, s.a. 1138. So in Hoved., ii, 57, 60.

² Cf. B. of P., i, 66–67 (and Hoved., ii, 63) :—“ But God almighty avenged on the same day the wrong and violence inflicted upon the church of his martyr. For the leaders of the aforesaid army of Yorkshire, when they heard that the king of Scotland had retreated from Prudhoe and had invested Alnwick, and had so sent his army from him, followed him in haste ; and found him before Alnwick unawares, playing with his knights as if secure and fearing nothing.

“ For he, when he saw them coming afar, thought that they were earl Duncan and those who were with him. But when they had come near to him they fell upon him, and immediately captured him, and his knights left him and fled.”

Cf. G. of C., i, 249 :—“ And upon the same Saturday on which the king returned from Canterbury, William, king of Scotland, had sent his soldiers to take spoil, keeping but few companions with him in the siege of the castle of Alnwick. And when the army of York came upon him unexpectedly, and he thought that they whom he had before him were friends returning with spoil, he was suddenly hemmed in by them and captured. The rest of his men who were present were slaughtered, or slipped away in flight.”

Cf. T.W., Chr., in A.M., iv, 35–36.

Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 61 :—“ In this year the king of Scotland was captured, in the war which took place between the father and son.”

The capture is mentioned also by Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 240 ; Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 21 ; Ann. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 37. Fl. His., ii, 84, 85.

R.W., i, 100, gives an ornamental version :—“ . . . Battle was engaged

the king's nobles of the province of York were frankly enraged that Scots should infest English territories; ¹ and they gathered with a strong force of cavalry at Newcastle upon the river Tyne. For, as the matter pressed, they could not collect forces of infantry. And they came thither on the sixth day of the week, wearied by their long and arduous journey.

Now when they discussed in common there what was to be done, the more prudent alleged that much had been done already, since the king of Scotland had retired very far, through fore-learning their approach; that for the present this ought to suffice for their moderate strength; it was not safe for them, nor of use to the king of the English, that they should advance further; lest perchance they should seem to expose their small number like a loaf of bread to be devoured by the endless host of the barbarians. They had not more than four hundred horsemen, while in the enemy's army were estimated more than eighty thousand men-at-arms.

To this the more eager replied that their most wicked foes ought by all means to be attacked: that they should not despair of victory, which without doubt would follow justice.

At last the opinion of the latter prevailing, because God so willed that the event should be ascribed rather to the divine will than to the power or prudence of man, the men of valour (among whom the leaders were Robert de Estuteville, Ranulf de Glanville, Bernard de Balliol, William de Vesey,) somewhat refreshed by the night's rest advanced in the earliest morning with such speed,—as though hastening by propulsion of some power,—that before the fifth hour ² they had traversed twenty-four miles; although that seemed scarcely within the endurance of men laden with the weight of their arms.

And while they went a mist, so it is said, covered them so

in in the open, and they took him himself and bound him with tightest chains. But of the Scottish ants so many are reported to have been slain that they were said to exceed all number. And as the king was sent for incarceration to the castle of Richmond, the prophecy of Merlin seems to have been fulfilled. . . ." Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, VII, 3, ed. San-Marte, 95:—"Scotland shall rage, and summoning her allies cease to shed blood. To her jaws shall be given a bridle which shall be forged in the Armorican gulf."

Cf. R. de D., i, 384. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 293-294; H.A., i, 387-388.

Jordan Fantome claims to have witnessed the capture: ll. 1774-1775, in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 350-352. A Jordan of Flanders was among those taken with the king; B. of P., i, 167; *infra*, note.

¹ R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 264:—"For this king [William] had, with Roger de Mowbray and his other accomplices, for the whole summer wasted the northern parts of England, which pertain to Scotland."

² Of their march? "Before five o'clock," Stevenson. Cf. note by Howlett, Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 188.

densely that they scarcely knew whither they were going. Then the more prudent, arguing the journey dangerous, asserted that extreme hazard surely threatened them unless they immediately turned and went back.

To this said Bernard de Balliol, a man noble and high-spirited : " Let him go back who will, but I will go on even if no one follow : and not brand myself with a perpetual stain."

So while they proceeded, suddenly the mist cleared away : and they, having the castle of Alnwick before their eyes, joyfully considered that it would be a safe shelter for them if the enemy pressed upon them.

And behold the king of Scots was on the watch, with a troop of horse, about sixty or a few more, not far away, in the open fields ; as if secure, and fearing nothing less than an attack of our men : the host of barbarians with part of the cavalry being scattered widely for the spoil.

And indeed at first when he saw our men he thought they were some of his own returning from the spoil. But presently noticing carefully the standards of our men, he at last understood that they had dared what he could not have guessed they would dare.

Nevertheless he was not dismayed, surrounded as he was by his army, so vast, although ill concentrated : and esteemed it certain that these few, being surrounded, must be easily swallowed up by the host spread out around them.

Immediately he struck his arms fiercely together, and aroused his men both by word and example, saying, " Now it will appear who knows how to be a knight."

And, the rest following, he rushed first upon the enemy, and was immediately intercepted by our men ; and, his horse being killed, he was thrown to the ground and taken, with almost all his troop.

For even those who were able to escape by flight, when he was taken refused to flee ; and, that they might be taken with him, yielded themselves voluntarily into the hands of the enemy.

Certain nobles also who chanced to be absent at the time but were not far away learned what had happened, and came presently at their horses' highest speed : and throwing themselves rather than falling into the hands of the enemy thought it honourable to share in the peril of their lord.¹

¹ Cf. B. of P., i. 67 (cf. Hoved., ii, 63) :—" And with him were taken Richard Cumin, William de Mortimer, William de Insula, Henry Revel, Ralph de Vere, Jordan of Flanders, Waldeve son of Baldwin de Biere, Richard

But Roger de Mowbray, who was there at the time, slipped away and escaped when the king was taken, and fled back into Scotland.

And our chief men carried away with rejoicing a noble prey, and returned in the evening to Newcastle, whence in the morning they had departed; and caused him to be most carefully guarded at Richmond, so as to send him in good time to their lord the illustrious king of the English.

This was happily accomplished, by God's favour, in the year from the fulness of time when the word was made flesh, 1174, on the third ¹ before the Ides of July, on a Saturday.

And immediately it was published abroad, and thankfully heard in all the provinces of the English, with clanging of bells for solemn joy.

1174, July.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I, P. 72.

And on the same day,² namely the third ³ before the Ides of July, the king of Scotland was taken at Alnwick: and on the Thursday following,⁴ the rumour that the king of Scotland was taken reached the king's ears in London, where he abode collecting his army.⁵

And when the king heard it, he rejoiced much with great joy, and gave thanks for it to God almighty and saint Thomas the martyr. And the same day he advanced his army against Huntingdon, and invested it.

And on the Sunday following, namely the twelfth ⁶ before

Malluel." ("And many other nobles," adds MS. B.) "And many others, who permitted themselves to be taken of their own accord, that they might not seem to consent in the capture of their lord": *Hoved.*, ii. 63.

¹ 13th July. So B. of P., *Hoved.* This was a Saturday in 1174.

² The day of king Henry's return from pilgrimage to Canterbury.

Cf. J. of T., in *Fl. of W.*, ii. 154:—"The king father coming to England found it in rebellion against him, but while he performed his vows to St. Thomas, the king of Scotland was captured: and the king took him with him to Normandy."

Cf. *R. de D.*, i. 384, 385, 399. *R.W.*, i. 98-100. *G. of C.*, i. 248-249; ii. 80-81. *W. of N.*, ii. 35; in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., i. 187-189. *M.P., H.A.*, i. 387. *Fl. His.*, ii. 84, 85.

³ 13th July.

⁴ 18th July.

⁵ *W. of N.* relates how Henry received the news: *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., i. 189-190. See also *Jordan Fantome*, 1956-2029, *ibid.*, iii. 364-372.

⁶ 21st July. *R. de D.*, i. 384, dates the surrender on the 20th:—"Advancing from [London] with a strong band he came to Huntingdon on the fourteenth before the Kalends of August [19th July], and on the thirteenth before the Kalends of August received in surrender the castle, which had been invested manfully since the eighth before the Ides of May [8th May], and for very long shut in by a protracted siege." *R.W.*, i. 100-101, and *M.P., H.A.*, i. 388, place the reduction of the castle on the 19th July.

the Kalends of August, the castle of Huntingdon was rendered to him, and all the knights and esquires who were within rendered themselves to him at his mercy, with safety of life and limb.¹

1174, July.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. II, P. 64.

. . . On the seventh² before the Kalends of August king [Henry] returned from Selcham and went to Northampton.

And when he had come there, William, king of Scots, was brought to him, with his feet shackled beneath the belly of his horse.

1174, Aug.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I, P. 74.³

And . . . [king Henry] took ship at Portsmouth, and made land next day at Barfleur in Normandy ; on the sixth namely before the Ides of August, on the fifth day of the week ;⁴ . . . and he took with him William, king of Scotland, and the earl of Leicester, and the earl of Chester, and imprisoned them at Caen, and afterwards at Falaise.⁵

1174

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, *HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM*, IN *CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC.*, VOL. I, PP. 186-187.

What things took place in the army and land of the king of Scotland, after he was captured.

When therefore the king of Scots was given over into the hands of the enemy, God's evident vengeance permitted not

¹ Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 195:—"But earl David, who had been their leader, left the castle of Huntingdon (which presently yielded to the king.) and went in alarm to Scotland." This passage follows the surrender of the castellans of the earl of Leicester, 31st July 1174.

Jordan Fantosme says that David was summoned by Henry, and went: ll. 2039-2046, 2052: in Chr. of Ste., etc., iii, 372, 374.

The castle was destroyed in 1176: R.W., i, 105.

² 26th July.

³ Cf. Hoved., ii, 65. R. de D., i, 385. R.W., i, 101. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 294. Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 195.

⁴ Thursday, 8th August.

⁵ G. of C., i, 249, adds to the list the earl [of Derby], de Ferrers.

R.W., i, 101:—"Thus the glorious king . . . crossed over into Normandy, on the seventh before the Ides of August [7th August], taking with him the king of Scots, the earl of Leicester and Hugh de Castello, [all] whom he kept in chains." Cf. M.P., H.A., i, 389. According to R.W., they landed on the 13th August; *ibid.*

" *Enas autem in eodem insensu Anglorum
numerus, regni enim Scottie oppida et burgi ab
Anglis 256 habitari SCOTTISH ANNALS noscuntur.*

H. R. A.
I p. 186.

also his most evil army to go away unhurt. For when they learned of the king's capture the barbarians at first were stunned, and desisted from the spoil; and presently, as if driven by furies, the sword which they had taken up against their enemy and which was now drunken with innocent blood they turned against themselves.

Now there was in the same army a great number of English; for the towns and burghs of the Scottish realm are known to be inhabited by English.

On the occasion therefore of this opportunity the Scots declared their hatred against them, innate, though masked through fear of the king: and as many as they fell upon they slew, the rest who could escape fleeing back to the royal castles. . . .¹

And the whole kingdom of Scotland was disturbed; God most justly disposing, and measuring again to the wicked in the same measure as they themselves had meted: so to wit that they who had a little while before disturbed the quiet of a harmless nation, and had thirsted for English blood, received in the fairest manner retribution from themselves.

1174

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
PP. 67-68.²

But Utréd, Fergus' son, and Gilbert his brother, when they heard that their lord the king of Scotland was taken, immediately returned with their Galwegians to their own lands, and at once expelled from Galloway all the bailiffs and guards whom the king of Scotland had set over them; and all the English and French whom they could seize they slew; and all the defences and castles which the king of Scotland had established in their land they besieged, captured and destroyed, and slew all whom they took within them.

1174

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. II, P. 63.

And [Utréd and Gilbert] very urgently besought the king father of England, and offered him very many gifts, that he would snatch them from the dominion of the king of Scotland, and reduce them to his empire.

¹ Here follows the account of the quarrel between Fergus and Utréd of Galloway; v. infra.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 63.

1174

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 79-80.¹

Meanwhile Utred and Gilbert, Fergus' sons, were at strife as to which of them should be lord of the other and have dominion over the Galwegians : and had great hatred between them, so that each of them lay in wait for the other to slay him.

And in process of time Gilbert, Fergus' son, collected his men : and made a plan with them that his brother Utred should be taken and slain. And at the appointed time they came together to take and slay him.

And Malcolm, son of Gilbert Fergus' son, came and besieged the island of — in which abode Utred, brother of his father, and cousin of Henry, king of England, son of Matilda the empress ; and captured him,² and sent his butchers, commanding them to put out his eyes, and to emasculate him and cut out his tongue : and so it was done. And they went away, leaving him half-dead ; and shortly after he ended his life.

And while these things took place the lord king sent to England one of his priests, Roger of Hoveden by name, to Robert de Vaux, that they two should meet Utred and Gilbert, Fergus' sons, and draw them to [Henry's] service.

And when about the feast of St. Clement³ they had come to a conference between themselves and Gilbert, Fergus' son, Gilbert himself and the rest of the Galwegians offered them for the king's benefit two thousand marks of silver, and five hundred cows and five hundred swine in revenue each year on this

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 69 : a very short account. (Hoved., ii, 299, in error attributes the crime to Gilbert's son Duncan.)

Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 186-187 :—" There were also in that army two brothers, Gilbert namely and Utred, lords of the province of Gallogway, with a numerous band of their own nation. These were the sons of Fergus, former prince of the same province, and had succeeded their father when he yielded to fate : the king of Scotland (who is sovereign lord of that land) dividing the heritage between them.

" But Gilbert, the elder, grieved that he had been defrauded of the entirety of his father's right, and ever hated his brother in his heart, although fear of the king restrained an outburst of the wrath he had conceived. But when the king was taken he was freed from this fear, and presently laid his hands upon his brother, who anticipated no evil : and slew him, not by a simple death, but racked by tortures to satiate his execrable hatred. Immediately he invaded his brother's territories,—barbarians raging against barbarians,—and caused no small slaughter of men.

" Now his brother, thus basely slain, had a son called Roland, an active and vigorous youth, who with help of his father's friends opposed his savage uncle with all his strength."

² " Treacherously," Hoved., ii, 69.

³ 23rd November.

condition, that the king should receive them in his hand, and remove them from the servitude of the king of Scotland.

But the aforesaid messengers of the king of England refused to make this compact with the Galwegians until they had spoken with the king.

And when it had been shown to the king how Utred Fergus' son, his cousin, had been slain, he refused to make any terms with those Galwegians.

1174, Dec.

RALPH DE DICETO, *IMAGINES HISTORIARUM*, VOL. I, P. 396 ¹

William, king of Scots, held in chains in Normandy ² received some consolation at Falaise, being visited by his friends in no small number. Following the counsel, therefore, of the bishops and abbots, earls and barons of his kingdom, he made peace with the English king in the region of Coutances, at Valognes, on the sixth ³ before the Ides of December, in this fashion. . . .⁴

1174, Dec.

RALPH DE DICETO, *IMAGINES HISTORIARUM*, VOL. I, P. 398,
S.A. 1175.⁵

William, king of Scotland, gave hostages in Normandy, and returned to England ⁶ on the third ⁷ before the Ides of December, being given over into sufficiently free keeping until the castles about which agreement had been made, and as agreement had been made, were according to faithful judgment given up to the keeping of the king of the English.

¹ Cf. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 197, 197-198. R.W., i, 103-104 (s.a. 1175).

² "Held in chains at Falaise," R.W., i, 103.

³ 8th December. Cf. M.P., H.A., i, 392-393, s.a. 1175, Dec. 8.

William the Lion was excluded from the treaty of peace between Henry and his sons, concluded on the 30th September, 1174; cf. B. of P., G.H., II, i, 78:—"But the prisoners who had made a compact with the lord king before peace was made with the lord king, are outside that convention:—namely the king of Scotland, and the earl of Leicester, and the earl of Chester, and Ralph de Fougeres, and their hostages, and the hostages of other prisoners whom he had before." So Hoved., ii, 68.

⁴ An abridgment of the treaty follows, pp. 396-397.

⁵ Cf. R.W., i, 104 (s.a. 1175).

⁶ According to J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 154, "William, king of Scotland, taken by right of war, gave hostages and so returned from Normandy to Scotland."

⁷ 11th December.

1175, Aug.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 94-99.¹

And . . . king [Henry] went to York, and came thither on the feast of St. Laurence; ² and he had there to meet him William, king of Scotland, who had brought with him all the bishops ³ and earls and barons and knights and freeholders of his land, from the greatest even to the least, to do there homage and allegiance and fealty to the king of England and his heirs for ever, against all men, as had been agreed between them at Falaise in Normandy, before the king of Scotland went out from his prison.

When therefore all were assembled in the church of St. Peter of York, William king of Scotland commanded the bishops and earls and barons of his land to do allegiance and fealty and homage to Henry, king of England, son of Matilda the empress, and to king Henry, his son; and so it was done.

And first the king of Scotland himself and David his brother became there the vassals of the aforesaid king for all their holdings: and expressly for Scotland and Galloway. And touching the sacred Evangelists, they swore to him fealty and allegiance against all men; and afterwards became the vassals of the king his son, and swore to him fealty, saving fealty to his father.

Similarly, by command of the king of Scotland, there swore to them fealty and allegiance, to be held by them and their heirs for ever, Richard, bishop of St. Andrews; Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow; Richard, bishop of Dunkeld; Christian, bishop of Galloway; Andrew, bishop of Caithness; Simon de Thouni, bishop of Moray; the abbot of Kelso; Laurence, abbot of Melrose; the abbot of Newbattle; and besides these all the abbots of his land.⁴

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 79-82. R. de D., 396-397. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 21-22. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 296-297. R.W., i, 103-104. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 198. J. of E., in Fl. of W., ii, 253-257.

Cf. also M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 296. Fl. His., ii, 86.

For the treaty v. Rymer, Foed., i, 39-40.

² 10th August.

³ "With almost all the bishops and abbots and other magnates of their lands." Hoved., ii, 79. "All the bishops of that land, who are ten in number," R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 267.

⁴ R. de T., in Chr. of Ste., etc., iv, 267-268:—"But the bishops and abbots did not do homage; but bound themselves by an oath that they would observe this, and that they would be subject to the church and archbishop of York, and would go thither for consecration so often as it should be needful. . . ."

"Moreover the king of England shall present the honours in Scotland,—episcopates, abbacies and other honours;—or, to say less, they shall be presented by his advice."

The aforesaid bishops swore also that if the king of Scotland should refuse to hold the agreement and compact which he had made with the king of England, they would place under an interdict him and his whole land, until he came to the good pleasure of the king of England.

They swore also that they would make the same subjection to the church of England as their predecessors were wont to make to that church, and which they ought to make.

Similarly the earls and barons of the land of the king of Scotland by his command became the vassals of the king of England and of Henry, his son, saving fealty to [his father]; and swore to them fealty and allegiance against all men: namely earl Duncan, and the earl of Angus, and earl Waldeve. And they swore that if the king of Scotland drew back from the aforesaid agreement, they would hold with the king of England against him, until he came to [give] befitting satisfaction and to [do] the will of the king.

And then, in presence of all, the king of England caused to be read, and to be confirmed by the seals of the king of Scotland and of David his brother, the following agreement which had been made between him and the king of Scotland:—

“ This is the agreement and the compact which William, king of Scotland, has made with his lord Henry, king of England, son of Matilda the empress.

“ William, king of Scotland, has become the liege man of the lord king against every man, for Scotland and for all his other lands: and has done him fealty as to his liege lord, as his other vassals are accustomed to do to him.

“ Similarly he has done homage to king Henry, his son; and fealty, saving his faith to the lord king, his father.

“ And all bishops and abbots, and the clergy of the land of the king of Scotland, and their successors, shall do to the lord king, as to their liege lord, fealty for all for which he wishes to have it, as his other bishops are accustomed to do to him; and to king Henry, his son, and to their heirs.

“ And the king of Scotland and David, his brother, and the barons and his other vassals, have conceded to the lord king that the church of Scotland shall make to the church of England henceforth such subjection as she ought to make to her, and used to make in the time of the kings of England, his predecessors.

“ Similarly Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, and Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, and Geoffrey, abbot of Dunfermline, and Herbert, prior of Coldingham, have conceded that the church

also of England shall have that right in the church of Scotland which by right she ought to have : and that they will not oppose the right of the church of England. And as ¹ they have done liege fealty to the lord king and to Henry his son, they have confirmed this to them : and this also shall the other bishops do, and the clergy of Scotland, through the agreement thereanent made between the lord king and the king of Scotland, and David his brother, and his barons. The earls also, and the barons, and the other men of the land of the king of Scotland, shall do to the lord king homage against every man for all for which he wishes to have it, and fealty as to their liege lord, as his other vassals are accustomed to do to him ; and to king Henry his son, and to his heirs, saving the faith due to the lord king his father.

“ Likewise the heirs of the king of Scotland and of his barons and vassals shall do homage and allegiance to the heirs of the lord king against every man.

“ Moreover the king of Scotland and his vassals shall henceforth receive no fugitive for felony from the land of the lord king, in Scotland or in any land of theirs : unless he be willing to come to justice in the court of the lord king, and to appear before the judgment of the court : but the king of Scotland and his vassals, so soon as they can, shall seize him and render him up to the lord king or his justiciars or his bailiffs in England.

“ And if from the land of the king of Scotland anyone be a fugitive for felony in England, unless he be willing to come to justice in the court of the king of Scotland, or of the lord king, and to stand before the judgment of the court, he shall not be received in the land of the lord king, but shall be delivered to the vassals of the king of Scotland or to the bailiffs ² of the lord king, wherever he shall be found.

“ Moreover the vassals of the lord king shall hold the lands which they had and ought to have, of the lord king, and of the king of Scotland, and of his vassals. And the vassals of the king of Scotland shall hold their lands, which they had and ought to have, of the lord king and of his vassals.

“ And in token to the lord king, and to Henry, his son, and to his heirs, of the sure observance by the king of Scotland and his heirs of this agreement and compact, the king of Scotland has delivered to the lord king the castle of Roxburgh, and the castle of Berwick, and the castle of Jedburgh, and the castle of

¹ In text *et desicut* ; in Fœd., *et de hac concessione sicut*.

² Read “ by the bailiffs,” as Fœd., and MS. B.

Maidens,¹ and the castle of Stirling,² at the mercy of the lord king; and the king of Scotland shall assign of his revenue for the keeping of these castles an amount according to the will of the lord king.³

“ Moreover in token of the fulfilment of the aforesaid agreement and compact, the king of Scotland has delivered up to the lord king his brother David as hostage, and earl Duncan, and earl Waldeve, and earl Gilbert, and the earl of Angus, and Richard de Moreville the constable, and Nes⁴ son of William, and Richard Cumin, and Walter Corbet, and Walter Olifard, and John de Vaux, and William de Lindsey, and Philip de Coleville, and Philip de Valognes, and Robert Frenbert, and Robert de Burneville, and Hugh Giffard, and Hugh Ridel, and Walter de Berkeley, and William de Haye, and William de Mortimer.

“ And when the castles have been rendered, William, king of Scotland, and David his brother shall be released. The aforesaid earls and barons, too, each one after he has delivered his hostage, (namely a legitimate son, if he have one; and the others, their grandsons or nearest heirs.) and, as has been said, after the castles have been rendered, shall be set at liberty.

“ Moreover the king of Scotland and his barons aforesaid have engaged that they will cause in good faith, and without evil intention, and without pretext, that the bishops and barons and men of their land who were not present when the king of Scotland compacted with the lord king, shall do the same allegiance and fealty to the lord king and to Henry his son as they themselves have done; and that the barons and vassals who were not present⁵ shall deliver to the lord king hostages for all for which he wishes to have them.

¹ I.e. of Edinburgh.

Cf. B. of P., Ges. H., II, i, 160:—“ And when [at Windsor, about 8th May, 1177] they had discussed long about peace and the stability of the kingdom, by advice of his bishops and earls and barons [Henry] removed the keepers of the castles of England, and gave them over for keeping to the knights who were of his own private household:—namely to William de Estuteville the castle of Roxburgh, which Roger archbishop of York had in keeping; and to Roger de Estuteville the castle of Maidens. . . .” Cf. Hoved., ii, 133.

² Roxburgh, Berwick and Edinburgh only are named by W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 198; R. de T., *ibid.*, iv, 268. “ His three principal castles,” R. of C., 18. Only Berwick and Roxburgh are named by R. de D., 397; R.W., i, 104.

³ R. de T., u.s., 268:—“ And [the king of England] placed in them his keepers: for whom also the king of Scotland shall find the necessaries.”

⁴ Niz. Fœd.

⁵ “ Who were present,” Hoved., ii, 81. So Fœd.

“Moreover the bishops, earls and barons have pledged themselves to the lord king and to Henry, his son, that if by any chance the king of Scotland should draw back from fealty to the lord king and to his son, and from the aforesaid agreement, they shall hold with the lord king, as with their liege lord, against the king of Scotland, and against all men who oppose the lord king.¹ And the bishops shall place the land of the king of Scotland under an interdict, until he return to fealty to the lord king.

“That therefore the aforesaid agreement shall be firmly observed in good faith and without evil intent toward the lord king and Henry his son, and his heirs, by William, king of Scotland, and David his brother, and by the aforesaid barons and by their heirs, the king himself has engaged, and David his brother, and all his barons above named, as liege men of the lord king against every man, and of king Henry, his son, saving fealty to the lord king his father.

“Witnesses Richard, bishop of Avranches, and John, dean of Salisbury; Robert, abbot of Malmesbury; R.,² abbot of Muntisburg; Herbert, archdeacon of Northampton; Walter of Coutances; Roger, chaplain;³ Osbert, clerk of the chamber; Richard, son of the lord king, earl of Poitou; Geoffrey, son of the lord king, earl of Brittany; William, earl of Essex; Hugh, earl of Chester; Richard de Humez, constable; the earl of Mellent; Jordan Thessun;⁴ Humfrey de Bohun; William de Courcy, seneschal; William Fitz Aldelm, seneschal;⁵ Alfred de St. Martin, seneschal;⁶ Gilbert Malet, seneschal; at Falaise.”⁷

When therefore this had taken place at York, the lord king gave and conceded to the king of Scotland permission to advance an army into Galloway to subdue Gilbert, Fergus' son, because that he had turned aside from his fealty, and had wickedly slain Ufred his brother.

And immediately the king of Scotland with his household went back from York to Scotland.

¹ Instead of the clause “and against . . . king” the Fœd. reads:—“until he return to fealty to the lord king.”

² “Ralph,” Hoved., ii, 82.

³ “The king's chaplain,” Hoved., ii, 82; Fœd. Roger Hoveden had already returned (8th December, R. de D., i, 396, 398, supra) and reported upon his conference with Gilbert of Galloway (23rd November, B. of P., i, 80, supra.) But cf. Stubbs, in Hoved., u.s., note. ⁴ *Cosson*, Fœd.

⁵ “William . . . seneschal,” not in Hoved., Fœd.

⁶ “Alfred . . . seneschal,” not in MS. B, Hoved., Fœd.

⁷ Cf. R. de D.'s date “at Valognes, on the [8th] December,” supra, s.a. 1174.

1175

OBITUARY OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM, IN LIBER VITÆ
ECCLESIE DUNELMENSIS, 135.¹

In the year from the Lord's incarnation 1175, in which king Henry the elder received allegiance and fealty from the Scots at York. Dugal, son of Somerled, and Stephen his chaplain, and Adam de Stanford received the brotherhood of our church at the feet of St. Cuthbert on the vigil of St. Bartholomew : ² and the same Dugal offered there two golden rings to St. Cuthbert, and promised that every year, so long as he lived, he would give one mark to the convent, either in money or in its equivalent.

1176

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH GESTA HENRICI II. VOL. I,
P. 111.³

And to the aforesaid council,⁴ which was held at Northampton, came William, king of Scotland, by mandate of the lord king ; and brought with him Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, and Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, and Christian, bishop of Galloway, and Andrew, bishop of Caithness, and Simon de Thouni, bishop of Moray, and the abbots and priors of his land, to make subjection to the church of England.

Then the lord king demanded of them that, by the faith which they owed him, and by the oath which they had sworn to him, they should make to the church of England the same subjection as they ought to make, and used to make in the time of the kings of England his predecessors.

And they replied to him that their predecessors never made any subjection to the church of England, and that neither ought they to make any to her.

To this replied Roger, archbishop of York, that the bishops of Scotland had made subjection to the metropolitan church of York, in the time of their predecessors ; and expressly the bishop of Glasgow, and certain other bishops of Scotland : ⁵ and

¹ In a 12th-century hand. Stevenson. ² 23rd August.

³ Cf. Hoved., ii, 91-92. ⁴ 25th January, 1176.

⁵ "and expressly . . . Scotland," erased in MS. B.

Cf. Hoved., ii, 92 :—" But to this replied Roger, archbishop of York, asserting that the bishops of Glasgow and the bishops of Whithorn had been subject to the church of York in the time of the archbishop's predecessors. And in support of this he showed documents of privilege satisfactorily drawn up."

in support of this showed sealed documents ¹ which he had at hand concerning it.²

Then a great dispute arose between Roger, archbishop of York, and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, about the receiving of that subjection. For the archbishop of Canterbury said that the subjection ought to be made to the church of Canterbury; and the archbishop of York said, to his church. And thus ended that conference.³

And the aforesaid bishops of Scotland received permission from the lord king, and returned.

And thereafter they sent their ambassadors secretly to Alexander, the chief pontiff, requesting that he would receive them in his own hand, and protect them from the subjection which the English church demanded of them.⁴

1176, May.

POPE ALEXANDER III TO ROGER OF YORK, ETC. IN RAINE'S YORK, VOL. III, PP. 83-84.⁵

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Roger, archbishop of York, legate of the apostolic see; and to his beloved sons the dean and canons of York, greeting and apostolic benediction.

When your messengers had presented to us the letter of our dearest son in Christ, William, illustrious king of Scots, they begged of us with much persistence to return to them the letter of that king to be carried back to you even as they had delivered it to us, supported by his seal. But because the seal of this

¹ "And other necessary writings," adds MS. B.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 92:—"And to this Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, replied:—"The church of Glasgow is the special daughter of the Roman church, and is exempt from all subjection to archbishops or bishops. And if the church of York at any time had dominion in the church of Glasgow, it is well known that she has ceased henceforth to have any dominion in her" (*deneruisse . . . habere*.)

³ Cf. Hoved., ii, 92:—"And because Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, strove that the Scottish church should be made subject to the church of Canterbury, he contrived, in opposition to the king of England, that [the king] himself permitted the bishops of Scotland to return to their own lands without having made any subjection to the English church."

⁴ Cf. B. of P., G.H. II, i, 117:—"Meanwhile William, king of Scotland, and the bishops of his land sent their messengers in secret, fearing the interference of the king of England, to the Roman pontiff, and besought of him that he would send to them one of his cardinals to learn the cause of the controversy which existed between them and the English church concerning the making of subjection."

⁵ V. also H. & S., ii, 244-245, 43-44. It is scarcely possible to believe William's letter at least to be genuine.

letter had been broken we could not satisfy their request in full ; nevertheless bent by their persistence and supplication, and wishing with provident care to act for the benefit and profit of your church in this matter, we have caused the tenour of the letter of the aforesaid king to be written word for word, nothing added or left out ; and have thought fit to send it to you under our seal, that you may have it as a memorial for ever. And the tenour of this letter is as follows :—

“ To his most reverend lord and father Alexander, by God’s grace highest pontiff, William, by the same grace king of Scotland, greeting and devout reverence.

“ May thy Holiness know that by diligently investigating the truth concerning the church of Scotland’s subjection which the church of York claims for herself by ancient right, both in authentic documents which I have inspected and in the relation and testimony of ancient, trustworthy and truthful men, I have learned that from ancient times it pertains of right to the church of York, and that she lost possession of it by the hostility and influence of the kings my predecessors. But now by the grace of God peace being definitively restored between my lord the king of England and me I humbly beg that by your authority, all pretext and appeal being set aside, you command the aforesaid possession and subjection to be restored and renewed to my lord king and his kingdom, and to the church of York. And not without the greatest loss to me and harm to my kingdom can it be neglected to be so done : since it was so agreed in the peace restored between my lord king and me : and I have confirmed the same with an oath, knowing that it would rebound to the greatest peril of our souls if that which we surely know ought to take place should not be put into effect.

“ May thy Holiness ever flourish.”

Given at Anagni, the third ¹ before the Ides of May.

1176, July.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
P. 118.²

Vivian, cardinal priest, was therefore sent to them ; and he received the office of legate also in Ireland, Scotland and Norway, and in the other neighbouring islands. And about the feast of St. Mary of Magdalene ³ he came to land in England, without the king’s permission.

¹ 13th May.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 98–99.

³ 22nd July.

And a little later, when he had come to Northampton, the king sent to him Richard, bishop of Winchester, and Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, to inquire of him by whose permission he landed in England, and to announce to him that unless he were willing to consent to the will of the king, the king would not permit him to proceed farther.

And [Vivian] feared for himself, and saw danger on either side ; and at last agreed to their advice, that he should consent to the king's will.

The king therefore caused him to swear on the word of truth that he would do in his legation nothing which was hostile to him or to his kingdom.¹

And thus, having done the king's will, the aforesaid cardinal proceeded on his way toward Scotland, the king granting him safe-conduct.² And [the king] gave him letters of his protection : and commanded that the abbacies and bishops of his kingdom, where he should pass, should receive him with honour, as a cardinal ; and so it was done.³

1176, July.

POPE ALEXANDER III TO THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND. HADDAN AND STUBBS, COUNCILS, VOL. II, PP. 245-246.

Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren and bishops of Scotland, greeting and apostolic benediction.

Regarding the anxieties and difficulties which we know that you sustain we sympathize with you with paternal affection and condole with you very greatly, and are prepared in these things to impart all the aid which with God we can. Naturally it distresses you greatly, it distresses us also, that our dearest son in Christ, Henry, illustrious king of the English, has compelled you to swear to obey the English church : since this reflects injury toward God and contempt for us, and [is] to the debasement of ecclesiastical liberty, which it is not for any king, or prince, to control with regard to churches or ecclesiasties. And we refuse to permit that your liberty be diminished, and have straitly enjoined our venerable brother the archbishop of the church of York, legate of the apostolic see, not to exercise

¹ "Nothing contrary to his will." Hoved., ii, 99.

² "And so permission was given him to go over into Scotland. And the lord king found him safe-conduct and expenses, until he came into the land of the king of Scotland." Hoved., ii, 99.

³ On the 24th December, 1176, he embarked at Whithorn in Galloway for Man and Ireland ; B. of P., G.H. II, i, 136-137.

metropolitan right over you. until it be learned. under examination of the Roman pontiff. whether you owe subjection to him by metropolitan right. And we have heedfully warned the aforesaid king, reasoning with him as we ought against the reception of the aforesaid oaths. that he should not compel you to offer him obedience. nor afford to this his consent or favour. We therefore command your Fraternity and enjoin that you attempt not to obey by metropolitan right any but the Roman pontiff. by pretext of these oaths or for any other reason. until in our presence. or in that of our catholic successor. if the aforesaid archbishop wishes to drag you into court concerning this. the controversy between you and him be terminated by the due conclusion.

Given at Anagni, the third ¹ before the Kalends of August.

1176, Oct.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
P. 126.²

So when the council had been held at Windsor,³ . . . the king came to Feckenham about the feast of St. Dionysius ;⁴ and there came to him William. king of Scotland.

And he brought with him Gilbert. Fergus' son. who had slain his brother Utred. as has been said above. And this Gilbert made peace with the lord king for the death of his brother. who was a relative of the king ; and became his man. and swore to him fealty against all men : and to have his love gave him a thousand marks of silver.⁵

And having thus made his peace he went home. and commanded that all foreigners who had any holding in Galloway through the king of Scotland should go into exile ; and that those who refused to consent to this decree should undergo capital sentence.

1177, July.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
PP. 177-178.

. . . [King Henry]⁶ commanded the archbishop of Can-

¹ The 30th July, after Vivian had arrived in England.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 105.

³ About Michaelmas : *ibid.*, 124.

⁴ 9th October.

⁵ " And Duncan, his son, as hostage for the preservation of peace," adds Hoved., ii, 105.

⁶ I.e. after the receipt of an unsatisfactory answer from his son Henry in Normandy.

terbury and the bishops of the kingdom that they should be with him on the octave ¹ of St. John the Baptist at Winchester ; and so it was done. And thither to him came also the earls and barons and knights of his kingdom, by his summons, supplied with horses and arms to cross over with him into Normandy.² And thither by his mandate came to him William, king of Scotland.

1177, Aug.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 166–167.³

And there the aforesaid Vivian, legate of the apostolic see, came to the court of the king of England : and on the day ⁴ after the Lord's Ascension obtained of the lord king letters of his protection and safe-conduct, and returned to Scotland to perform his legation.

And on the approach of the feast of saint Peter ad Vincula ⁵ the aforesaid Vivian came to the castle of Maidens with the bishops and ecclesiastics of the kingdom of Scotland, to hold there a council of the statutes of the church.

And in this council he suspended from episcopal office Christian bishop of Whithorn,⁶ because he refused to come to that council. For he said that his episcopate pertained to the legation of Roger, archbishop of York, who had consecrated him as bishop, according to the ancient custom of the predecessors of each : and Roger himself, archbishop of York, had been constituted legate of his province by Alexander, the chief pontiff, and he claimed as belonging to his right the subjection of the bishopric of Candida Casa, which is also called the bishopric of Whithorn in Galloway.⁷

Now when this council had been held, the aforesaid Vivian returned to Rome by mandate of Alexander, the chief pontiff,

¹ 1st July.

² The embarkation was postponed till 17th August : cf. B. of P., *Ges. H. II*, i, 180–181, 190–191.

³ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii, 135.

⁴ 3rd June, at Winchester.

⁵ 1st August.

⁶ Christian, bishop of Galloway, had been present (13th March, 1177) in the council of the Spanish award, and was a witness of the adjudication (16th March) : B. of P., *G. H. II*, i, 145, 154. *Hoved.*, ii, 121, 131. He was consecrated to Whithorn in 1154 : *Chr. of Hol.*, 37.

⁷ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii, 135 :—“ But the bishop of Whithorn did not accept this suspension, being protected by the support of Roger, archbishop of York, whose suffragan he was.”

York made good its claim to supremacy over the church of Galloway. Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1188.

because of his great greed, by which he harried and oppressed almost all ecclesiastic primates of his legation.

1178

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
P. 210, S.A. 1178.¹

There came to England also a certain other messenger of the chief pontiff, one named Peter of St. Agatha. And to him had been intrusted the charge of summoning the ecclesiastics of Scotland, of Galloway and of the Isle of Man, and also of Ireland, as well archbishops as bishops and abbots and priors, by force of obedience to gather at Rome in the beginning of the fast to the aforesaid council.²

And he, when he sought of Henry king of England permission to pass through his kingdom, swore that he would return through the same, and that he would essay no evil against his kingdom, England, in his legation.

And the archbishops and bishops of Ireland and Scotland, when in passing they visited the king of England, setting out for Rome, swore touching the sacred Evangels that neither in going nor in returning would they seek the injury of the kingdom or the king; and that they would visit the king on their return.

1179, Dec.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
P. 244.³

In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1180 Henry, king of England, son of Matilda the empress, held his court on the day of the birth of the Lord, which was the third day of the week, at Nottingham; and present at this feast was William, king of Scotland,⁴ and the earls and barons of the kingdom.

¹ Cf. *Hoved.* ii. 167.

² At the Lateran, in Lent 1179. Ash Wednesday was the 14th February in 1179.

³ Cf. *Hoved.* ii. 196.

⁴ "King of Scots," *Hoved.*

PART VII

1180

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
PP. 250-251, S.A. 1180.¹

IN the same year died R[ichard], bishop of St. Andrews.²

In the same year John, surnamed Scott, the elect to the bishopric of St. Andrews in Scotland, returned from Alexander, the chief pontiff, to whom he had made complaint that after election of himself had been canonically made king William of Scotland had intruded Hugh, his chaplain, upon the bishopric of St. Andrews; and had caused him to be consecrated after appeal had been made to the apostolic see.

To learn therefore the rights of this case Alexander, the chief pontiff, sent to Scotland with the aforesaid John a certain priest of his, Alexius, subdeacon of the Roman church; commanding that if it should be clear to him that the aforesaid John had been canonically elected, and that the aforesaid Hugh had been consecrated after appeal had been made to the apostolic see, thrust in not by zeal for justice but by tyranny, he should publish to all that this Hugh was degraded by the chief pontiff himself, all right of appeal being at an end.

Moreover the chief pontiff granted to the same Alexius the office of legate in the whole land of the king of Scotland, and in the adjacent islands, and in Ireland, to learn the rights of ecclesiastical cases which arose in these lands, and to terminate them as God should impart to him.

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 208.

² Richard's death is placed in 1178 by Chr. of Melr., 88; in 1179 by Chr. of Holyr., 44.

"And on his death there was immediately a schism about the election of a bishop. For the canons of the church of St. Andrews chose for themselves as bishop master John, surnamed Scott; and William king of Scots chose Hugh, his chaplain, and caused him to be consecrated by the bishops of his kingdom. . . ." Hoved., ii, 208.

1180

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. I,
PP. 263-266.

“Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to William, illustrious king of Scots, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“We remember to have laboured with solicitude for thy peace and liberty, hoping that from this thou shouldst be stronger and shouldst increase in devotion to the apostolic see, and shouldst more gladly preserve ecclesiastic liberty. But learning of the case of our venerable brother John, bishop of St. Andrews of Scotland, (be pleased to be attentive still,) we are compelled to think the opposite of the hope which we have of the fervour of thy royal devotion.

“Yet wishing still to learn in this if our patience may lead thy royal mood to penitence, we warn thy Greatness very earnestly by apostolic writings, and command that thou bestow peace and security upon the above-mentioned within twenty days after the receipt of this, so that he need not fear the royal indignation.

“Otherwise, know that we have commanded our venerable brother Roger, archbishop of York, legate in Scotland of the apostolic see, to place thy kingdom under interdict, no appeal availing; to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon thy person, if thou refuse to desist.

“Be certain also that, if thou think in thy violence to be obdurate, even as we have laboured that thy kingdom should have freedom, so shall we study that it may return into its former subjection.”¹

Moreover pope Alexander commanded the aforesaid Alexius to summon Roger, archbishop of York, legate in Scotland of the apostolic see, and with him to carry out the command; and to instruct urgently lord Henry, king of England, to constrain by his royal authority William, king of Scotland, to permit the aforesaid John to possess in peace the bishopric of St. Andrews.²

And the same pope granted to the aforesaid archbishop Roger the office of legate in Scotland, and commanded him that he and Hugh, bishop of Durham, should pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon William, king of Scots,

¹ This letter is in Hoved., ii, 211-212. It is there placed after that given by B. of P. below: after Roger's being made legate, and the warning given to John Scott.

² This paragraph is not in Hoved.

and the sentence of interdiction upon his kingdom, unless he permitted the aforesaid John to hold the bishopric of St. Andrews in peace : and unless he gave to him surety of preserving peace with him.¹

And the same pope strictly charged John, bishop of St. Andrews, by force of obedience, that he should not presume in rash temerity through love or fear of anyone, or by any suggestion or wish, to forsake the church of St. Andrews to which he had been consecrated, or to receive another : adding that, if he attempted it, without any qualification he would deprive him of both.²

Alexius, therefore, legate of the chief pontiff, and John, the elect of St. Andrews, came to England and set out, with the safe-conduct of the lord king of England, for Scotland. And the aforesaid legate on his arrival assembled the bishops, abbots, priors and the other prelates of the churches of the kingdom of Scotland : and holding a conference with them³ discussed at great length the elections of John and Hugh, and the consecration of Hugh.

And when he learned that the aforesaid John had been canonically elected, and that Hugh had been forcibly intruded upon the episcopate of St. Andrews by the king of Scotland after appeal had been made to the Roman pontiff, he deposed him without delay from the bishopric of St. Andrews, and by the authority which he exercised imposed perpetual silence upon him. And he confirmed the election which had been made of John, and caused him to be consecrated as bishop of St. Andrews by the bishops of Scotland ; the king neither forbidding nor gainsaying it, nay rather permitting it, by advice of the bishops.⁴

When therefore the king of Scotland saw the confusion of his bishop, he forbade bishop John⁵ to tarry in his land. And Hugh conducted himself as bishop no less than before : and taking away with him the episcopal hood, and the staff and the ring, and the other things which he had unlawfully retained, departed to go to Rome.⁶

But first he had been admonished very often by the afore-

¹ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii. 211.

² Cf. *Hoved.*, u.s.

³ " In presence of the clergy and the people," *Hoved.*, ii. 208.

⁴ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii. 208-209. The consecration took place in Edinburgh on the octave of Whitsunday, [15th June,] 1180 ; *Chr. of Hol.*, 45. So also *Chr. of Melr.*, 91, which however gives the date as 8th June [Whitsunday].

⁵ " Immediately after his consecration," *Hoved.*, ii. 209.

⁶ Cf. *Hoved.*, u.s.

said Alexius, subdeacon of the Roman court, to restore the aforesaid things which he had removed to the church of St. Andrews and to the bishop, John. And upon his refusal he pronounced upon him the sentence of excommunication, and the lord pope confirmed this sentence.¹

“ Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren and beloved sons appointed as prelates of the churches throughout Scotland, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ It has been reported to us that since Hugh, who had invaded the church of St. Andrews of Scotland, retained unlawfully the episcopal hood, the staff and the ring, and the other things which he had unjustifiably carried away, and since upon repeated admonition he disdained to come to his right mind, our discreet son Alexius, our archdeacon, legate of the apostolic see, charged with apostolic authority, bound him with the chain of excommunication in presence of you and many of the clergy and people, unless within fifteen days he restored what he had taken away and removed, or made suitable compensation. Yet he persisted in the evil way of arrogance, and acceded in nothing to the aforesaid legate’s injunctions.

“ We therefore confirm the sentence pronounced by our authority, and enjoin upon you all by apostolic writings that you lay aside all favour and fear, and publicly, appeal of none availing, denounce the aforesaid Hugh as bound by the chain of excommunication; and avoid him scrupulously as excommunicate, until he restore to our brother John, bishop of St. Andrews, and to his church such of the things above-written as he has taken away, or their worth, and offer suitable compensation for the others which he has destroyed.

“ Farewell.”²

When therefore William, king of Scotland, had heard that Hugh, his chaplain, had been thus deposed, he refused to receive John, saying that never, so long as he lived, should at the same time he and John dwell in the kingdom of Scotland. And he vehemently persecuted him, to such extent that he seized in his own hand the episcopate of St. Andrews, and all the revenues of the episcopate; and he drove from

¹ Cf. Hoved., u.s.

² This letter, with verbal differences, is in Hoved., ii, 210–211.

his kingdom John himself, and Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, uncle of John,¹ and all whom he had heard to be of his kindred; and the houses of the bishop of Aberdeen he caused to be burnt.

And John himself, namely the bishop of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Aberdeen, his uncle, sailed over to the king of England in Normandy with Alexius, subdeacon of the Roman church, awaiting the correction of the king of Scotland.

And the lord king of England was moved by their prayers, and sent his messengers to the king of Scotland, requesting that, for his love and exhortation, he should wholly lay aside the anger which he had conceived against the aforesaid bishops; and either himself sail over to him in Normandy to submit to the law in proper person, or send sufficient representatives to submit to the law for him.

1181

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. II, PP. 209-210.

*Letter of pope Alexander concerning John and Hugh, bishops of St. Andrews.*²

“Bishop Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to all the bishops, his venerable brethren, and the abbots, his beloved sons, and to the other prelates of the churches, appointed throughout Scotland; to the prior, canons, clergy and people of St. Andrews, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“It was made known to us that our venerable brother John, now bishop of St. Andrews, had long ago been canonically elected, and that after his election, although an appeal had been interposed, Hugh had presumed with rash temerity to be consecrated in that church, thrust in by lay authority; and, annulling his election by apostolic authority, we sent to your parts our beloved son Alexius, our subdeacon, as legate of the apostolic see, to learn of the election of the aforesaid John.

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii. 212, who adds:—“And hence Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Alexius, legate of the apostolic see, following the mandate of the chief pontiff pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon the person of the king of Scotland, and the sentence of interdict upon his kingdom.”

This may be an anticipation of the sentence of 1181, *infra*; but cf. at the end of the letter quoted from Hoveden the pope's threat to confirm some sentence pronounced by bishop Hugh.

² This letter is placed by Hoveden before the two quoted above from B. of P., but after the excommunication of chaplain Hugh.

“And when he had proceeded quickly enough, as he has informed us by the testimony of many men, and canonically, he learned that [John’s] election was canonical, and, after manifold delays in which he deferred to the royal Majesty, he confirmed it by apostolic authority, commanding on our behalf all who pertained to the church of St. Andrews that they should show obedience and reverence to this John, as their elect.

“And thus, since no one dared to obey him in public, through fear of the king, the same legate laid under an interdict not the kingdom, as he could lawfully have done, but the episcopate.

“When therefore both ecclesiastics and secular princes had been very straitly bound by oath by our dearest son in Christ, William, illustrious king of Scots, to give true counsel, that king firmly promising that he would stand by their counsel, they all as one man replied that he should not further disturb the consecration of the aforesaid John, since it had taken place in presence of our legate and of four bishops,—the fifth being sick, but consenting by letter;—but should permit him to be consecrated in his see in peace.

“Hence it is that we command you all by apostolic writings, and direct you under pain of [losing] office and benefice that you put on the spirit of fortitude, and bring back that bishop to his see with honour, setting appeal aside, within eight days after the receipt of this letter: and that you labour prudently and manfully for the preservation of ecclesiastic justice, and make diligent effort to pacify the royal mood; and that you show to the aforesaid bishop all the reverence and honour which you have offered to his predecessors.

“And if the king will this otherwise, or else be moved by the counsel of wicked men, it is fitting to obey God and the holy Roman church rather than men: otherwise the sentence which our venerable brother Hugh, bishop of Durham, pronounced upon the disobedient and rebellious, we shall confirm, by God’s authority, and command to be strictly observed.”¹

¹ Cf. with this threat Hoveden’s statement of the excommunication of the king and kingdom: *supra*, note.

1181

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. GESTA HENRICI II. VOL. I,
PP. 276-277.¹

Meanwhile ² William, king of Scotland, by command of the king of England landed in Normandy at Barfleur, to speak with him about Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, and about John, bishop of St. Andrews, whom he had driven out from Scotland..

It was agreed therefore by admonition and counsel of the lord king of England between the aforesaid king of Scotland and the above-named bishops in this fashion:—that the above-named Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, should return to his own see freely and without any opposition, with the safe-conduct of the king of Scotland.³

And John, who had been consecrated as bishop of St. Andrews, in order to have the goodwill of his lord, the king of Scotland, conceded that he would give up the episcopate of St. Andrews, if he were permitted to choose for himself which bishopric he would of the kingdom of Scotland; and if the king of Scotland would give him, in addition to the bishopric which he should choose, his chancellorship.⁴

And thus by counsel of the king of England was harmony made between them, if the lord pope should grant that this change of episcopal sees might take place. . . .

The king of Scotland therefore sent his messengers to Alexander, the chief pontiff, asking that this agreement between him and his bishop might be confirmed and permanently established. But he could not obtain it from him. . . .

And . . . [king Henry] took ship, and landed in England on the seventh ⁵ before the Kalends of August, at Portsmouth: likewise also William, king of Scotland.

1181

RALPH DE DICETO, IMAGINES HISTORICARUM, VOL. I, PP. 7-8.

We have read of four kings having fallen at the same

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 259-260.

² After an episode of the 28th April.

³ "And whatever had been taken away from it should be restored," adds Hoved., ii, 259.

⁴ "And all his revenues which he had before his consecration, and forty marks of revenue in the church of St. Andrews," adds Hoved., ii, 259. This is probably an anticipation; cf. *infra*.

⁵ 26th July. "On Sunday," adds Hoved., ii, 260, rightly.

time in one battle ; but have very seldom heard of four kings having come to one conference in peace, and in peace having returned.

Philip, king of the French, Henry, king of the English, king Henry, son of the English king, William, the king of Scots, came together in peace to a conference, and in peace returned.

Philip, king of the French. by the frequent attestations of those who dwelt in his palace, how Henry the English king governed peacefully in its remotest parts his kingdom, so widely spread, inhabited by so barbarous nations as the Scots and Welsh ; that therefore he might follow in the administration of his realm the example of so great a prince was drawn the more willingly, by the common opinion of those of his household, to place himself wholly under the counsel of the aforesaid king : and so it was done.

1181

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 277-278.¹

Meanwhile, while the king of Scotland tarried with his lord the king of England in Normandy, the son of William Fitz Duncan,² Donald, who had very often claimed the kingdom of Scotland, and had many a time made insidious incursions into that kingdom, by a mandate of certain powerful men of the kingdom of Scotland landed in Scotland with a numerous armed host, wasting and burning as much of the land as he reached : ³ and he put the folk to flight, and slew all whom he could take.

1181

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
P. 280.

Meanwhile the lord king came to Nottingham ; and on his arrival there gathered to him . . . William, king of Scotland, and the earls and barons of his province. . . .

¹ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii, 263.

² Donald would seem to have been an illegitimate son. Cf. *Stubbs*, in *Hoved.*, ii, 263; note.

³ "And he despoiled it along the sea-coast" ; *Hoved.*, u.s.

1181

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 281-282.¹

While therefore these things took place,² William, king of Scotland, hearing that the above-named Donald and his accomplices were wasting his land, received from the lord king permission to go home, and returned to his native land.

And as his return was published, Hugh, bishop of Durham, came to meet him in a place called Ravendale, bringing with him John, bishop of St. Andrews.

And when they had discussed long about making peace between him and the king, and could not be agreed between them, John, bishop of St. Andrews, pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon Richard de Moreville, the constable, and Richard de Prebenda, and other friends of the king of Scotland, because they had disturbed the peace.

And Hugh, bishop of Durham, by the authority which he wielded of Alexander the chief pontiff commanded the prior of St. Andrews and the other ecclesiastics holding office in the bishopric of St. Andrews to come to John, their bishop, and to offer him the reverence of due subjection; intimating to them that he would pronounce the sentence of interdict upon the disobedient and rebellious.

Likewise Roger, archbishop of York, legate in Scotland, commanded the bishops and other ecclesiastics holding office throughout the kingdom of Scotland to lay all pretext aside and come to the aforesaid John, bishop of St. Andrews, and offer to him and to his church the accustomed [subjection] and obedience.

And when through fear of interdict certain of the [ecclesiastics] of the kingdom of Scotland³ attempted the journey to offer subjection to the aforesaid John, bishop of St. Andrews, William, king of Scotland, persecuted them to such extent that he usurped to himself their possessions, and sent them with their sons and relatives, and even those who still were carried at their mothers' breasts or wailed in the cradle, to miserable proscription and exile.

But when Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, saw the miserable proscription and exile of the aforesaid, they proceeded in this affair according to the

¹ Cf. *Hoved.*, ii, 263-264.

² *Affairs of September, 1181.*

³ "From the bishopric of St. Andrews," *Hoved.*, ii, 263.

mandate of Alexander, the chief pontiff. And Roger archbishop of York pronounced the sentence of excommunication upon the person of the aforesaid king of Scotland; and he and Hugh of Durham, by mandate of Alexander, chief pontiff, interdicted the whole land of the king of Scotland, on this side of the sea and beyond; commanding the bishops and abbots, priors and other ecclesiastics to uphold that sentence of interdict firmly and unwaveringly, and scrupulously to avoid the king himself as excommunicate.

Meanwhile pope Alexander III weighed down by age and heavy sickness departed to the Lord, [on the 20th September, 1181.] . . . And to him in the apostoliate succeeded . . . pope Lucius III.

1181

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
P. 283.¹

. . . [On Saturday, the 21st of November, Roger, archbishop of York] departed from the world. And Hugh, bishop of Durham, buried his body, . . . William, king of Scotland, remaining under the sentence of excommunication which the aforesaid archbishop had pronounced upon him.

And when he heard that Roger, archbishop of York, was dead, William king of Scotland rejoiced with great joy; and holding a council with the earls and barons² of his land he sent to Rome Joscelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold,³ abbot of Melrose, and other wise and discreet ecclesiastics of his kingdom, to Lucius, the chief pontiff, that he himself should be absolved from the aforesaid sentence of excommunication, and his land from interdict; and that if by any means it could be done, John bishop of St. Andrews should be deposed.

1182

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 286-287.⁴

Meanwhile Joscelyn, bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold, abbot of Melrose, and their associates,⁵ whom William king of

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 264.

² "With the bishops and earls and nobles of his land." Hoved., ii, 264.

³ Here and frequently "Arnulf."

⁴ Cf. Hoved., ii, 267-268.

⁵ "And Osbert, abbot of Kelso, and Walter, prior of St. Columba de Insula," Hoved., ii, 267-268.

Scotland had sent to Rome, returned to England, having previously made appeal to the Roman pontiff regarding the sentence of excommunication upon the king and of interdict upon the kingdom, pronounced upon the aforesaid by Roger, archbishop of York, and John, bishop of St. Andrews; and brought with them Hugh, whom the king of Scotland aforesaid had made bishop in the church of St. Andrews.

And they had obtained of Lucius, the chief pontiff, that Roland, elect of the church of Dol in Brittany, and Silvan, abbot of Rievaulx, should go to the region of Scotland to hear, and confirm in writing, and transmit to the chief pontiff under testimony of their seals, the controversies which existed between the aforesaid Hugh and bishop John, about the holding of the episcopate of St. Andrews.

Moreover the aforesaid messengers of the king of Scotland had obtained from the chief pontiff letters of absolution for the king of Scotland and for his realm. Therefore William king of Scotland was absolved, and his whole kingdom, and all his subjects, at Rome in the palace of the Lateran by pope Lucius in presence of the cardinals,¹ on the fifth before the Ides of March.²

1182

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. II, P. 268.

And afterwards he gave letters of his absolution to the aforesaid messengers of the king of Scotland, in this form:—

Letter of pope Lucius [III], concerning the absolution of William, king of Scotland.

“Bishop Lucius, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable brethren the bishops, abbots, clergy and people in office throughout Scotland, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“Since the apostle has commanded deference to kings as supreme it is fitting, and in accord with reason, that we honour them as dearest sons, and wait upon their just desires with approval, in devotion to St. Peter and to the holy Roman church.

“But we have heard that, since our dearest son in Christ,

Arnold was abbot of Melrose, 1179–1189; of Rievaulx, 1189–1199. Osbert was abbot of Kelso, 1180–1203.

These envoys brought the golden rose from pope Lucius III to William the Lion in 1182. Chr. of Melr., 92. Cf. Stubbs, Hoved., ii, 264, 267, notes.

¹ The cardinals are named by Hoved., ii, 268.

² 11th March.

William, illustrious king of Scots, inflexibly opposed the election and consecration of our venerable brother bishop John, by pretext of a letter of our predecessor pope Alexander of holy memory Roger, of good memory, archbishop of York, and the already mentioned bishop pronounced upon him and the kingdom and certain men of the realm the sentence of excommunication.

“ But our venerable brother Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and our beloved sons Arnold of Melrose and Osbert of Kelso, abbots, and Walter prior of St. Columba de Insula have come because of this to the apostolic see, and have shown us by their statements, and have made clear in presence of us and of the brethren, that the archbishop, in the sentence of excommunication upon the king and of interdict upon the kingdom, and the already mentioned bishop in the sentence of excommunication upon certain men of the realm, pronounced a sentence which for manifold reasons may justifiably be repealed.

“ Hence indeed it has been that, deferring to the aforesaid king as to our dearest son in Christ, we have relaxed by apostolic authority, and from common counsel of the brethren, every sentence of the already named bishop for the aforesaid cause, pronounced upon him or his or upon his kingdom; and have pronounced that he and his are not bound by the excommunication, nor his kingdom by the interdict, in our sentence aforesaid.

“ And we therefore instruct you all by apostolic writings and command that you hesitate not at all to associate yourselves with him as with a catholic king, and one having the communion of the apostolic see; but that you pay him in all things befitting honour.

“ For inasmuch as we are surer of the sincerity of his devotion, and that greater profit will most surely accrue to the churches and ecclesiastics of his kingdom, so much the more fully do we wish, in all things in which by God’s will we can, to honour him.

“ Given at Velletri, the 16th¹ before the Kalends of April.”

1182

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 289–290.²

Meanwhile Roland, elect of Dol in Brittany, came to

¹ 17th March.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 270.

England; and summoning Silvan, abbot of Rievaulx, his colleague, he went to the king of Scotland.

And after a very long discussion with him about the making of peace between him and John bishop of St. Andrews and Hugh regarding the episcopate of St. Andrews, it was at last arranged in this fashion, that Hugh should renounce the bishopric of St. Andrews; that likewise John also should quit-claim the episcopate from his pretension, and in place of it should have the bishopric of Dunkeld, and all his revenues which he had before the bishopric and his election, and the chancellorship of the king of Scotland, and forty marks of revenue during his life from the episcopate of St. Andrews; and that the king should permit all his relatives and friends who were in exile because of love for him, to return to their own, and all their chattels to be returned to them.

But when it came to the hearing of bishop Hugh aforesaid what had proceeded from the council and will of the king, that he should renounce the bishopric of St. Andrews, he went to the king and informed him that he would prefer, if it pleased the king, to go to the Roman pontiff, and undergo sentence according to what should be determined by him, rather than lose in this way by intervention of a bargain anything of his right.¹

And upon the king's agreeing to this plan the aforesaid Hugh denounced as false the letters which bishop John had acquired from the chief pontiff against him, and appealed to the audience of the lord pope.

This being done, the elect of Dol and the abbot of Rievaulx fixed a term² for the aforesaid bishops to go to the Roman pontiff and stand by his judgment. And when this was finished, each returned to his own land.

1182

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. II, PP. 270-272.³

And hence the aforesaid Roland and abbot Silvan, not being able to proceed as they ought, wrote in this form to the chief pontiff:—

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 270:—"Than thus to renounce a bishopric to which he had been consecrated."

² 1st October; Hoved., ii, 272, *infra*.

³ Not given by MSS. B and C.

William, illustrious king of Scots, inflexibly opposed the election and consecration of our venerable brother bishop John, by pretext of a letter of our predecessor pope Alexander of holy memory Roger, of good memory, archbishop of York, and the already mentioned bishop pronounced upon him and the kingdom and certain men of the realm the sentence of excommunication.

“ But our venerable brother Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and our beloved sons Arnold of Melrose and Osbert of Kelso, abbots, and Walter prior of St. Columba de Insula have come because of this to the apostolic see, and have shown us by their statements, and have made clear in presence of us and of the brethren, that the archbishop, in the sentence of excommunication upon the king and of interdict upon the kingdom, and the already mentioned bishop in the sentence of excommunication upon certain men of the realm, pronounced a sentence which for manifold reasons may justifiably be repealed.

“ Hence indeed it has been that, deferring to the aforesaid king as to our dearest son in Christ, we have relaxed by apostolic authority, and from common counsel of the brethren, every sentence of the already named bishop for the aforesaid cause, pronounced upon him or his or upon his kingdom; and have pronounced that he and his are not bound by the excommunication, nor his kingdom by the interdict, in our sentence aforesaid.

“ And we therefore instruct you all by apostolic writings and command that you hesitate not at all to associate yourselves with him as with a catholic king, and one having the communion of the apostolic see; but that you pay him in all things befitting honour.

“ For inasmuch as we are surer of the sincerity of his devotion, and that greater profit will most surely accrue to the churches and ecclesiastics of his kingdom, so much the more fully do we wish, in all things in which by God’s will we can, to honour him.

“ Given at Velletri, the 16th¹ before the Kalends of April.”

1182

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 289–290.²

Meanwhile Roland, elect of Dol in Brittany, came to

¹ 17th March.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 270.

England; and summoning Silvan, abbot of Rievaulx, his colleague, he went to the king of Scotland.

And after a very long discussion with him about the making of peace between him and John bishop of St. Andrews and Hugh regarding the episcopate of St. Andrews, it was at last arranged in this fashion, that Hugh should renounce the bishopric of St. Andrews: that likewise John also should quit-claim the episcopate from his pretension, and in place of it should have the bishopric of Dunkeld, and all his revenues which he had before the bishopric and his election, and the chancellorship of the king of Scotland, and forty marks of revenue during his life from the episcopate of St. Andrews; and that the king should permit all his relatives and friends who were in exile because of love for him, to return to their own, and all their chattels to be returned to them.

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And upon the king's agreeing to this plan the aforesaid Hugh denounced as false the letters which bishop John had acquired from the chief pontiff against him, and appealed to the audience of the lord pope.

This being done, the elect of Dol and the abbot of Rievaulx fixed a term² for the aforesaid bishops to go to the Roman pontiff and stand by his judgment. And when this was finished, each returned to his own land.

1182

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. II, PP. 270-272.³

And hence the aforesaid Roland and abbot Silvan, not being able to proceed as they ought, wrote in this form to the chief pontiff:—

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 270:—"Than thus to renounce a bishopric to which he had been consecrated."

² 1st October: Hoved., ii, 272, infra.

³ Not given by MSS. B and C.

Letter of Roland, elect of Dol, and Silvan, abbot of Rievaulx, to the chief pontiff Lucius.

“To the reverend father and lord, Lucius, by God’s grace chief and universal pontiff, Roland, by the same grace elect of Dol, servant and pupil of his Holiness, least of the subdeacons of the apostolic see, and Silvan, elected abbot of Rievaulx, the reverence of due subjection.

“Since we had given letters to bishop Hugh which the same bishop denounced as false; and since, having received permission from the lord king of Scotland, we wished to return in haste those in which is contained the process of the matter, the lord king asked me, elect of Dol, kindly and affectionately, that I would in passing visit lord bishop John, and offer him on [the king’s] behalf the bishopric of Dunkeld, with the revenues which he had had before in the bishopric of St. Andrews, and with the addition of forty marks to be received yearly; also the king’s royal chancellorship, as a mark of affection. And he added that he would restore to him and his all that had been taken away, except only what he knew had reached his hands; and that he would receive them in the fulness of his favour, as had been offered to him before. Yet he wished that the same bishop John should burn all his documents which had been obtained concerning the case of St. Andrews from Alexander of pious memory, your predecessor.

“He permitted also that bishop Hugh should be transferred to the bishopric of Glasgow.¹ if otherwise bishop John would not consent; and if it could not be done, he would yet grant what he had offered, but he would not love bishop John so much, nor restore to him his full favour.

“And when I had offered all these things to master John in presence of master Hugh, bishop of Durham, he kindly agreed, saying that he would never permit bishop Hugh to remain in the church of St. Andrews. And he wished the aforesaid documents to be deposited somewhere, so that he might never use them contrary to the king’s will.

“Thus, therefore, when we returned to the royal presence, bishop John awaiting near Roxburgh, the lord king proposed to us that it would much please him if bishop Hugh could remain in the church of St. Andrews. And he asked me to labour to bring the bishop to this. And when I told him that I would never henceforth ask him about this, because in

¹ The bishopric of Glasgow was still occupied by Joscelin, who lived till 1199.

this regard I could not profit anything, he said :—‘ I believe well that from the time when master John returns to my peace and affection he will permit this by consideration of my affection, and from the persistence of my requests ; and I would gladly speak with him about it.’ And the king asked me to advise [John] to come and speak with him.

“ But when the king’s clerks were sent to bishop John, he replied that he would not come, because he had heard from certain of the lord king’s counsellors that the lord king was ever striving by all means towards this, that Hugh should remain in the bishopric of St. Andrews : and if he were willing to come, they could not offer him safe conduct.

“ And when they had returned upon these words, the lord king sent a certain bishop and abbots, earls and barons to the same bishop, asking that he would come to speak with him ; and commanded them to offer the same bishop all security.

“ And they returned and said that master John, because foreseeing that the lord king wished bishop Hugh to remain in the church of St. Andrews, replied that he never would come to the king unless first they would swear that the lord king would observe all things which he had offered him by me. But they refused to swear ; and thus master John returned to his own.

“ And we have fixed a term on the Kalends ¹ of October for the aforesaid bishops, John and Hugh, to go to you and obey your judgment.

“ Farewell.”

1183

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I,
PP. 293–294.²

Meanwhile bishops John and Hugh, of whom we have made mention above, came to Velletri, to the audience of the chief pontiff : and each of them expounded in presence of the lord pope and all the cardinals his right which he had in the episcopate of St. Andrews.

After hearing therefore the writings and allegations on either side, the lord pope by common counsel of the brethren refused to each of them the bishopric of St. Andrews. And they resigned the aforesaid bishopric freely and absolutely into the hand of the chief pontiff, and so departed from the court.

And after a few days, by counsel of all the cardinals, the

¹ 1st October.

² Cf. *Hoved.*, ii, 281–282.

agreements contracted between them, in custody of Hugh de Morwic.

1185

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II.* VOL. I,
P. 337.¹

In the same council² the lord king restored³ the earldom of Huntingdon⁴ to William, king of Scotland;⁵ although many said that they were nearer by right, and had offered the king great things and many to have justice.

1185

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II.* VOL. I,
PP. 339-340.⁶

Meanwhile⁷ Roland, son of Ured Fergus' son, immediately after the death of Gilbert, his father's brother, collected to his aid a numerous host of horse and foot, and invaded the land of Gilbert aforesaid: and slew all who would oppose him, and reduced all that land to himself. Moreover he slew also all the most powerful and the richest men in all Galloway, and occupied their lands. And in them he built castles and very many fortresses, establishing his kingdom.

1186

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II.* VOL. I,
PP. 347-348.

Now while this took place,⁸ William, king of Scotland, and David his brother came by the king's command to his court, bringing with them Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and abbot Arnold of Melrose, and the earls and barons of the

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 285. R. de D., ii, 35. R.W., i, 136. M.P., H.A., i, 435.

² King William and his brother David had been summoned to the council on the first Sunday in Lent (10th March) to consider the question of a crusade; B. of P., Ges. H. II, Vol. i, p. 336. Hoved., ii, 302. R. de D., ii, 33-34.

³ Cf. R. de D., ii, 35:—"When earl Simon, son of Simon, earl of Northampton, died without children." Cf. R.W., i, 136. Simon, grandson of Simon de Senlis, died in 1184. Cf. Dugdale, Baronage, i, 58-59.

⁴ "With its appurtenances." R. de D., R.W., u.s.

⁵ "And immediately in presence of the king [William] gave that earldom to David his brother." Hoved., ii, 285.

⁶ Cf. Hoved., ii, 299.

⁷ After events of November, 1185.

⁸ Richard's success over the earl of St. Giles.

kingdom of Scotland. And the lord king received them with honour, and kept them about him for several days and showed himself sufficiently kind and friendly to them: in order that in an affair of this kind he might influence their minds to his aims. For at last he addressed the king of Scotland himself in these words:—"The many merits of thy predecessors urge, and the nearness of our relationship especially impels, and the affection of kindness compels me to receive thee into fuller favour of love. Hence it is that we spoke long ago of my niece, daughter of the duke of Saxony, if she might be married to thee. And since the usage of Christian law does not permit it, because of the nearness of consanguinity, I will give thee as wife a certain cousin of mine, namely Ermengard, daughter of Richard, viscount of Beaumont, the grandson¹ of my most beloved lord and grandfather Henry, king of England,—with the fulness of my love and friendship."

Hearing these words of the lord king, William, king of Scotland, took counsel with his friends, and at last agreed. And thus surety was given on either side regarding these agreements, and the lord king of England sent his messengers for his cousin aforesaid.

1186

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II.* VOL. I.
PP. 348-349.²

And after a few days, after receiving from the aforesaid earls and barons of Scotland surety of their preserving faith with him, and after taking hostages from them, he sent them to their land, and instructed them to subdue Roland, son of Utred, unless he would come to his court and stand before the law for this, that contrary to [Henry's] prohibition and to that of his justiciars he had entered with hostile force the land of Gilbert Fergus' son, and of the other barons of Galloway, and had occupied or conquered it, subjugating it to himself.

And when the aforesaid Roland had heard this, he collected a numerous host of horse and foot and obstructed the entrances to Galloway and its roads to what extent he could, placing along the roads felled and half-hewn trees.

Without delay Henry, king of England, gathered a great army from all provinces of England: and coming to Carlisle

¹ By an illegitimate daughter, Constance.

² Cf. *Hoved.* ii, 309.

sent thence William, king of Scotland, and David his brother to bring Roland to him.

Of the peace and security made between the king of England and the king and kingdom of Scotland, and Roland of Galloway.

But [Roland] refused to come with them.

[King Henry] sent for him again the same messengers, and with them Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Ranulf de Glanville the justiciar. And they gave hostages to Roland aforesaid, and the surety was given him of safe-conduct in going and coming, and they brought him to the king at Carlisle.

And he made peace with the lord king in this fashion, that the land which belonged to Utréd Fergus' son his father should remain for him undisturbed, even as [Utréd] had it on the day when he was alive and dead. And as for the land which belonged to Gilbert Fergus' son, his uncle, and which Duncán son of Gilbert aforesaid claimed in opposition to him, he should come to justice in the court of the lord king of England, at his summons.

And Roland took an oath upon the observation of these agreements, and gave his three sons as hostages. He swore also fealty to the king of England and to his heirs, by command of the king of Scotland, against all men.

William, king of Scotland, swore also, and David his brother, and all the earls and barons of Scotland, that if Roland retracted from the aforesaid convention and from [fealty to] the king of England, they would hold faithfully with the king of England to the confusion of this Roland until he made compensation therefor to the lord king of England.

And Joseelin, bishop of Glasgow, promised before all upon the word of truth and the relics of the saints that unless Roland upheld the aforesaid convention unaltered he would pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon him and upon his land.

1186

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL II, PP. 310-312.

Also of Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, and John, bishop of Dunkeld.

In the same year, when, upon the complaint of John, bishop of Dunkeld, pope Urban had heard what was passing between John and Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, he wrote in this form to the king of Scotland:—¹

¹ Omitted in MSS. B and C.

Letter of pope Urban to William, king of Scotland.

“ Bishop Urban, servant of the servants of God, to William, illustrious king of Scots, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ Since in the office of administration laid upon us by God we are bound to extend the sphere of our observation to all the churches, close to us and far removed, and if we know that anything has been unjustifiably done in them or by their ministers, to recall them to befitting action: the princes of the world should not be disturbed by this, if ever we have thought our hands must be stretched out to the correction of the things which have caused a stain; since they too must lend us their aid in this, according to the power which is given to them; and, when it is necessary upon provocation of the obstinacy of any, strongly to oppose the wickedness of the disobedient.

“ The royal Excellency indeed is not ignorant how serious a quarrel has arisen between our venerable brethren, bishops John of Dunkeld and Hugh of St. Andrews. And although either side has suffered great labour and expense, and has disputed at law for long before the apostolic see, in the time of pope Lucius of happy memory, our predecessor; yet the matter cannot have an end.

“ And hence, since recently the same bishops had come to our presence, and had contended about this for some length of time in our auditory: by counsel of our brethren, we have assigned to the bishop of Dunkeld aforesaid permission to plead his cause concerning the bishopric of St. Andrews against [Hugh], and to the same bishop of St. Andrews permission to go back to his own, to return sufficiently prepared to our presence at the term fixed for him: on the understanding that if he comes not then, our venerable brother Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and our beloved sons the abbots of Melrose, of Newbattle and of Dunfermline, shall suspend him thenceforward from episcopal office; and if afterwards he be recalcitrant, that they bind him with the chain of excommunication, and relax not the sentence until he present himself again before us.

“ For we will not that, through this affair remaining longer in suspense, the church of St. Andrews above-named should incur serious loss of her substance, but rather that the truth should be learned, and that it should receive through us, by God’s help, a fitting conclusion.

“ We also command the said bishop of Glasgow and his colleagues that, charged with our authority, they defend

our beloved sons Aiulf, dean of Lothian, and Odo, seneschal, and Roger de Fedic, and the other clerics and friends of the aforesaid bishop of Dunkeld from every molestation, and not to permit their possessions or other goods, or the revenues of the bishop himself, to be invaded by anyone. And if any presume to encroach upon these in spite of their prohibition, let them curb them with canonical censure, no appeal availing.

“And that what we command may be accomplished without any difficulty we warn thy royal Excellence and exhort thee in the Lord, and enjoin upon thee for the remission of sins, that for the love of justice and through reverence for St. Peter and for us, in this matter thou permit proceedings to be taken according to the tenour of our command; and that thou defend with thy royal protection the aforesaid dean, the seneschal and Roger de Fedic, and the other relatives and friends of the aforesaid bishop of Dunkeld, and the bishopric and his other revenues: and that thou thyself also molest them not in any way, nor permit them by others to be molested: to the end that without impediment [just] cause may prevail, and the royal Magnificence acquire for a work of justice the unfailing prize from God, and a good name among men.

“Know also that we have enjoined upon the said bishops in virtue of obedience that they receive neither from churches nor from clerics placed under them anything in respect of the expenses which they shall have in the prosecution of the said affair; but of their own revenues solely let them see to it that they provide themselves with what is necessary. For we will not that, by their deed, churches or other persons of thy kingdom should incur loss.

“Moreover we wish that it should not be concealed from the royal Excellence that the aforesaid bishop of Dunkeld has so honourably prosecuted his affair and deferred to the royal honour that he has brought forward nothing at all which could redound to the injury of the royal name, or by which thy Serenity should be disturbed against him. And hence if anything has been suggested to thy Highness to the contrary by his rivals lend not thy royal ear to the words of such men.

“Given at Verona, the second¹ before the Kalends of August.”²

¹ 31st July.

² This letter is followed (Hoved., ii, 312-314) by another of the same date and contents, and, *mutatis mutandis*, in nearly the same terms, to Jos-

1186

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. II, P. 314.¹

So by authority of these letters, when the time approached which had been fixed by the chief pontiff for the aforesaid bishops of Dunkeld and of St. Andrews to go to Rome, Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and his colleagues summoned the aforesaid bishops, once, twice, three times, to set out on their journey. And the bishop of Dunkeld set out, but the bishop of St. Andrews passed the term appointed for him and delayed to go. And the aforesaid delegated judges suspended him from episcopal office, and thereafter, because of his disobedience, excommunicated him according to the form of the apostolic mandate.

1186

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. I, PP. 350-351.²

Meanwhile³ there came to England Richard, viscount of Beaumont, and his wife, bringing with them their daughter, whom the king had promised to William king of Scotland in marriage. And when their arrival was made known to the lord king he received them with honour, and as befits royal Excellence.

And after a few days the king caused to assemble at Woodstock Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and John of Norwich, and Geoffrey of Ely, and Reginald bishop of Bath, and very many both earls and barons of the kingdom of England. Thither came also William, king of Scotland, and David his brother; and Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and several earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland.

And when they were assembled, the lord king came and

celin, bishop of Glasgow, and the abbots of Melrose, Newbattle and Dunfermline. It contains also this sentence:—"Lest therefore the aforesaid matter remain longer in suspense, and the church of St. Andrews through this incur loss of her substance, we command your Discretion by apostolic writings and charge you in virtue of obedience that you be careful to report to us, under protection of your seals, all that you can know, either of yourselves or through others, of the progress of this affair, so that, instructed by your information, we may proceed as we ought to proceed in the matter by aid of our brethren's advice." Hoved., ii, 313.

These letters are given by MSS. A and G only (*ibid.*, 311. n).

¹ Not in MS. C.

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 309-310.

³ This follows the death of count Geoffrey of Brittany (19th August, 1186).

gave to the king of Scotland aforesaid the above-named girl as wife.

And he received her in the holy law of matrimony, and bound her to him in alliance of marriage at Woodstock in the greater chapel of the king, on the Nones of September; ¹ Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, celebrating mass, and the aforesaid bishops assisting.

And the king of Scotland, in presence of his lord the king of England and the aforesaid bishops and earls and barons and elergy and people, gave in dowry to the aforesaid girl the castle which is called Of Maidens, which the king of England restored on this condition; and a hundred marks ² of revenue yearly, and forty knights in vassalage.

So when mass had been celebrated and all things done in order, the king of England betook himself to another residence, and gave up his palace to the king of Scotland and his wife, to celebrate their nuptials there. And the king of England supplied them there with all necessaries.

And when the nuptials had been celebrated for four days, the lord king of England went to Marlborough, and the king of Scotland with him. And the king of Scotland delivered his wife to Joscelin, bishop of Glasgow, and to his earls and barons, to conduct her to his own land.³

1187

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. II,
PP. 7-9.

William, king of Scotland.

Meanwhile William, king of Scotland, collected a great army, and set out for Moray, to subdue a certain enemy of his, who was named Mac William; ⁴ who also said that he was born of the royal stock, and by right of his parents, so he affirmed, claimed the kingdom of Scotland, and often did many and harmful things to William, king of Scotland, through consent and council of the earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland.

The aforesaid king William, therefore, considering that he

¹ 5th September.

² "A hundred pounds of revenue yearly." Hoved., ii. 310.

³ "David, brother of the king of Scotland, earl of Huntingdon," passed Christmas of 1186 in king Henry's court at Guildford: B. of P., G. H. II, ii, 3.

⁴ Cf. Hoved., ii, 318:—"In the same year Donald, son of William Fitz Duncan, king William of Scotland's enemy, whom the Scots called Mac William, was slain in Moray."

For Donald v. B. of P., i, 277-278: supra, s.a. 1181.

must either lose the kingdom of Scotland or slay Mac William aforesaid, or else drive him from the confines of his kingdom, set out to go into Moray and appointed over his army tribunes and centurions, and said to the people :—" I also will go forth with you." And the people replied, " Thou shalt not go forth, for it is better that thou shouldst be a support to us in the city." And the king said to them, " What seemeth to you right, that I will do." ¹

And the king remained in the castle which is called Inverness.² And he sent his earls and barons with the Scots and Galwegians to subdue his enemy aforesaid.

And when they had set out, treason arose among the chiefs ; for certain of them loved the king not at all, and certain of them loved him. And the latter wished to proceed, but the others did not permit it. And after dissension they agreed that the chiefs of the army should remain, and should send forward scouts to seize food.

They chose therefore about three thousand warlike youths, whom they sent to seek the king's enemy aforesaid. And among these was the household of Roland, Utred's son ; and on his nod hung the decision of all.

And when they approached the army of the aforesaid [Mac] William, they made an attack upon them, and slew [Mac] William himself and many of his army ; and the remainder they compelled to flee, and divided their spoils amongst them. And the head of [Mac] William aforesaid they cut off, and carried it away with them, and presented it to the king of Scotland. And thus, when he was laid low, a great peace arose in the kingdom of Scotland.

And because of the evils he had wrought neither grief nor lamentation, neither even any sorrow was caused by his death.

And no wonder ; " For the praise of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite as for a moment ; if his pride ascend to the sky, and his head touch the clouds, like a dung-heap shall he perish in the end." ³

¹ 2 Samuel, XVIII, 2-4.

² For evidence of the importance of Inverness cf. M.P.'s account, after the death of Hugh de Châtillon, count de St. Pol, at Avignon, in 1249 ; Chr. Maj., v, 93 :—" This earl Hugh also had prepared a wonderful ship in the kingdom of Scotland, in Inverness, that is in Moray ; so that in it he could boldly cross the sea with the Boulognians and the Flemings, and with those who are commonly called of the Netherlands."

³ Job, XX, 5-7.

1188, Feb.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. GESTA HENRICI II. VOL. II.
PP. 41-43.¹

In the same year, after the Purification of the blessed virgin Mary,² John, bishop of Dunkeld, returned from the court of the lord pope: Hugh, bishop of St. Andrews, having been deposed. And hence the lord pope wrote in this form³:—

“ Bishop Clement [III], servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren bishops Joscelyn of Glasgow and Matthew of Aberdeen, and his beloved sons Arnold, abbot of Melrose, and Bertram, prior of Coldingham, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ Lest the things which are done should fall into the suspicion of doubt, it is fitting that they be committed to the memorial of letters, and carried to the notice of them who seem to be concerned by information authoritative and truthful.

“ Now we remember that pope Urban of good memory, our predecessor, commanded Hugh, formerly called bishop of St. Andrews, under penalty of excommunication, to present himself before the apostolic presence on a day fixed, to answer in law concerning the controversy which existed between him and our venerable brother John.

“ But because he rebelliously refused to come, being conscious of his actions, and with reason in fear of the result of the judgment, we, for this and for many other things which by the spread of rumour have created scandal to the church of God, have with counsel and assent of the brethren adjudged him by authority of the apostolic see for ever removed from the bishopric of St. Andrews, and suspended from the use of episcopal office until such time as the apostolic see shall see fit to decide otherwise regarding him, absolving his subordinates from the fealty by which they were held bound to him.

“ Indeed since the sanctions of the sacred canons forbid that vacant churches should long lack pastoral rule, we command your Discretion by apostolic script that on our behalf you affectionately admonish our beloved sons the chapter of St. Andrews to choose for themselves such a bishop and pastor as can worthily possess the dignity of episcopal office.

“ But especially labour to induce them, in so far as is pos-

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 347-349 (MSS. A and G only).

² 2nd February.

³ “ And [John] brought with him letters of the pope in this form,” Hoved., ii, 347.

sible for you, to select the said bishop John, (a man of good repute, and acceptable to us and to our brethren for his honourable character,) for the rule and prelacy in that church, without scruple of difficulty on the part of anyone.

“ And if you cannot all concern yourselves with attending to this, none the less let two of your number attend to it.

“ Given at Pisa, on the twelfth ¹ before the Kalends of February, in the sixth indiction.”

Letter of Pope Clement III to William, king of Scots.

“ Bishop Clement, servant of the servants of God, to William, illustrious king of Scots, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ We consider that we should offend the eyes of divine Majesty in no small degree if through heedlessness we should leave without due restraint the excesses of prelates which we cannot with good conscience indulge.

“ And hence since pope Urban of good memory, our predecessor, commanded under pain of excommunication Hugh, formerly called bishop of St. Andrews, on a fixed day to present himself before the apostolic presence, to answer in law because of the controversy which existed between him and our venerable brother bishop John : and since he from contumacy despised to come, being conscious of his actions, and with reason fearing the result of the judgment : so we, because of this and of many other things which, spread by rumour, caused scandal to the church of God, have by authority of the apostolic see, with counsel and assent of the brethren, adjudged him for ever removed from the episcopate of St. Andrews, and suspended from the use of the episcopal office till such time as the apostolic see shall think fit to decide otherwise concerning him ; absolving his subjects from the fealty by which they were held bound to him.

“ For although we have the firm purpose of regarding thy honour and benefit, in as far as with God we can, and in the case of Hugh aforesaid the Roman court has hitherto deferred to thy royal Serenity, not without the carping of many : yet because the noise of it has reached us on indubitable authority, we can no longer pass over his misdeeds in dissimulation, with closed eyes. And because of this we believe that nothing has been done in this regard by which thy royal mind ought to be disturbed in any way.

“ But we ask thy Devotion, with prayer and all the affection

¹ 21st January, 1188.

we can, and admonish thee in the Lord, that in reverence for the apostolic see and for us thou accept, commended and received in the bowels of charity, the said bishop John, whom we and our brethren have chosen with sincere heart, for his honourable character; and that, laying aside any offence there may have been of indignation conceived, thou treat him in all things with royal clemency and kindness.

“Indeed we believe that by his industry and uprightness he will be able to cause much gain to thee and thy kingdom, the Lord favouring. And to us also how gratifying it would be, if our prayers should produce the desired effect upon thy royal ears.

“Given at Pisa, the seventeenth before the Kalends of February, in the sixth indiction.”¹

1188

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. II,
PP. 43–44.²

Hearing this the king of Scots aforesaid, following at last the counsel of his friends, received³ John, bishop of Dunkeld: on this condition, that John himself should quit-claim for ever the episcopate of St. Andrews from his pretension: and so it was done by him, and at the king's mercy.⁴

And lastly Hugh, formerly bishop of St. Andrews, now deposed and placed again in the sentence of anathema by the chief pontiff, set out for Rome to be absolved. And when he had come thither he gave surety of standing before the judgment of the church, and was judged worthy of absolution.

But he survived few days. For in the month of August in the Romulean city such became the corruption of the air that many cardinals and richer men of the city perished, with an innumerable multitude of the people. And Hugh himself perished, with nearly all his household.⁵

¹ 16th January, 1188. MS. G of Hoveden omits “in the sixth indiction.”

² Cf. Hoved., ii, 353.

³ “Received into his favour bishop John aforesaid: and granted that he should possess in peace the bishopric of Dunkeld, and all the revenues which he had before his consecration.” Hoved., u.s.

⁴ “And he, although he had been protected by the aforesaid letters of the lord pope, yet in all things obeyed the will of the king, and quit-claimed the episcopate of St. Andrews from his pretension, in the mercy of God and of the king: knowing that ‘better is a morsel of bread with joy, than a house full of sacrifices with strife.’” (Proverbs, XVII, 1.) Hoved., u.s.

⁵ Cf. B. of P., ii, 60 (*résumé*).

1188, Mar.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, VOL. II. PP. 234-235.¹

“ Bishop Clement, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, William, illustrious king of the Scots, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ While all subjects to the yoke of Christ ought to find in the apostolic see patronage, and honour, and favour : yet it is befitting that those should more especially be cherished by the defence of protection, whose faith and devotion has been tried in many things ; that they may be provoked so much the more to the favour of love for it, and be brought under a so much devouter affection of reverence for it, as they know that they have more surely attained a pledge of its benevolence and grace.

“ For this cause, dearest son in Christ, considering the reverence and devotion which we know that thou hast had from times long ago for the Roman church, we have thought fit to decree in the charter of the present writing that the Scottish church owes subjection only to the apostolic see, whose spiritual daughter she is, with mediation of none. And in it are known to be these episcopal sees, the churches namely of St. Andrews, of Glasgow, of Dunkeld, of Dunblane, of Brechin, of Aberdeen, of Moray, of Ross, of Caithness.²

“ And let none pronounce a sentence of interdict or excommunication upon the kingdom of Scotland, except the Roman pontiff or a legate sent from his side : and if it be pronounced, we decree that it is not valid.

“ We add that it is not permitted for any henceforth who is not of the kingdom of Scotland to exercise in it the office of legate, except one whom the apostolic see has specially sent from its own side for this purpose.

“ And we forbid that controversies which may arise in the kingdom about its possessions be carried to the judgment of arbiters placed outside the kingdom, unless appeal be made to the Roman church.

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii. 360-361 : (iii. 172-174), MSS. A and G. In Hoved., ii. 360, the letter is preceded by this sentence :—“ In the same year William, king of Scots, sent his messengers to Clement, the chief pontiff, and obtained from him letters of his protection, in this form.”

This letter is placed by Benedict among events of 1191. Hoveden (MSS. A and G), placing it under the same year, ascribes it to Celestine III ; but his first 13th of March in the papacy was in 1192 ; and both MSS. refer from it to the same letter given by them under 1188, and ascribed to Clement III. Cf. the notes in Hoved., iii. 172-173 : ii. 360 ; B. of P., ii. 234. These facts support the authorship of Clement III. and the date 1188.

² Galloway is not included. It was ecclesiastically subject to York.

“ And if any writings appear to have been obtained contrary to the decree of this liberty, or chance in future to be obtained, without mention made of this concession, let nothing to the prejudice of the concession of this prerogative result for thee or for the kingdom.

“ Moreover the liberties and immunities granted and hitherto upheld by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors to thee and to the same kingdom, and to the churches established in it, we confirm, and decree to endure unimpaired in future times.

“ Let no man therefore infringe this page of our ordinance and prohibition, or in any way transgress it. But if any presume to attempt this, let him know that he shall incur the wrath of almighty God and of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul.

“ Given on the third before the Ides of March.” ¹

1188

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. II,
PP. 44-45. ²

Meanwhile Henry, king of England, sent Hugh, bishop of Durham, and certain others of his friends both clergy and laymen to William, king of Scots, to collect tithes from his land.

For [William] had offered to his lord the king of England before he sailed across ³ four thousand marks of silver to have his castles again. And the king of England replied that the matter should go well if he granted him a tithe from his land.

And the king of Scotland was desirous of satisfying his requests, and granted him the tithe which he asked for, if he could induce his vassals to do this.

When therefore the aforesaid bishop of Durham and the other messengers of the lord king of England came to Lothian to the place which is called Birgham, to speak with the king of Scots about collecting the tithes in his land, the king of Scots himself with almost all the bishops and earls and barons of his

¹ 13th March. “ Given at the Lateran, on the third before the Ides of March, in the first year of our pontificate,” Hoved., ii. 361.

² Cf. Hoved., ii. 338-339:—“ Then he sent Hugh, bishop of Durham, and other clergy and laymen to William, king of Scots, to collect the tithes in his land ” [i.e. for the crusade]; “ and hearing this the king of Scotland met them between Wark and Birgham in Lothian. And not permitting them to enter his land for the collection of the tithes, he offered to give his lord the king of England five thousand marks of silver for the aforesaid tithes, and to have his castles again; but the king of England refused to do it.”

³ To Barfleure, 10th July, 1188; B. of P., ii. 40.

land, and with an endless multitude of his vassals, came to the place which had been predetermined upon; and after hearing the cause of arrival of the king's messengers, and their request, he took counsel with his men, and replied that he could not incline their minds to the giving of a tithe. And they for themselves replied that they would never give a tithe: and even if the king of England and their lord the king of Scotland had sworn that they would have it, they would never give it.

Therefore the king of England's messengers who had been sent for this purpose saw that they could profit nothing in this regard, although they had tried their best now with gentle and now with bitter [words]: and returned to their own land, reporting to their lord the king of England, who was then in Normandy, the answer of the king of Scotland and his men.

1188

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA HENRICI II*, VOL. II,
PP. 57-58.¹

Letter of pope Clement to Henry, king of England, concerning John, bishop of St. Andrews of Scotland.

“Bishop Clement, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious king of England, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“When the authority and power of thy royal Excellency has received from the apostolic see prayers to give effect to which is beneficial for the preservation of the churches in their state, and for the well-being of many: diligently should thy royal Sublimity heed them, and strive that the result shall follow the wish, so much the more strongly and fervently as the devout receiving of them and their diligent execution redound equally to thy royal glory and well-being.

“Hence it is that we have thought fit to send with confidence to your Serenity apostolic letters and prayers on behalf of our venerable brother the bishop of St. Andrews, asking with all the affection we can the highness of your royal Eminence, and admonishing, and enjoining for the remission of all sins, that thou admonish very heedfully our dearest son in Christ, William, illustrious king of Scotland, through his reverence for St. Peter and for us, and by reason of his persecution which it is certain that [John] has for a long time endured: and induce him, and if it be necessary compel him, by the royal control in which thou standest over him, and the authority yielded to thy royal Highness, to set every pretext aside and relax to [John] the bitterness

¹ Cf. Hoved., ii, 349-351, MSS. A and G only.

of all his displeasure which the wickedness of certain scandal-makers has engendered with regard to this bishop, and to cultivate royal dignity and the wholesome works of piety; and to permit him henceforth to possess quietly and without counter-claim the diocese of St. Andrews, which by common counsel and consent of the brethren the chief pontiff has confirmed to him for ever; since [John] also is prepared, as is consonant with reason, to be in all things obedient and faithful.

“Farewell.”¹

Letter of lord pope Clement to all the clergy of St. Andrews in Scotland, on behalf of bishop John.

“Bishop Clement, servant of the servants of God, to all the clergy of the bishopric of St. Andrews, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“Although in doubtful matters some may be able to show forth their cunning or malice; yet when the difficulty and the point of doubt have been removed, and the evidences of truth have appeared by manifest testimonies, wholly must the by-paths be shunned and the paths of truth be both sought out and followed, lest (as Heaven forbid) for those who act otherwise, and persist in their obstinacy, after present castigations and deserved penalties the destruction of death eternal be their meed, and everlasting punishment.

“Wishing therefore with paternal solicitude to look forward for your welfare, and to provide for your benefit and peace, we command and charge you all by apostolic script, and enjoin upon you in virtue of obedience, that within fifteen days after the receipt of this you receive our venerable brother John, canonically appointed to the episcopal office, as your chief father and pastor, humbly and devoutly; and laying aside all animosity by no means neglect to offer henceforward due reverence to his wholesome counsels and commands.

“But knowing that if after Hugh, who was once called your bishop, has been removed by the Roman church from the dignity of your bishopric, or after his decease, John, now called your bishop, surviving, you have perchance elected as bishop someone else, we annul that election by apostolic authority.

¹ Hoveden adds a date (in margin of MS. A:)—“Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth before the Kalends of February, in the sixth indiction” [16th January, 1188.] MS. G reads: “in the fifth indiction” [1187].—Hoved. places this letter and the next immediately after the two given supra, 1188, February. Cf. infra, note upon the next letter.

“ But if (which God forbid) by persuasion of the enemy of the human race you have presumed to make any conspiracy against the same bishop John, we will that both you and the whole bishopric lie under the sentence of interdict, until you acknowledge your sin and return to the mandate of bishop John.

“ Farewell.”¹

1188

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA HENRICI II, VOL. II,
PP. 63–66.²

Meanwhile William, king of Scots, called together the bishops and chief men of his land in the vill of Perth, and gave the bishopric of St. Andrews to his chancellor Roger,³ son of Robert, earl of Leicester; John, bishop of Dunkeld, being present and not gainsaying it, although the aforesaid John had been canonically elected and consecrated to the same bishopric, and had been confirmed by three popes, namely Alexander [III], Urban [III] and Clement [III]; and although at that time present he had had letters of pope Clement in this form:—

Letter of lord pope Clement.

“ Bishop Clement, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brethren bishops Joscelin of Glasgow, and Matthew of Aberdeen, and Richard of Moray, and his beloved sons abbots Arnold of Melrose, and Hugh of Newbattle, and the abbots of Holyrood, of Stirling and of Scone, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ Although without counsel you should regard the things which make for uprightness, and achieve the welfare of souls, and we believe that you bestow upon them diligent labour according to the obligation of your office; yet we have thought fit to exhort your Diligence in apostolic letters to the exhibition of greater solicitude in this, that you may persist in these same works, worthy of praise, so much the more fervently as it will be more wholesome for you to apply in them an exacter diligence upon apostolic exhortation.

¹ Hoved., ii. 351, adds a date:—“ Given at Pisa, on the seventeenth before the Kalends of February, in the sixth indiction ” [16th January, 1188]. But it was written after the death of Hugh, which took place in August of that year; Hoved., ii. 353.

² Cf. Hoved., ii. 353, 351–352, in MSS. A and G only.

³ For the consecration of Roger, son of earl Robert the justiciar, see *infra*, s.a. 1198.

“ It is well known, then, that certain prelates of churches ought according to apostolic law with those who have been caused to stumble, to suffer burning: and with the weak to become weak.¹

“ But how great persecutions the church of St. Andrews has suffered in these times, how many calamities she has sustained, and molestations, indeed how seriously till now she has been distressed and shaken under the shadow of the indignation of the royal Majesty; moreover, how great and how many perils and labours our venerable brother John, bishop of St. Andrews, has sustained for the sake of preserving the liberty of the church intrusted to him, and confirmed to him by us and by two of our predecessors:—since these things are all manifest to you, it seems needless to impress them upon your ears.

“ Since therefore it is now discerned to be most important that, to restore the royal welfare and the state of the aforesaid church, and to bestow peace upon the bishop, we agree to employ befitting solicitude, and rely upon your circumspection to support us fitly: we command your Discretion by apostolic script and charge you that, after receipt of our letters, you come together, as becomes men of foresight and prudence, and go to the presence of our dearest son William, illustrious king of Scotland, and admonish him very heedfully, and very urgently induce him to lay aside from the said bishop the rancour of his indignation, and not in this to spurn the Roman church, which has now for long deferred to his royal Serenity: but upon admonition of her and of you, as becomes the royal glory and welfare, without delay to obey salutarily and humbly to acquiesce: and to permit this bishop to have in peace the diocese of St. Andrews, since it is held as of the obligation of royal dignity not to scatter but to foster the churches with their pastors, not to despise but to love, not to persecute but to protect.

“ And if he should think fit to resist the apostolic admonitions to the peril of his own safety, (which heaven forbid,) proclaim the sentence of interdict upon the kingdom of his royal Majesty, and upon his person, and upon all his royal supporters, to be pronounced by you, with apostolic authority, within twenty days, without obstruction of appeal. And smite with a like sentence those also who have been obedient to Hugh, and have given him nourishment in his obstinacy, after the apostolic see has removed him from the diocese of

¹ 2 Corinthians, XI, 29.

St. Andrews for ever, and has pronounced upon him the sentence of excommunication: and publicly proclaiming it cause them to be under excommunication, and very strictly avoided by the rest, until such time as they return to the mandate of the church to seek the benefit of absolution from the same bishop.

“In addition bestow upon the altars and chalices in which the already named Hugh celebrated [mass], while he was placed under excommunication, purification according to the custom of the church. Likewise go also to the church of St. Andrews, and calling the brethren together enter the chapter, and inquire very heedfully of the ordinances and condition of the church: and if you find anything changed or ordained in that church by Hugh aforesaid, by our authority bring it to proper order.

“And if anything be to be corrected in that church, study effectively to restore it to the better way. And if (which heaven forbid) you find any of the canons obdurate and rebellious against receiving humbly and devoutly the aforesaid [John] as their pastor, admonish them very urgently that they show him the reverence and obedience due to a father, and desist from their malign and damnable purpose. But if they be contumacious, suspend them alike from their office and their benefice, and bind them in the chain of excommunication, and cause them to remain bound therein until they acquiesce in the ecclesiastic admonitions and commands.

“But if you be not all able to employ yourselves in the performance of these things, none the less let the rest fulfil them.”¹

Having given therefore the episcopate of St. Andrews to Roger, son of the earl of Leicester, William, king of Scotland, gave his chancellorship to Hugh of Roxburgh, his clerk.²

1165 × 1189

WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, HISTORIA RERUM ANGLICARUM,
IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. I, P. 86.

Finally this vessel,³ of an unknown material, unaccus-

¹ Hoveden, ii, 353, adds:—“Given at Pisa, the seventeenth before the Kalends of February, in the sixth indiction” [16th January, 1188]. This is, as before, probably erroneous and without authority.

² Hugh of Roxburgh was elected bishop of Glasgow in 1199, but died before he was consecrated; v. infra, s.a. 1199, July.

³ A drinking vessel taken by a drunken peasant from a banquet of the hill-folk, near a village in Yorkshire.

tomed colour, and unusual shape, was offered to Henry the elder for a large sum; and being handed over to David, the king of Scots, was preserved for very many years among the treasures of Scotland. And a considerable number of years ago, as we have learned by truthful information, when Henry II desired to see it, it was given up to him by William, king of Scots.

1189, Sept.¹

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA RICARDI, VOL. II,
P. 87.²

And . . . on the seventeenth day of September, John, elect of Whithorn, was consecrated as bishop by John, archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Formalis, archbishop of Treves, and Concord, bishop of Enaghdon, at the abbey of Pipewell on Sunday, the feast of St. Lambert, bishop and martyr, the fifteenth³ before the Kalends of October.

1189, Nov.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, GESTA RICARDI, VOL. II,
P. 97.⁴

In the same year, in the month of November, Geoffrey, elect of York, with the earls and barons of Yorkshire⁵ went by command of king Richard, his brother, as far as to the river Tweed, to meet William, king of Scotland; and there received him into their conduct,⁶ and brought him into England as far as to Canterbury, to the king, administering to him what was needful, according to the custom of their predecessors.

¹ "David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland," was present at Westminster at the coronation of Richard I on the 3rd September; B. of P., ii, 81; Hoved., iii, 9.

² Cf. Hoved., iii, 16.

John, "elect of Whithorn in Galloway," had been present at the coronation of Richard I, 3rd September, 1189; B. of P., ii, 79. On the 23rd September he ordained to the priesthood Geoffrey, elect of York, at Southwell; B. of P., ii, 88; Hoved., iii, 17. R. de D., ii, 78. R.W., i, 177.

³ 17th September, a Sunday in 1189.

⁴ Cf. Hoved., iii, 24-25.

⁵ "Along with the barons of Yorkshire and the sheriff of York"; Hoved., iii, 24.

⁶ "And offered him due honour, and safe conduct to the king of England"; Hoved., iii, 24-25.

1189, Dec.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA RICARDI*, VOL. II, P. 98.¹

In the same year in the month of December, at Canterbury, on the day after this peace and agreement,² William, king of Scots, and David his brother and Geoffrey, elect of York, came to the king of England.³

And the king of Scots did him homage for the holding of his dignities in England,⁴ as the kings of Scots his predecessors were accustomed to hold them in the times of the kings of England.

And king Richard of England restored to him the castle of Roxburgh and the castle of Berwick, free and untrammelled; and quit-claimed him and all his heirs for ever, on behalf of himself and the kings of England, from all allegiance and subjection for the kingdom of Scotland.

And for this redemption of his castles, and the quit-claiming of fealty and allegiance for the kingdom of Scotland, and to have the king's charter concerning it, William king of Scots gave to Richard king of England ten thousand marks sterling.

¹ Cf. Hoved., iii, 25. R.W., i, 171. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 355: H.A., ii, 13. Fl. His., ii, 103. J. of E., in Fl. of W., ii, 257-258. W. of N., in Chr. of Ste., etc., i, 304:—"By urgent mandates therefore [Richard] summoned the king of Scots, who still laboured in his ancient sorrow for his castles, taken from him, as has been mentioned above, by the chance of war—namely Roxburgh and Berwick. (For the third, which is called Maidens' castle, he had received again under king Henry, when by his wish and counsel he took a wife from foreign parts.)

"He came therefore to the king of the English, and bargained to give him ten thousand marks of silver for his resignation of the castles. And returning to his own, he scraped together that sum from his subjects by the presence of his royal authority: and paid it to the king of the English, and with much rejoicing took his castles again."

W. of N. makes no mention of release from subjection. Cf. also R. de D., ii, 72:—"William, king of Scotland, came to Canterbury, having as leaders of the way the elect of York and the bishop of Durham, and did homage to the king; and found favour in the eyes of the king, [promising] to pay ten thousand marks for this, to receive again in his own power all his possessions: also the allegiance of his vassals, which by agreement they had bound themselves to make to our king."

² Between archbishop Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury: B. of P., ii, 97-98, and notes. The date of this conciliation is given in *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, 322-323, as the 1st December; in R. de D., ii, 72, and G. of C., i, 475-481, as 29th November.

³ Cf. G. of C., i, 474.

⁴ "As Malcolm his brother held them," Hoved., iii, 25.

1189, Dec.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA RICARDI*, VOL. II,
PP. 102-104.¹

In the same year, before king Richard went forth from England to Jerusalem, he quit-claimed William, king of Scots, from all subjection which Henry, king of England, his father, had extorted from him through his capture; and made for him his charter in this fashion:

“Richard, by God’s grace king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and barons, justices, sheriffs and all his servants² and vassals in all England,³ greeting.

“Know that we have restored to our cousin⁴ William, king of Scots,⁵ his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick as his [own],⁶ to be possessed by him by hereditary right and by his heirs for ever.

“Moreover we have freed him from all conventions and⁷ compacts which my father king Henry of good memory⁸ extorted from him by new charters, and by his capture: so to wit that he do to me⁹ fully and entirely what¹⁰ Malcolm, king of Scots, his brother, did to our predecessors of right, and of right ought to have done: and we shall do¹¹ to him all that our predecessors did of right to Malcolm aforesaid, and ought to have done; namely [both in the matter of]¹² conduct when

¹ Cf. Hoved., iii. 25-26, who gives the rubric:—“Charter of Richard, king of England, concerning the acquisition of the royal liberties of Scotland.”

The original charter is printed in Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 64-65 (Records edition, i. 50.)

Richard of Devizes, in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., iv. 386:—“From the underkings of the Welsh and the Scots the king received surety that while he was on pilgrimage they would not cross their boundaries to England’s hurt.”

Still, according to R.W., i. 172:—“. . . The bishop of Durham had the justiciary from the great river Humber to the Scottish sea,” i.e. to the Firth of Forth.

² *ministris*, B. of P., Hoved.; *ballivis*, Fœd.

³ “Of all England.” So Hoved.; not in Fœd.

⁴ “Our dearest cousin.” Fœd.; Hoved.

⁵ “By the same grace king of Scotland.” Fœd. Hoved. assimilates the two readings.

⁶ *propria*, Fœd., Hoved.

⁷ “Conventions and.” not in Fœd.

⁸ “Our good father Henry, king of England.” Fœd. Hoved. assimilates the two readings.

⁹ “To us.” Fœd., Hoved.

¹⁰ “All that,” Fœd.

¹¹ “And that we do,” Fœd., Hoved.

¹² *in conductu veniendo*, B. of P., Hoved. *et de conductu in veniendo*, Fœd.

he comes to court and when he returns from court and while he stays at court, and in his provisionings and in all his liberties, dignities and honours rightfully due; according to what shall be accepted by four of our nobles appointed by king William, and by four of his nobles appointed by us.

“And if any of our vassals contrary to justice¹ have appropriated borders or² marches of the kingdom of Scotland after the aforesaid king William was taken by our father, we will that they be wholly restored, and brought back to the same condition in which they were before his capture.

“Moreover concerning the lands which he has³ in England, whether in demesne or in fee, to wit in the county of Huntingdon and in all others, let him and his heirs in perpetuity possess them in the same liberty and plenitude⁴ as Malcolm⁵ possessed or ought to have possessed them; unless the aforesaid⁶ Malcolm or his heirs have since enfeoffed anything: yet so that whatever has since been enfeoffed, the services of those fiefs shall pertain to him and to his heirs.

“And whatever our father has granted to king William aforesaid, we wish to support and confirm it.⁷

“We have restored also⁸ the allegiance⁹ of his vassals, and all the charters which our lord¹⁰ father had of him through his capture. And if perchance any others¹¹ should be retained by oversight or be found, we command that they be wholly without validity.

“And he has become¹² our liegeman for all the lands for which his predecessors were liegemen of our predecessors, and has sworn fealty to us and to our heirs.

“Farewell.”¹³

¹ “Unjustly,” Fœd.

² “Borders or,” not in Fœd.

³ “Had,” Fœd.

⁴ “Consuetude,” Fœd.

⁵ “The aforesaid king Malcolm,” Fœd.

⁶ “Aforesaid king,” Fœd.

⁷ “We will that he and his heirs for ever possess it in the same liberty in which [our father] gave it him.” Fœd.

⁸ “To him,” Fœd.

⁹ “Which our father had received,” Fœd.

¹⁰ “Lord”: not in Fœd.

¹¹ “Others”: not in Fœd.

¹² “And let the oft-named king William become,” Fœd.

¹³ “And that this be decreed and established and eternal, we have confirmed it with the present charter and our seal. Witnesses archbishops Baldwin of Canterbury, and Walter of Rouen, and J[ohn] of Dublin; bishops Hugh of Durham, Hugh of Lincoln, Geoffrey of Winchester, Hubert of Salisbury, Reginald of Bath: sir John, our brother; R[obert], earl of Leicester;

1190

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, *GESTA RICARDI I*, VOL. II,
p. 146.¹

In the same year David, brother of William, king of Scotland, took to himself as wife [Matilda], the sister of Ranulf, earl of Chester.

1192²1193³

1193, Mar.

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY, *CHRONICA*, VOL. I, p. 515.

And count John came secretly to England to gather satellites from the Welsh and Scots and oppose the men of Flanders, so that he might occupy England here and there. . . . But the king of Scotland would offer the count no help.

1194

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. III. p. 237.

And earl David, brother of the king of Scotland, and Ranulf, earl of Chester, and the earl of Ferrieres, with a great army besieged the castle of Nottingham.⁴

H[amelin], earl of Warenne; H[ugh] Bardolf; Stephen de Longchamp, our butler; and many others, on the 5th day of December.

"Given by the hand of W[illiam de Longchamp], elect of Ely, our chancellor, at Canterbury, in the first year of our reign." *Fœd.*

Hoved., iii, 126, gives the list of witnesses thus:—"These being witnesses:—Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter, archbishop of Rouen; and bishops Hugh of Durham, and John of Norwich, and Hubert of Salisbury, and Hugh of Lincoln, and Geoffrey of Winchester, and Gilbert of Rochester, and Reginald of Bath, and Hugh of Coventry, and William of Worcester; and Eleanour, mother of the king; and John, earl of Mortain, brother of the king; and many others."

¹ Cf. Hoved., iii, 74.

² Under the 13th March, 1192, Hoved., iii, 172-174, repeats the bull ascribed above, s.a. 1188, to Clement III, here attributing it to Celestine III: v. *supra*.

³ To the deathbed of Bartholomew on Farne Island in 1193 "came also from Coldingham certain brethren whom he had loved with the preference of a special affection, that they might look upon the face of the father whom they were no more to see in this world, and receive from him a last exhortation and the laying on of holy hands." *Vita Bartholomæi*, in *S. of D.*, i, 318.

⁴ The siege was completed by the arrival of Richard.

Among those present at Richard's council beginning on the 30th March, 1194, at Nottingham, were "John, bishop of Whithorn; earl David, brother of the king of Scots," Hoved., iii, 241.

1194, April.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. III, PP. 243-246.¹

On the same day [2nd April,] the king went to Clipstone to meet William, king of Scots. . . .

On the 3rd day of the month of April, that is, on Palm Sunday,² the king of England stayed at Clipstone, and the king of Scotland at Worksop, because of the solemnity of the day.

On the 4th of April the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Southwell.

On the 5th of April the king of England and the king of Scotland came to Malton; and there the king of Scotland asked from the king of England the dignities and honours which his predecessors had had in England. He asked also for the earldom of Northumbria, and Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the earldom of Lancaster, to be given back to him according to the right of his predecessors. And the king replied to him that he would satisfy him, by counsel of his barons.

On the 6th of April the aforesaid kings came to the house of Peter the forester of Rutland.

On the 7th of April the aforesaid kings came to Geddington. On the 8th of April the said kings made a stay at Geddington through reverence for Good Friday. On the 9th of April, the eve of Easter, the said kings came to Northampton; and on the 10th and 11th of April the said kings stayed at Northampton.

And there the king of England, having held with deliberation a council with his bishops, earls and barons, replied to the king of Scotland that he ought by no means to have made the petition which he had made concerning Northumbria, and especially in these days, in which almost all the princes of the kingdom of the French had become [Richard's] enemies.

For if [Richard] had done this it would seem that he did it rather out of fear than by the affection of love.

Of what manner of conduct shall be offered to the king of Scotland, whensoever he come into England by command of the king of England.

Yet the king of England, in presence of his mother Eleanour and Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, and Joseclin, bishop of Glasgow, and many others

¹ Cf. J. of E., in Fl. of W., ii, 261-263. Fl. His., ii, 111-112.

² Palm Sunday was 3rd April in 1194.

both clergy and lay of either realm, granted and confirmed by his charter to William, king of Scots, and to his heirs for ever, that whenever they should come by summons of the king of England to his court, the bishop of Durham and the sheriff of Northumbria shall receive [them] at the water of Tweed, and bring them in safe conduct to the water of Tees: and there the archbishop of York and the sheriff of York shall receive them, and in safe conduct bring them to the bounds of the county of York; and so they shall be brought by bishops and sheriffs from county to county, till they arrive at the court of the king of England. And from the time when the king of Scots enters the land of the king of England, he shall have daily from the purse of the king of England a hundred shillings¹ in allowance. And when the king of Scotland has come to the court of the king of England, so long as he stays in the court of the king of England he shall receive daily in allowance thirty shillings, and twelve royal wastel-cakes, and twelve royal simnel-loaves; and four pints² of the king's royal wine, and eight pints of expensive wine; and two pounds of pepper, and four pounds of cumin; and two stones of wax or four wax candles, and forty thick and long pieces of the royal candle of the king, and four score pieces of other expensive candle.

And when he wishes to return into his own land, he shall be conducted by bishops and sheriffs from county to county, till he come to the water of Tweed; and he shall have likewise daily a hundred shillings from the purse of the king of England in allowance.

And the charter of this concession and confirmation of the king of England was given to William, king of Scotland, in the vill of Northampton, the second day³ in the week of Easter, by the hand of William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor; in the year from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1194, and in the fifth year of the reign of king Richard.

Discord between William, king of Scots, and bishop Hugh, at Brackley.

On the 12th of April, the third day in Easter week, Richard, king of England, returned from Northampton and went to Selston. And Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugh,

¹ Literally "sols."

² Literally "sextaries."

³ Monday, 11th April. The charter is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, i, 87-88, (Records edition, i, 62-63.) and is dated on the 17th April, 1194, at Winchester.

bishop of Durham, went to Brackley, where had been prepared for the bishop of Durham the dwelling which he had had for thirty years past, by allotment of the marshals of king Henry.

And when his provision had been prepared the servants of the king of Scotland supervened, wishing to cast out the servants of the bishop; but they could not.

Yet they bought the king's foods, and prepared them in a certain house of the same parish.

And when the bishop of Durham had come thither, and it had been told him by his men that it had so chanced, he refused to retire, but boldly entered his dwelling, and ordered the tables to be served.

And while he dined came Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and offered him his dwelling; and counselled him that he should leave that dwelling to the king of Scotland, and depart.

But when the king of Scotland had returned from hunting, late, and it had been announced to him that this had so befallen, he took it ill and refused to go thither, but commanded his provision to be given to the poor. And he himself went to the king at Selston, and complained to him of the wrong which the bishop of Durham had done him. And hence the king was much enraged, and reproved the bishop of Durham.

1194, April.

RALPH DE DICETO, *IMAGINES HISTORIARUM*, VOL. II, P. 114.

On the octave ¹ of Easter [Richard] received the diadem of the kingdom at Winchester, from the hands of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.

William, king of Scotland, was present.²

1194, Apr.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. III, P. 249.

On the 19th April Hugh, bishop of Durham, of his own accord, none compelling him, restored to king [Richard] the county of Northumbria, with its castles and other appurtenances. And the king commanded him to give them up to Hugh Bardolf.

¹ 17th April. So R.W., i, 232. R. of C., 64. *Itinerarium*, 447.

² Cf. R. of W., i, 232. *Itinerarium*, 447. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 404.

William carried before king Richard one of three swords taken from the king's treasure, and afterwards took part in the feast; Hoved., iii, 248.

And when William king of Scotland heard this, he immediately offered to the king of England fifteen thousand marks of silver for Northumbria and its appurtenances, saying that earl Henry, his father, held it by gift of king Henry II, and that after him his son king Malcolm possessed it in peace for five years.

And hence the king of England, after holding a council with his subjects, replied to the king of Scotland that he would give him the whole of Northumbria, excepting the castles, for the said money.

But the king of Scotland refused to take it without the castles.

1194, Apr.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. III, P. 250.

On the 21st of April William, king of Scots, again tried if by any means he could obtain the county of Northumbria, with the castles. But it was not in the plan of the king of England to give him any castles; yet notwithstanding he gave him hope of having them in the future, after his return from Normandy.

On the 22nd April, the sixth day of the week, William, king of Scotland, left the court of the king of England to return to his own country, grieving and downcast because of the refusal given him.

1195, Mar.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. III, PP. 286-287, S.A. 1195.

In the same year, on the approach of the Lord's Supper,¹ when John, bishop of Whithorn, suffragan and official of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, had come to York, to consecrate there in the accustomed manner the chrism and oil on the Lord's Supper, the dean and clergy of the church of York refused to receive him. And hence it happened that he went to Southwell, and there on the Lord's Supper consecrated chrism and oil, and gave them to the officials of the archbishop to distribute among the churches of the arch-bishopric.

It is said also that Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, received the chrism and oil, but immediately cast them out on the dunghill. And the other canons of the church of St. Peter refused to receive of it; but sent to Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, to receive from him oil and chrism; but

¹ 30th March.

they were cheated of their desire. For Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln, brother of archbishop Geoffrey, forbade the bishop to give them oil and chrism, and appealed regarding it to the Roman pontiff.

1195, June.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. III, PP. 298–299.

In the same year ¹ [1195] William king of Scots fell ill in his vill which is called Clackmannan, and determined that Otto, son of Henry duke of Saxony, and nephew of king Richard of England, should succeed him in the kingdom of Scotland; in such wise that this Otto should take with the kingdom his first-born daughter to wife.

And although the king had many who consented in this to his will, yet earl Patrick [of Dunbar] and many others opposed it, saying that they would not receive his daughter as queen; because it was not the custom of that kingdom that a woman should have the kingdom so long as there was a brother or nephew in his family who could have the kingdom by right.

And shortly afterwards through God's mercy the king of Scots recovered from that infirmity; continuing in the same purpose which he had of marrying his daughter with the kingdom to the aforesaid Otto.

1195, Dec.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. III, P. 308.

And Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, justiciar of the whole of England and legate of the apostolic see, was on that day [Christmas] at York, being sent on behalf of the king to speak with William, king of Scots, of the contracting of marriage between Otto, son of Henry duke of Saxony and nephew of Richard king of England, with Margaret, [king William's] daughter.

For it had been agreed between Richard king of England and king William of Scotland that the same king of Scotland should give to the aforesaid Otto his daughter Margaret as wife, with the whole of Lothian; and that the king of England should give to Otto and to the daughter of the king of Scotland and their heirs the whole of Northumbria and the county of Carlisle: and that the king of England should

¹ Placed among events of June.

have in keeping the whole of Lothian, with its castles ; and the king of Scotland should have in keeping the whole of Northumbria and the county of Carlisle, with their castles.

But because the queen of Scots was at this time pregnant the king of Scotland refused to stand by the aforesaid convention, hoping that the Lord would give him a son.¹

1196

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, PP. 10-12, S.A. 1196.²

In the same year³ William, king of Scots, collected a large army, and entered Moray to subdue Harold Maemadit,⁴ who had occupied that land. But before the king entered Caithness Harold fled to his ships, refusing to enter into battle against the king.

Then the king of Scots sent his army to Thurso, the vill of the aforesaid Harold, and destroyed his castle situated there.

And seeing that the king would wholly destroy his land Harold came to the feet of the king and placed himself at his mercy ; chiefly because a storm raged on the sea, and the wind was against him in his wish to go to Orkney island. And he swore to the king that he would bring to him all his enemies when the king should return another time to Moray, and on this condition the king permitted him to hold the half of Caithness ; and the other half of Caithness the king gave to Harold the younger, the grandson of Ronald, formerly earl of Orkney and of Caithness.

¹ Alexander II was not born till August, 1198 : *infra*.

² Chr. of Melr., 103. s.a. 1197 :—" A battle took place in Moray near the castle of Inverness, between the king's men and Roderic and Torfinn, son of earl Harold. But by God's providence the king's enemies were put to flight, and the aforesaid Roderic was slain and perished with many others. In all things blessed be God, who has betrayed the wicked !

" Afterwards the same king William with his army set out for Moray and for the other remoter districts of his land : and there he took earl Harold, and caused him to be kept in the castle of Roxburgh until his son Torfinn should give himself as a hostage for his father."

³ This is placed after an event of the 15th June.

⁴ I.e., " son of Madad." He is called *Maddatharson* in the Flatey Jarbok ; Icel. Sagas, ii. 225. Madad (Madadh ?) or Madaeh was earl of Atholl and cousin of king David. Harold had been earl of Orkney from his childhood in 1139, in conjunction with Ronald, mentioned below.

In L.V.E.D., 100, appears the family of Harold's elder brother :—" Malcolm, son of Madaeh," [in text *Mal. et.* ; read *Madi.*, as in Sc. Peer., i. 417, q.v.] " earl of Atholl : Hextilda daughter of Uted," [Waldeve's son,] " his wife ; Simon, his son ; Henry, his son. Duncan, [Henry's] brother ; Bethoc, his sister ; Kelehatbonin, her son ; Christina, [Henry's] sister ; Margaret, his sister : Constantin, his nephew."

Thereafter the king returned to his own land, and Harold to Orkney.

Thereafter in autumn the king of Scots went back into Moray, as far as to Nairn, to receive from Harold his enemies; but when Harold had brought them as far as the harbour of Loch Loy, near to Nairn, he allowed them to go away; and late, when the king returned from hunting, Harold came to him bringing with him two boys, his grandsons, to give up to the king as hostages.

And when he was asked by the king where were his enemies whom he ought to have given up, and where was Torfinn, his son, whom he had promised to give as hostage, he replied: "I have allowed them to go away, knowing that if I had given them up to you they would not escape your hands; but my son I have not been able to bring, because in that land there is no other heir."

Therefore because he had not kept the agreements which he had made with his lord the king, it was adjudged that he should remain in captivity of the king until his son should come and become a hostage. And because that he had allowed the king's enemies to go away, he was judged to have been unworthy of the land which he held of the king.

And the king took Harold with him to the castle of Maidens and held him in chains, until his men brought from Orkney his son Torfinn, and giving him as hostage to the lord king released Harold from the king's prison.

And Harold returned to Orkney, and dwelt there in peace and quiet until Harold the younger received from Swerre Birkbein, king of Norway, permission to claim the half of Orkney, and brought with him Siward Murd from Hegland and many other warriors, and invaded Orkney.

And Harold the elder would not enter battle with him, but leaving Orkney departed to the island of Man; and there collected a fleet and many men.

Likewise did Harold the younger, and went to the island of Man, wishing to meet with Harold the elder; but before his arrival Harold the elder entered Orkney by another way with his fleet, and slew all whom he found in Orkney.

Hearing this, Harold the younger returned to Caithness at Wick, and fought with Harold the elder; and in that battle Harold the younger and all his army were slain.

Thus when Harold the younger was slain, Harold the elder came to the king of Scots by conduct of Roger and Ronald bishops of St. Andrews and Rosemarkie, and offered

the king plenty of gold and of silver to have again Cathania, that is to say, Caithness.

And the king replied to him that he would give him that land if he dismissed his wife, the daughter of Malcolm [Macbeth,]¹ and took again his former spouse, the daughter of Duncan, earl of Fife; and gave to him as hostage Laurence, his priest, and Honaver,² son of Ingemund. But this Harold refused to do.

Therefore Ronald,³ son of Somerled and king of Man, came to William king of Scots and bought Caithness from him, saving the king's yearly revenue.

1197

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 33, S.A. 1197.

In the same year⁴ William, king of Scots, taking an example of good made the men of his kingdom swear that they would preserve peace to the extent of their power, and that they would not be robbers nor thieves, nor outlaws, nor receivers of them, and that they would not in anything consent with them; and that when they should be able to know of malefactors of this kind, they would to the extent of their power take and destroy them.

1198

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 31, S.A. 1197.

In the same year Roger, brother of earl Robert of Leicester, bishop elect of St. Andrews in Scotland, received the order of priesthood and the episcopal consecration from Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen.⁵

1198, Aug.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 54, S.A. 1198.

Of the birth of Alexander, son of William, king of Scotland.

In the same year, in the month of August, Ermengard

¹ In text *Machaz*, as if the modern Mackay (mac Aoidh). *Eth* is the spelling of *Aed* (modern *Aodh*). in R. de D.: supra, Introductory.

For Malcolm Macbeth or Mac Heth v. supra, 1134 × 1151, note.

² MS. I reads *Bonaver*.

³ For Ronald, king of the Isles, see the Chr. Reg. Man., in Langebek, iii, 226-230.

⁴ Placed at the end of the events of the year. This paragraph is omitted by MS. G.

⁵ Roger was the second son of Robert III, earl of Leicester. (Cf. Dugd., Bar., i, 88.) The Chr. of Melr., 103, places his consecration on the first Sunday in Lent, 1198 [15th February.] For his election v. supra, s.a. 1188. He lived till 1202. V. infra, s.a. 1200.

queen of Scots bore her first-born son, and his name was called Alexander. And Joscelin, venerable bishop of the church of Glasgow, baptized him.

1198

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, PP. 69-70.¹

In the same year [1198], after the death of master Richard of Coldingham, Philip, bishop of Durham, and Bertram, prior of the church of Durham, disagreed about the presentation of the churches of Richard aforesaid.

For the bishop said that the presentation pertained to him, as to the bishop and abbot of the church of Durham.

Against this the prior replied that the presentation pertained to him, because his predecessors and himself had given them without opposition of any, as priors and lords of the soil, and as those who have all authority of the abbot in the choir, and in disposition of his house and revenues, by concession of the kings and appointment of the bishops of Durham and by confirmation of the Roman pontiffs.

But not thus was that controversy stilled; but rose indeed to such height that, by command of the bishop, Aimeric archdeacon of Durham besieged the church of St. Oswald in Elvet, in which the monks had taken refuge; and permitted not provisions to be brought to them.

And on a certain day, after appeal had been made by the monks to the chief pontiff, the same Aimeric caused fire to be applied to the door of the church, in order thus by smoke and fumes of the fire to drive out the monks. When therefore the door was half-burnt, his evil satellites entered the church, and drove out the monks with force and an armed hand.

But God turned the mind of the bishop to a better way; and through reverence for the most holy Cuthbert he granted the same church for the proper uses of the monks, and confirmed it with his charter. He also yielded to them the free disposition of their churches, although with his modified approval.

1199, Mar.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, P. 85.

In the same year [1199], on the day of St. Patrick, namely the sixteenth² before the Kalends of April, the fourth day

¹ Cf. *supra*, 1127, July.

² 17th March, a Wednesday in 1199.

of the week, Joscelin, venerable bishop of the church of Glasgow, died at Melrose, where he had been a venerated abbot; and there he was buried, in the choir of the monks, in the north side of the church.

1199, Apr.

ROGER HOVEDEN. CHRONICA. VOL. IV, PP. 88-89.¹

Under this agreement ² the above-named earls and barons ³ swore to John, duke of Normandy, fealty and faithful service against all men.

And William, king of Scots, sent his messengers to John, duke of Normandy, asking for his patrimony to be restored to him, namely Northumbria and Cumbria, with their appurtenances; and he would swear fealty to him, and serve him faithfully against all men.

But [Hubert], archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal and Geoffrey Fitz Peter did not permit the messengers of the king of Scotland to sail over to the duke; but announced to [William] by earl David, his brother, that he should wait patiently till the duke came to England.

Likewise John duke of Normandy announced to William king of Scots by Eustace de Vescy, his brother-in-law,⁴ that on his return to England he would satisfy him regarding all his petitions, if meanwhile he preserved peace with him.⁵

1199, May.

ROGER HOVEDEN. CHRONICA. VOL. IV, PP. 91-92.

Meanwhile William, prior of [the isle of] May, and Walter, prior of the Island of St. Columba,⁶ and William de Haye, sent on behalf of William king of Scotland, came to king John of England: and by them the king of Scots asked from

¹ Cf. R.W., i. 285. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii. 453.

² "That the aforesaid John, duke of Normandy, should give to each of them his right, if they themselves kept faith and peace with him." Hoved., iv. 88. Cf. R.W., i. 285.

³ "Those of whom [Hubert of Canterbury, William Marshal and Geoffrey Fitz Peter] had the greatest doubt." Hoved., iv. 88. First in the list is "David, brother of the king of Scots." (So Ann. of Burt., in A.M., i. 199.)

⁴ Cf. R.W., ii. 194:—"For the said Eustace had a sister of the king of Scotland to wife." Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1216.

⁵ Cf. R.W., i. 285:—"And [Hubert of Canterbury and William Marshall] announced to William, king of Scots, by Eustace de Vescy that upon [John's] return to England he would satisfy him of his right in England, if meanwhile he kept faith and peace with him." (R.W. omits mention of William's messengers to John.) Cf. M.P., H.A., ii. 78.

⁶ Incheolm.

the king of England Northumbria and Cumbria with their appurtenances, by right of his patrimony. And he promised that, if the king gave them back to him, he would faithfully serve him with all his strength ; but if not, he would acquire his whole right, if he could.

And to this king John replied :—“ When your lord the king of Scots, my dearest cousin, comes to me, I shall do for him what is just, in this and the rest of his petitions.”

Then John, king of England, sent Philip, bishop of Durham, to meet the king of Scots, hoping that he would come at his command ; and he himself meanwhile came to Nottingham, and was there on the day of Pentecost ;¹ and tarried in those parts awaiting the arrival of the king of Scots.

But the king of Scots refused to come ; but sent again to the king of England Roger, bishop of St. Andrews, and Hugh Malebysse, whom the king of England had sent for him, and asked that the king of England would give him back Northumbria and Cumbria ; but if not, let him know for certain that according to his power he would acquire them : and to have the king of England's answer about this he fixed a truce of forty days, and himself meanwhile gathered a large army. And the bishop of St. Andrews and Richard Malebysse followed the king of England, as he hastened to the sea.

Meanwhile king John of England gave in keeping to William de Estuteville Northumbria and Cumbria, with their castles and counties, which Hugh Bardolf had kept ; and restored to Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, his castle of Pomfret, taking from him first his son and heir as hostage.

1199, July.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 97.

In the same year died Hugh, elect of the church of Glasgow, on the sixth² before the Ides of July ; and he was buried at Jedburgh.

1199, Oct.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 97.

In the same year, in the month of October, William Malvoisin was elected as bishop of the church of Glasgow.

¹ 6th June.

² 10th July.

1199

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, PP. 97-98.

In the same year there was in England and in its territories such an inundation of waters that bridges and mills and houses were carried away.

And as the bridge of Berwick had been carried away, when by command of William king of Scots earl Patriek, warden of Berwick, and at that time chief justiciar of the whole kingdom of the Scots, wished to rebuild the bridge of Berwick, it was forbidden him on the part of Philip, bishop of Durham, to plant the bridge upon his land.

But that bridge could not be made, unless it were planted upon the land of the bishop of Durham as it had been before.

But at last the aforesaid bishop of Durham by counsel of William de Estuteville permitted the bridge to be made, and to be planted upon his land; preserving the agreement which had been made between the king of Scotland and Hugh, bishop of Durham, his predecessor.

1199

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, P. 100.

In the same year [1199] when William, king of Scots, was in the purpose of coming into England with an army, he went to the tomb (which is at Dunfermline¹) of St. Margaret, formerly queen of the Scots, and passed the night there.

And being warned in his dreams by a divine oracle not to invade England with an army, he allowed his army to return home.

1200

RICHARD SWAPHAM, IN SPARKE'S *SCRIPTORES VARI*, PART III, P. 106.

[Akarius]² received the abbacy [of Peterborough] at Rogation time,³ and found not fodder, nor food, nor substance of any kind wherewith he might maintain his house for one day. For the bishop⁴ of St. Andrews of Scotland, to whom

¹ For an agreement between the monks of Dunfermline and of Durham v. L.V.E.D., obituary, 137.

² Abbot 1200-1210; *ibid.*, 105; 104, 107, notes. (Cf. Hoved., iv, 116, who names him Zacharias.)

³ Rogation Sunday was the 14th May in 1200. The abbacy had been vacant since 1199; marginal note, *ibid.*, 104.

⁴ Roger died in 1202. *Chr. of Melr.*, 104.

king [John] had given the guardianship, had left nothing, but had carried away everything, as much as he could.

1200, Sept.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, P. 139, S.A. 1200.

In the same year, on the ninth¹ before the Kalends of October,—namely on a Saturday of the Four Seasons, the next before the feast of St. Michael,—William, surnamed Malvoisin, elect of the church of Glasgow, was ordained as priest at Lyons, by ———,² archbishop of that city. And there on the morrow, Sunday to wit, the eighth before the Kalends of October, he was consecrated as bishop of Glasgow by the same archbishop, by mandate of the lord pope Innocent III.

1200, Oct.

ROGER HOVEDEN, *CHRONICA*, VOL. IV, P. 140.³

And king John of England immediately after his coronation⁴ sent Philip, bishop of Durham, and Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, and Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, nephew of king William of Scotland, and David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the same king of Scotland, and Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester; and William de Vesey, and Robert de Ross, sons-in-law of the same king of Scotland, and Robert Fitz Roger, sheriff of Northumberland, to William king of Scots with royal letters patent of safe-conduct to bring the king of Scots to the king of England; and fixed for him a day for coming to him at Lincoln,⁵ on the morrow⁶ of St. Edmund's day.

1200, Nov.

RALPH OF COGGESHALL, *CHRONICON ANGLICANUM*, P. 107.

And on the day following,—namely, on the first Wednesday⁷ after the feast of St. Edmund,—king John held his conference with lord William, king of Scotland, who had

¹ 23rd September.

² Reginald de Forez, archbishop 1195–1226. (Stubbs.)

³ Cf. R.W., i, 302. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 467; H.A., ii, 88. Ford., i, 121.

⁴ Of the 8th October; *ibid.*, 139.

⁵ R.W., i, 302:—"That he might there satisfy him of his right." So M.P., Chr. Maj., H.A., u.s.

⁶ 21st November. So R.W., u.s.; M.P., H.A., u.s.

⁷ 22nd November.

arrived with Roland prince of Galloway and with many other nobles with great pomp at Lincoln, to do his homage, which he had deferred till that time, to the king of England.¹

1200, Nov.

ROGER HOVEDEN. CHRONICA, VOL. IV, p. 141.²

In the same month of November, the eleventh³ before the Kalends of December, king John of England and William king of Scotland met at Lincoln.

And on the morrow⁴ . . . he and William, king of Scots, met for a conference outside of the city of Lincoln, upon a high mountain, and there in the sight of all the people William king of Scots became the vassal of John, king of England, for his right,⁵ and swore to him over the cross of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, fealty in life and limbs and his earthly honour against all men,⁶ and in the preservation of peace for him and his kingdom, saving his own right; with these witnesses:—Hubert of Canterbury, John of Dublin, Bernard of Ragusa, archbishops; and Philip of Durham, William of London, Gilbert of Rochester, Eustace of Ely, Savarie of Bath, Herbert of Salisbury, and Geoffrey of Winchester, and Giles of Hereford, and John of Norwich, and Roger of St. Andrews in Scotland, and Henry of Llandaff, and [Robert of Shrewsbury] of Bangor, and [Simon Rochford] of Meath, bishops; and Geoffrey Fitz Peter, justiciar of England, earl of Essex, and Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, and Hamelin, earl of Warenne, and Baldwin de Bethune, earl of Albemarle, and William, earl of Salisbury, and Henry

¹ "And there at that time three archbishops and nearly all the nobles of either realm had assembled," R. of C., 110.

At the time of their conference bishop Hugh of Lincoln's body was brought to Lincoln; and the two kings with the archbishops and the others went out to meet it. R. of C., 110–111. Cf. Hoved., iv, 141. R. de D., ii, 171. Ann. of Burt., in A.M., i, 202. This took place on Thursday, 23rd November, 1200; v. Magna Vita S. Hugonis, 370, 353, lxxvii.

² Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 472.

Cf. Ann. of Marg., in A.M., i, 25:—"About the feast of St. Edmund a council assembled at Lincoln, and the king of Scotland did homage to the king of England."

Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 74:—"There came together at Lincoln John, king of England, and William, king of Scotland, and almost all the magnates of the whole of England, to treat of the state of the kingdom."

³ 21st November.

⁴ 22nd November. R.W. places the conference upon the 21st; i, 307. So M.P., u.s.

⁵ I.e. "for his possessions"; in England naturally. But he "did homage to king John for all his right," according to R.W., i, 308; M.P., u.s.

⁶ So far cf. R.W., i, 307–308.

de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and [Richard,] earl of Clare, and [William,] earl of Ferrieres, and David, brother of William king of Scots, earl of Huntingdon, and Roland, son of Uted Fergus' son, prince of the Galwegians, and Patrick, earl of Lothian, and Griffin son of Rhys, king of South Wales, and many others from the kingdom of Scotland; and in presence of the barons of England and Normandy, namely:—Roger, constable of Chester, and Eustace de Vescy, and Robert de Ross, and William de Estuteville, and Ralph chamberlain of Tankerville, and Warin Fitz Gerald, and Stephen de Turnham, and Robert his brother, and Gilbert Basset, and Thomas and Alan his brothers, and Roger de Huntingfield, and Saer de Quincy, and William de Hastings, and Jollan de Neville, and Simon de Chancy, and Gerard de Camville, and many others of the barons of England and Normandy.

And thus having performed his homage king William of Scotland asked of his lord John, king of England, the whole of Northumbria and Cumberland and Westmoreland, as his right and heritage. And when there had been long discussion about this, and no agreement could be come to between them, the king of England asked from the king of Scotland a truce for deliberation until Whitsunday next to come.¹

And granting this, William king of Scotland in the earliest morning on the morrow (to wit the ninth² before the Kalends of December, the fifth day of the week,) returned to his own district under conduct of the aforesaid who had conducted him to the king of England.

1200, Nov.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 145.

In the same year Duncan, son of Gilbert Fergus' son, carried off Avelina, daughter of Alan Fitz Walter, lord of Renfrew, before William king of Scotland returned from England into his own land.

And hence that king was exceeding wroth; and he took from Alan Fitz Walter twenty-four pledges that he would preserve peace with him and with his land, and take the law about this claim.

1200, Dec.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 145.

In the same year, in the month of December, Roland

¹ 13th May, 1201.

² 23rd November, a Thursday in 1200.

prince of Galloway died in England at Northampton, on the fourteenth ¹ before the Kalends of January, the third day of the week. And there he was buried, at the abbey of St. Andrew.

1200, Dec.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 156.

On the same day [of Christmas] William, king of Scots, was in his land at Lanark.

1201, Feb.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 157, S.A. 1201.²

In the same year, on the vigil ³ of the Purification of St. Mary, William bishop of Glasgow landed in England at Dover, returning from his consecration.

1201, Mar.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 161.⁴

On the same day [of Easter, 1201] ⁵ William, king of Scots, was in Scotland at Carlisle.⁶

1201, May.

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, PP. 163-164.

Then the king of England sent Geoffrey, bishop of Chester, and Richard Malebyse, and Henry de Puteaco to William, king of Scots, and asked that in the petition which he had made regarding the county of Northumbria the term for reply, which the king of [Scotland] ⁷ had fixed for him at Whitsuntide, should be postponed until the feast of St. Michael.⁸

1201

ROGER HOVEDEN, CHRONICA, VOL. IV, P. 174.⁹

In the same year [1201] died Constance, mother of Arthur, duke of Brittany.

In the same year died Margaret, mother of the aforesaid Constance, sister of William king of Scotland, and mother of Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford.

¹ 19th December, a Tuesday in 1200.

² Omitted by MSS. G and D.

³ 1st February.

⁴ Not in MSS. G and D.

⁵ 25th March.

⁶ *Karel*; Crail? (*Carcl* is Carlisle in Chr. of Melr., 60; cf. S. of D., H.R., ii, 220.)

⁷ Hoved. :—" of England."

⁸ 29th September.

⁹ Cf. Ann. of Burt., in A.M., i, 208-209.

ca. 1207

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY, MAPPA MUNDI; VOL. II, PP. 441–442.¹

In Lothian, of the king of Scotland, [are]:—

The abbacy of Newbattle, St. Mary's; white monks.

The abbacy of Melrose, St. Mary's; white monks.

The abbacy of Dryburgh; white canons.

The abbacy of Kelso, St. Mary's; grey monks.

The abbacy of Coldstream; black nuns.

The priory of Coldingham; black monks.

The abbacy of Jedburgh; black canons.

The priory of Haddington; white nuns.

The abbacy of Edinburgh; black canons.

The priory of South Berwick; white monks.

The priory of North Berwick; black nuns.

The priory of Eccles; white nuns.

In the earldom of Fife in Scotland:—

The bishopric of St. Andrews; black canons and culdees.

The abbacy of holy Trinity, of Dunfermline; black monks.

The abbacy of Stirling; black canons.

The priory of May; black monks, of Reading.

In the isle of St. Columba,² black canons.

The abbacy of Lindores; monks of Tiron.

The priory of Perth; black monks.

The abbacy of Scone; black canons.

The abbacy of Cupar; white monks.

The priory of Roslin; black canons.

The abbacy of Arbroath; monks of Tiron.

The bishopric of Dunkeld, of St. Columba; black canons and culdees.

¹ The Mappa Mundi was written "in this time of our king John": *ibid.*, ii, 414. Cf. the list given by H. de S., ca. 1272, in H. & S., ii, 181–182, and notes.

Cf. G. of C. M.M., ii, 448:—"Of Scotland. In the kingdom of Scotland the bishops, who have no archbishop, are these:—the bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Brechin, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Caithness, the bishop of Ross, the bishop of Dunkeld, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Galloway, the bishop of Argyle."

Gervase of Tilbury adds the bishopric of Moray:—"Otia Imperialia, in R. of C., 422–423:—"Under the bishop of York are the bishops of Durham and of Carlisle, and all the bishops of Scotland. . . ."

"The bishops of Scotland, in our times exempted, are assigned to the lord pope. And they are these:—the episcopates of St. Andrews, of Glasgow, the episcopates of Whithorn, Dunkeld, Dunblane, [Rosemarkie,] (in text *Ardmarchiensis*; read *Rosmarchiensis*?) Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray (or Moravia), Caithness; the episcopate of Argyle." This work was composed about 1214: Stevenson, *ibid.*, p. xxiv, note.

² Inchcolm, previously called Amonia; Fordun, V, 37.

The bishopric of Brechin : culdees.
 The bishopric of Aberdeen.
 The bishopric of Moray.
 The priory of Urquhart ; black monks of Dunfermline.
 The abbacy of Kinloss ; white monks.
 The bishopric of Ross ; culdees.
 The bishopric of Glasgow ; secular canons.
 The abbacy of St. Kinewin ;¹ monks of Tiron.
 The bishopric of Galloway : the abbacy of Whithorn, white monks.
 The bishopric of Dunblane ; culdees.
 In Iona, an abbacy ; culdees.
 Total, twenty-two.

1209

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 50,
 S.A. 1209.²

How the king of the English made a treaty of friendship with the king of Scots.

About these days John, king of the English, collected a great army and directed his standards and arms against Scotland. And coming into the province of the Northumbrians

¹ Kilwinning (the church of St. Vinin.)

² Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 525 ; H.A., ii, 118-119. Fl. His., ii, 137-138. G. of C., G.R., ii, 102-103 :—“ And [John] sent letters and messengers to the king of Scotland, a man of distinguished sanctity, commanding him to restore to him three castles which he held of him in the borders of England and Scotland, or to send him his son as hostage.

“ And when the king of Scotland refused to carry out this command the king of England wished with a great army to snatch from him what he could not obtain by request, and to restore the castles aforesaid to his own domain.

“ When therefore the king of England advanced with a numerous army to Scotland, the knights who were in the army murmured, saying, ‘ Whither go we ? What do we ? We are as pagans, without Christianity, without the law of God. How then shall we be able to assail the holy man, that king of Scotland ? Assuredly God will fight against us for him, for whom he has done several miracles.’

“ So when these and other murmurings of his soldiers had been reported to the English king, lest haply the army should wholly forsake him, and forsake him in the hour of combat, he commanded Geoffrey Fitz Peter prefect of England and certain other earls to apply their whole minds to the peace of Canterbury and of the English church, and to recall in peace to England both the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops and monks. For the lord pope had given mandates to the bishops aforesaid to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon the person of the king. . . .

“ And when the bishops aforesaid prepared their return to England, and the king of England advanced with a great army to Scotland, providing for the safety of his realm the king of Scotland wished rather to have peace than war, and to make provision for himself and his subjects by discretion rather than by war. So he sent his two daughters by trusty messengers to the

to the castle which is called Norham, he there arrayed his ranks for battle against the king of Scots.

And when this was announced to the king aforesaid he greatly feared [John's] attack, for he knew him to be eager for every cruelty. And he came to meet him, determining to treat for peace.

But the English king was moved to rage and taunted him bitterly, accusing him of having received in his kingdom his fugitives and public enemies and of having afforded them aid and support, to his prejudice.

But when the English king had charged the king aforesaid with these and many other things at last through the efforts of friends of either king they made an agreement in this wise, to wit that the king of Scots should give to the king of the English for the benefit of peace twelve thousand¹ marks of silver; and moreover for greater security should give up to him his two daughters as hostages, that thereby a firmer peace should exist between them.

1210

FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 139, S.A. 1210.

The peace which had been initiated between the kings of English and of Scots was confirmed by means of a formal document.

king of England, one, to wit, to be given by law of wedlock to his son, and the other to some one of the nobles of England.

"He also sent him his son; not however as a hostage, but to do the homage due for the aforesaid castles and other lands which he held.

"Thus therefore peace was restored between the kings, and all returned to their own."

Cf. Ann. of Wav. in A.M., ii, 262; Ann. of Marg., *ibid.*, i, 29. Ann. of St. Edm., in Mem. of St. Edm. Abb., ii, 17; J. of T., s.a. 1208, in Fl. of W., ii, 168. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 80. Ann. of Dumst., *ibid.*, iii, 33, s.a. 1210.

W. of C., ii, 200:—"King John led an expedition against William, king of Scotland; and very quickly returned, after making peace and receiving as many hostages as he would."

Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 59:—"A quarrel arose between the king of England and the king of Scotland; but they were pacified. Hostages also must be given for ever from Scotland according to the will of the kings of England."

Cf. the Chr. of Melr., 108; Chr. of Lan., 7; the insertion in W. of C., Gale MS., ii, 200, note.

John returned from Norham on the 28th of June; R.W., ii, 209. M.P., u.s.

¹M.P., H.A., ii, 119, has "eleven thousand" (in three MSS.; in one MS. "twelve," in another "nine." Fl. His., ii, 138, has "eleven." A proclamation of William to his subjects (Bymer, *Fœdera*, i, 103.) says "fifteen thousand." The Chr. of Lan., 7; Chr. of Melr., 108; and an insertion in Gale MS., W. of C., ii, 200, n., say "thirteen thousand."

1212, Mar.

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 60.¹

How the English king presented the king of Scotland's son, Alexander by name, with the belt of knighthood.

In the year of the Lord 1212 king John was in Windsor at Christmas ;² and in the following Lent, on the Sunday³ when *Letare Jerusalem* is sung, the same king presented with the belt of knighthood Alexander,⁴ the son and lawful heir of the king of Scots, in London, at St. Bride's.⁵

1212

ANNALS OF ST. EDMUNDS, IN MEMORIALS OF ST. EDMUND'S ABBEY, VOL. II, P. 20.⁶

A certain relative of the king of Scotland, by name Mac William, with a great host landed in Scotland and harried the chief part of the land, putting to death many of either sex, [and of every] condition and age : and this, as it is said, by the assent of certain magnates of Scotland.

King John sent many Brabantines to the aid of the king of Scotland, their leader being a certain English noble.

¹ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 533. Fl. His., ii, 141. Ann. of St. Edm., in Mem. of St. Edm. Abb., ii, 20. J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 169 (s.a. 1211). R. of C., 164. W. of C., ii, 206, infra. Ann. of Worc., in A.M., iv, 400.

² 25th December, 1211.

³ I.e. 4th March, the fourth Sunday in Lent. So Ann. of St. Edm., u.s.; and M.P., H.A., ii, 126. "In Easter," say the Ann. of Worc., u.s.

⁴ "In the fourteenth year of his age," W. of C., ii, 207-208, n. (Cf. Chr. of Lan., 10; Chr. of Melr., 113.)

Ann. of St. Edm., ii, 20 :—"although small of stature, yet dignified [*procerus*] and of amiable appearance."

⁵ "At London," R. of C., u.s.

M.P., u.s., adds :—"At St. Bride's, a hostel of Clerkenwell; at table, while holding the feast." Ann. of St. Edm., u.s. :—"at the house of the hostel : . . . and [Alexander] knighted twelve nobles of Scotland upon the same day."

⁶ Cf. W. of C., ii, 206, s.a. 1212 :—"Since William, king of Scots, who was now of advanced age, was not able to pacify the interior districts of his kingdom, disturbed by revolt, he fled to the king of the English and intrusted to his care himself, and his kingdom, and the only son whom he had.

"And [John] presented [the son] who was commended to him with the belt of knighthood, and set out with an army to those parts : and sending his men through the interior of the kingdom he seized the leader of the revolt, Cuthred, surnamed Mac William, and hanged him on the gallows.

"[Cuthred] was of the ancient line of Scottish kings ; and, supported by the aid of Scots and Irish, had practised long hostility against the modern kings, now in secret, now openly, as had also his father Donald.

"For the more recent kings of Scots profess themselves to be rather Frenchmen, both in race and in manners, language and culture ; and after reducing the Scots to utter servitude, they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service."

1212

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, P. 61.¹

Thereafter,² when [John] had sat down to table and was putting out his hands for food and drink, a messenger came to the king on behalf of the king of Scotland, who offered him letters regarding treason foreseen against him. After this came another messenger, on behalf of the daughter³ of the king, the wife to wit of Llewellyn, king of Wales. . . .

But the letters, although coming from different districts, had yet one and the same import, namely that if the king went to the war that had begun he would either be slain by his own nobles or given up for destruction to the enemy. . . .⁴

¹ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 534. A different account is in W. of C., ii, 207.

² After causing the Welsh hostages to be hanged, on his way to subdue a rising of the Welsh.

³ John's illegitimate daughter Joanna.

⁴ John demanded hostages from the barons: Eustace de Vesey took refuge in Scotland, R.W., ii, 62. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 534. Ann. of Wore., in A.M., iv, 400.

PART VIII

1214

RALPH OF COGGESHALL, *CHRONICON ANGLICANUM*, P. 170, S.A. 1214.¹

THE lord of pious memory William, king of Scotland, died after reigning more than fifty years. And his son Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom.

1215

WALTER OF COVENTRY, *MEMORIALE*, VOL. II, P. 220, S.A. 1215.

And it was said that both the hand of Alexander, king of Scots, and that of Llewellyn, prince of North Wales, were with [the barons.]²

1216

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. II, PP. 641-642.³

Then king [John] fired by vehement anger advanced toward the districts of Scotland to this side of the sea ; and after taking the castle of Berwick and others which seemed impregnable, he taunted king Alexander, and because he was red-haired sent word to him, saying. "so shall we hunt the red fox-cub from his lairs."

He would thus have wrought much slaughter and destruction there, had not great need recalled him, brooking no delay.⁴

¹ Cf. *Ann. of Wav.*, in *A.M.*, ii, 281. *W. of C.*, ii, 217. The day of William's death is given in an obituary of Durham as the 8th of December; *L.V.E.D.*, 152. He died on the 4th; *Sc. Peer.*, i, 4.

² I.e. against king John. So earl David opposed John, *W. of C.*, ii, 225. But Alan of Galloway (constable of Scotland, *M.P.*, *Chr. Maj.*, ii, 590) was on John's side, (15th June, 1215;) *R. of W.*, ii, 119; *M.P.*, *u.s.*, ii, 589. For the section of *Magna Carta* concerning Alexander II v. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 296.

³ Cf. *M.P.*, *H.A.*, ii, 172.

⁴ *R. of C.*, 178, says that John advanced to the Forth. Cf. *R.W.*, ii, 166;—"But while [the barons] slept the king slept not, but recovered into his power all their lands and possessions, their fortresses and castles, from the southern sea to the Scottish sea." So *M.P.*, *Chr. Maj.*, ii, 641. *V. Chr. of Lan.*, 17-18.

WALTER OF COVENTRY, MEMORIALE, VOL. II, P. 229, S.A. 1216.

King [John] advancing further came to the castle of Berwick; and after taking the fortress and harrying the land he returned to his own. And in going and returning he wasted lands and took castles, and there was none to oppose him. For the king of Scots was still a youth, as also were some of his associates; and he had hidden himself in the remoter districts.

1216

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, P. 181.¹

[Louis] wrote ² also to the king of Scots and to all the chief men of England who had not yet done him homage, bidding them come to fealty to him or in haste depart from the realm of England.

1216

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, P. 191.³

The king of Scots subdued to Louis the whole province of the Northumbrians, excepting the castles which Hugh de Balliol and Philip de Hulecotes ⁴ defended most vigorously against the enemy's attacks.

1216

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, PP. 193–194.⁵

At the same time, in the month of August, Alexander king of Scots came with a large army, through fear of king John,

¹ So M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 654; H.A., ii, 180.

² After the 14th June.

³ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 663; H.A., ii, 183.

⁴ To them John had intrusted "the whole land between the river Tees and Scotland," R.W., ii, 166; M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 641. M.P., H.A., ii, 172.

⁵ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 666; H.A., ii, 186–187. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 236.

R. of C., 183 (after an episode of the 16th July):—"Alexander, king of Scots, and the barons of Northumbria came to Canterbury to sir Louis." W. of C., ii, 230:—"And the northern [barons] along with the king of Scots went to sir Louis; and they too did him fealty and homage."

Cf. Chr. of Melr., 123–124; Chr. of Lan., 19; W. of C., Gale MS., ii, 231, note.

B.C., 104, s.a. 1216:—"In that year Alexander, king of Scotland, did homage to Louis, but feignedly, as it has been said; and returned in sorrow to his own."

Alexander was included in the terms of peace between Henry III and Louis in September, 1217; Ford., i, 221.

to Louis at Dover, and did him homage for the possessions which he must hold of the king of England.

But on the way to Louis, while he passed by Barnard Castle,¹—which was of the land of Hugh de Balliol, and situated in the province of Haliwerfole,—the said king went round the castle with the chief men of that district, to see if it were assailable on any side, [and] a certain ballistary who was in the castle shot a dart and struck in the forehead Eustace de Vesey, a noble and powerful man ; and his brain being pierced as well as his head, he immediately expired.²

Now the said Eustace had to wife the sister³ of the king of Scotland ; and hence the king and the whole assembly of barons were greatly distressed in mind.

The king also, after doing homage as has been said above, returned to his own.⁴

1219

ANNALS OF WAVERLEY, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. II,
P. 291.⁵

Earl David,⁶ brother of king William of Scotland, died.

1220

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 253.⁷

Thereafter⁸ in the festival of St. Barnabas the apostle⁹ the English king Henry and the Scottish king Alexander met for a conference at York. And there was discussed between them the contracting of marriage between the king of Scotland and the sister¹⁰ of the king of England. And there a treaty was confirmed, and the king of Scots returned to his own.

¹ Named after Bernard de Balliol ; cf. *supra*, a. 1138.

² Cf. *W. of C.*, ii, 234.

³ Margaret, an illegitimate daughter of William the Lion by the daughter of Adam de Hythlus ; *Chr. of Melr.*, s.a. 1193.

⁴ Cf. *W. of C.*, ii, 233.

⁵ Cf. *W. of C.*, ii, 241.

⁶ " Namely the earl of Huntingdon," *W. of C.*, u.s.

⁷ Cf. *M.P., Chr. Maj.*, iii, 58 ; *H.A.*, ii, 241. *Fl. His.*, ii, 170-171.

⁸ After the coronation of Henry III on the 17th May, 1220 ; *R.W.*, ii, 253 ; *R. of C.*, 187.

⁹ 11th June.

¹⁰ " Joanna," *M.P., Chr. Maj., H.A.* ; *Fl. His.*, u.s.

Hoved., iv, 138. states that Philip of France had promised to Alexander his daughter by Agnes of Meran, his marriage with whom was pronounced (7th September, 1200) to be illegal. His daughter was then five years old. Cf. also Hoved., iv, 173-174.

1220

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III, P. 58.

In the same year [1220], in the month of June,¹ the king of Scotland betrothed himself at York to the sister of King Henry of England. And for this reason the same king of England conceded to him five thousand marks, and promised to marry his two sisters (whom he had in keeping) within a year, without mésalliance, or to restore them to him in freedom.²

1221

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. III, PP. 66-67, S.A. 1221.³

King Henry gave Joanna his eldest⁴ sister as wife to Alexander, king of Scotland; and she was married at York on the morrow⁵ of St. John the Baptist; and the nuptials were solemnly celebrated in presence of the kings.⁶

Hubert de Burgh also in the same city took to wife the sister of the said king of Scotland.⁷

¹ Cf. the announcements of both kings on the 15th June, 1220; *Fœd.*, i, 240-241.

² For the marriage of Margaret v. *infra*, s.a. 1221; of Isabella (in 1225 to the earl of Norfolk) v. *Fœd.*, i, 278.

³ Cf. G. of C., ii, 112, s.a. 1221. R. of C., 190. M.P., H.A., ii, 248. Fl. His., ii, 173. W. of C., ii, 249. Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 65. Ann. of Winch., *ibid.*, ii, 84. Ann. of Wav., *ibid.*, ii, 294-295. Ann. of Worc., *ibid.*, iv, 413.

Cf. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 69, s.a. 1221:—"Coming therefore to York [Henry] gave his sister [Joanna] as queen to the king of Scotland, who was then present there. She was then said to be eleven years old, and had been previously betrothed to Hugh le Brun. And they celebrated nuptials with great ceremony."

Joanna was born on the 22nd July, 1210; Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 59. Ann. of Worc., *ibid.*, iv, 399.

For le Brun.—Hugh de Lusignan, count de la Marche.—cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., ii, 573. He married Joanna's mother Isabella instead; Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 57, s.a. 1220.

⁴ So Ann. of Tewkesb., u.s.; Ann. of Worc., u.s. "The eldest daughter of John," W. of C., ii, 249.

⁵ 25th June. "On Whitsunday," R. of C., 196; i.e., the 30th May. Cf. the charter of Alexander's gifts to the queen on 18th June, 1221; *Fœd.*, i, 252.

⁶ "Walter de Gray, archbishop of the aforesaid city [of York], performing the ceremony in the presence of very many magnates of either [realm]." W. of C., ii, 249.

⁷ Cf. s.a. 1222, Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 76:—"Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of the lord king, took to wife the daughter of the king [of Scotland]": "Margaret by name." M.P., H.A., ii, 248. "Margaret, eldest daughter of William, king of Scotland, and sister of king Alexander." W. of C., ii, 250.

Fl. His., ii, 173, s.a. 1221:—"In the same year Hubert de Burgh, (then justiciar of England,) took to wife (and married in the city of London) the sister of the said king of Scotland, namely Margaret; (the lord king being present, with master Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, and other mag-

1222

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III,
PP. 77-78.¹

In the same year [1222] a certain bishop ² of the kingdom nates of the land: the said archbishop conducting the ceremony of marriage.") The parts in brackets are omitted by MS. E, which places the marriage (rightly) "in the same city" of York.

In 1231 Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, accused Hubert de Burgh before the pope of having as wife the cousin of his former wife. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 205.

In R.W., iii, 33, one of the charges ("false charges," M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 221) brought by Henry III against Hubert de Burgh in 1232 is that John had intrusted to him the care of Margaret, intending Henry to marry her, but that Hubert had seduced her, and afterwards married her "hoping for the kingdom of the Scots, if she should survive her brother." Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 222. So again in 1239: *ibid.*, iii, 618. But cf. *infra*, s.a. 1234.

Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., vi, 70-72:—"Also that he should answer for this, that when on one occasion the lord king William of Scotland gave his two daughters to the lord king John, and whereas the elder ought to have been married to the lord king [Henry] or to earl Richard, if the lord king should die, for which marriage also the same king William quit-claimed to king John all his right which he had in the lands of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumbria, and moreover gave him fifteen thousand marks of silver:— [Hubert de Burgh] had married her before the lord king was of such age as to be able to decide whether he wished to have her as wife or not. And so, that when the lord king came to age he had to give the king of Scotland who is now two hundred librates of land for the quit-claiming of the aforesaid lands, because the former conventions had not been adhered to. And this notwithstanding that [Hubert] had previously married the countess of Gloucester, who had formerly been wedded to the lord king John while he was an earl, and whom king John had intrusted to his guardianship, and marriage with whom [John] had previously sold to Geoffrey de Mandeville for twenty thousand marks; and whereas either of them was bound to the other by relationship in a certain degree.

"To this [Laurence of St. Albans] replies that he never knew of the convention made between the two kings, namely of marriage to be contracted with the lord king or with earl Richard; but that she was to be given in marriage by the lord king with the advice of his magnates, and was given in marriage with their advice, is clear both from letters of lord Pandulf, then legate of England, and by letters of the archbishop of Canterbury, of bishops, of earls and of barons. Nor indeed could that convention have been an impediment if it had been made: for when she was married the king was of such age as to have been able to have contracted with her or with another if he had wished.

"Concerning the relationship between the countess of Gloucester and the daughter of the king of Scotland he knows nothing. Concerning the two hundred librates of land offered to the king of Scotland, nothing was done by the earl of Kent. Concerning the countess of Gloucester he says that she was not in the guardianship of Hubert, but was her own mistress, and could marry whom she wished after the death of Geoffrey de Mandeville; since the lord king John had previously sold marriage with the same countess to the said Geoffrey.

"And if this does not suffice, he will say more; and concerning this he is prepared [to do what his peers shall decide]." (The conclusion is supplied from *ibid.*, 65.)

¹ For this affair cf. Chr. of Melr., 139, s.a. 1222; and the Flatey Book, in *Icel. Sag.*, i, 229-230; ii, 232-233.

² Adam, previously abbot of Melrose; he became bishop of Caithness in

of Scotland, of the diocese of Caithness, sought from his subjects the tithes of hay concerning which both he and the earl of Caithness¹ had made promise to the king of Scotland. And while decreeing as bishop he caused his decree to be fortified by both the royal seal and the seal of the earl.

But afterwards the earl was wroth about this, and went to the bishop in his county and, moved by rage, asked from him that the charter of the decree should be returned to him.

And because the bishop refused to do this, [the earl] slew [the bishop's] chaplain, a monk to wit, in his presence; and wounded to death in his sight a nephew of the bishop. And seeing this, the bishop said: "Even if thou slay me, I will never resign to thee the instruments of my church."

Then the earl was roused to anger, and ordered the said bishop to be bound to the door-post in the kitchen; and shutting the [outer] door, ordered the house to be set on fire.

And when it had been wholly fired the bishop's chains were loosened, and he came to the [outer] door, as if unhurt, to go out; but the earl, waiting outside to see the end, when he saw this caused the bishop to be cast into the fire, and ordered the two bodies of those previously slain to be thrown upon him. And so the three said martyrs for the defence of the right of the church departed to the Lord.²

And the most Christian king of the Scots would not leave so great sacrilege unpunished, but set out with an army to take the earl.

But the earl heard this, and fled from the king's realm; and in the manner of Cain wandering and in exile roamed about among the isles of the sea. And at last he made these terms with the king:—first, that he and his heirs and his men would pay the tithes of hay; and that within six months he would bring to the king's feet the cut-off heads of all those who had taken part in the said crime. He resigned also the half of his earldom into the king's hands. He also bestowed certain lands upon that church whose bishop he had slain. Moreover also he promised to go on foot to Rome, and to obey the mandate of the chief pontiff concerning these things.

1213, August 5th. Chr. of Melr. He went to Rome in 1218, returning in 1219, "in order to seek [Honorius II's] absolution"; *ibid.*, 135.

¹ John, earl of Orkney, son of Harold Madad's son by Hvarflada, the daughter of Malcolm, earl of Moray. Orkneyinga Saga, in *Icel. Sag.*, i, 221.

² The burning took place at Halkirk, on the 11th September, according to the Chr. of Melr., 139.

1223

ANNALS OF WORCESTER, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. IV,
P. 415.

King Henry held a great parliament at Worcester with the magnates of England, among whom was the king of Scotland with his barons.

1229

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, PP. 381-
382.¹

In the year of the Lord 1230 at Christmas the English king Henry held his court at York with the king of Scots, whom he had invited to that festival; the archbishop of the city being present, with earls, barons, knights, and an exceedingly large household. And there the said kings distributed much festive raiment to their knights.

And the king of the English with sumptuous liberality bestowed upon the king of Scots valuable horses, along with many rings and jewels.² And the festival lasted for three days; and they feasted each day magnificently, celebrating so great an occasion with exultation and rejoicing.

But on the fourth day the assemblage was dismissed, and the king of Scots returned to his own district. The English king hastened to London.

1231

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. III, P. 15.³

How the king of the English was restrained from wedding the sister of the king of Scots.

At the same time . . . in the month of October the king of the English returned to England.

Indeed at that time the king purposed to take to wife the sister of the king of Scots, to the indignation of all his earls and barons.⁴ For, as they say, it was not fitting that the king should marry the younger sister when Hubert the justiciar had the elder united to him in wedlock.

¹ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 193; H.A., ii, 320. Fl. His., ii, 197. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 261.

About Michaelmas of 1229 Scots and Galwegians had formed part of Henry III's army at Portsmouth: R.W., ii, 379; M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 190.

² "And various gifts," adds M.P., u.s.

³ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 206; H.A., ii, 336. Fl. His., ii, 201.

⁴ "The marshal especially," adds M.P., u.s. This was Richard Marshal, fifth earl of Pembroke.

But when the king was unwillingly restrained from this purpose by the earl of Brittany,¹ he gave to the earl of Brittany five thousand marks of silver, and so returned to his own district.

1232

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III,
PP. 128-129.

And [Hubert de Burgh] having agreed upon the divorce of his third wife, to wit the daughter of the king of Scotland,² for this cause that she was related to his second wife, namely the countess of Gloucester,³ extended his wickedness by guileful machinations, by refusing the audience of good judges, and maliciously obtaining letters to three judges appointed in three corners of England.

1232, Oct.

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. III, P. 40.⁴

At the same time Ranulf, earl of Chester and Lincoln, closed his last day at Wallingford on the fifth⁵ before the Kalends of November. . . .

In the earldom of Chester he was succeeded by John,⁶ his nephew by his sister, and son of earl David, the brother of William king of Scots.

1234

ROGER WENDOVER, FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. III, P. 77,
S.A. 1234.⁷

. . . [King Henry] passed through St. Edmundsbury, and there, moved by pity, he granted to the wife of Hubert de Burgh⁸ eight manors of the lands acquired from her husband,

¹ "By the marshal and the earl of Brittany," M.P., u.s. Peter Mauclerc was duke of Brittany from 1213 to 1237: L'Art. iv, 71-72.

² At this time Margaret was in St. Edmundsbury, where Hubert de Burgh had joined her after a truce had been granted to him till the octave of Epiphany [13th January, 1232]: M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 226.

³ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 205.

⁴ Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 229-230: H.A., ii, 349.

⁵ 28th October.

⁶ For the death of John le Scot in 1237 (alleged to be of poison) v. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 394: H.A., ii, 398. Fl. His., ii, 400.

⁷ After 2nd February. Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 271.

Cf. Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 92. s.a. 1233:—"Meanwhile the lord king went to St. Edmunds, and the countess of Kent was pacified with him: and her daughter afterwards went to Bromholm for prayer."

⁸ M.P., u.s., says that Margaret "completely humbled herself to him."

which were then in the keeping of Robert Passelewe, by the mandate of the king.

1235

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III,
P. 143.

In the same year [1235] the lord of Galloway died, and his four [daughters]¹ succeeded him. But because the people of the land refused to permit a division of the fief, a great slaughter took place. But at length through the valour of the king of Scotland the husbands² of the said [daughters] obtained their heritage, and the intruder was sent into exile.

1235, Aug.

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III,
P. 143.³

In the same year, after the death of Richard Marshal,⁴ Gilbert Marshal⁵ took to wife Margaret the sister of the king of Scotland, and received with her a noble dowry in Scotland, as well as ten thousand marks and more.

¹ In the text, "sisters."

² Roger de Quincy, John de Balliol, and William, son of the earl of Albemarle: M.P., s.a. 1236, *infra*.

³ Cf. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 87.

Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 98:—"Margaret, sister of the king of Scotland, wedded Gilbert Marshal about the Assumption of the blessed Virgin" [15th August.]

⁴ For Richard Marshal cf. R.W., iii, 68-69, a. 1233:—"Also the king's councillors alleged against the marshal that he was allied with [the king's] chief enemies, namely the French, the Scots and Welsh; and it seemed to them that he had done this for hatred of and injury to the lord king and the kingdom.

"To this said the marshal, 'What has been said concerning the French is simply false; what has been said concerning the Scots and Welsh is likewise false: except concerning the king of Scotland and Llewellyn, prince of North Wales, who were not his enemies but his vassals, until by injuries inflicted upon them by the king and his councillors they were estranged from fealty, even as I, unwillingly and under compulsion. And because of this I am allied with them, that we may better together than separately seek and defend our rights, of which we have been unjustly deprived and in great part despoiled.'"

Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 261.

The earl marshal's treaty with Llewellyn and others was to the effect that "none of them would come to an agreement with the king without the other." R.W., iii, 54. (M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 248.)

⁵ Gilbert Marshal died of injuries sustained in tourney at Hertford on the 27th June, 1241: M.P., Chr. Maj., iv, 135-136. Cf. Ann. of Tewk., in A.M., i, 119; Ann. of Winch., *ibid.*, ii, 88; Ann. of Wav., *ibid.*, ii, 328.

1236, Ap.:

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. III, P. 363.¹

And the king of Scotland had sent thither formal messengers, who urgently demanded from the king in that conference ² the rights³ which pertained to their lord the king of Scots, and concerning which they asserted that they had a charter and the testimony of many magnates. But the decision of this affair for that time was postponed.

1236

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. III, PP. 364–366, S.A. 1236.

Of a certain warlike conflict in the regions of Scotland.

Also during the same time many noble and bold men from the different regions of the western provinces, namely Galloway, and the island which is called Man, and the regions of Ireland, came together at the instance of Hugh de Lacy.—whose daughter Alan of Galloway, now deceased, had united to himself in wedlock,—on purpose to unite with one accord and to restore Galloway to the baseborn son of Alan aforesaid: crushing with the strong hand the just disposal of the king of Scots, who had divided the inheritance among the three daughters, to whom belonged the hereditary right.

That therefore the aforesaid rebels might reduce this division to naught, restoring the land to the aforesaid Thomas, or to the son ³ of Thomas, Alan's brother, or at least to someone of that family, they gathered to arms and breaking out in rebellion desired to withdraw themselves from under the king's yoke.

And that in attempting this they might more surely attain to their desire they made an unheard-of covenant, inventing a kind of sorcery, in accord nevertheless with a certain abominable custom of their ancient forefathers. For all those barbarians, and their leaders and magistrates, shed blood from the precordial vein into a large vessel by blood-letting; and moreover stirred and mixed the blood after it was drawn; and afterwards they offered it, mixed, to one another in turn, and drank

¹ Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 389.

On the 4th January, 1235, Pope Gregory IX had commanded Alexander to renew fealty to Henry in accordance with the treaty of Falaise; *Fœd.*, i, 335. On the 27th April, 1237, Gregory rebuked Alexander for not complying; *Fœd.*, i, 371.

² A conference held at London on the 28th April, 1236; M.P., u.s., 362.

³ Patrick. Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1242.

it as a sign that they were thenceforth bound in a hitherto indissoluble and as it were consanguineal covenant,¹ and united in good fortune and ill even to the sacrifice of their lives.

So they challenged the king and the kingdom to battle, and burned their own and their neighbours' houses, that the king when he arrived with his army might not find lodging or food. And they applied themselves to plundering and burning, heaping injury upon injury.

And the king of Scotland hearing this collected his forces from all sides, and advanced against them; and arraying his warlike troops he attacked them in a struggle in the open. And the balance of battle turned against the Galwegians, and they were compelled to take to flight; and the king's men pursuing them slew many thousands of them by the edge of the sword. And those whom the king or his supporters took alive, he punished without ransom by an ignominious death. But those who threw themselves upon his mercy he gave up to chains and strict imprisonment until it should be discussed in court what should be done with them; but all, not without reason, he disinherited with their posterity.

After obtaining this victory, the king magnified God, the Lord of hosts. And following sound counsel he granted in mandates to Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, and John de Balliol, and William, son of the earl of Albemarle, that whereas they had united to themselves in wedlock the three sisters, namely the daughters of Alan of Galloway,² they should now possess in peace the rights pertaining to them, the disturbance being stilled.

Now this conflict of battle took place in the month of April, the favour of Mars more nearly supporting the king of Scots.

1236

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. III, PP. 372-373,
S.A. 1236.

Of a council between the king of England and the king of Scotland.

Also in the same year king [Henry] following the advice of his

¹ I.e. wed-brotherhood.

² Helen, the eldest, wife of Roger de Quincy, had no son. She was buried at Brackley: M.P., Chr. Maj., v. 341. Her mother was perhaps daughter of Ronald, king of the Isles. (Cf. Sc. Peer., iv. 141.)

Alan's elder daughter by prince David's eldest daughter was Christina, the wife of William de Fortibus: they had no children (cf. infra, s.a. 1246): his younger was Devorgilla, wife of John de Balliol, the founder of a college in Oxford. Their son was the king John Balliol.

magnates hastened his journey to York, that, supported by the counsel of the greatest of the kingdom, he should devise how the quarrel, which had now grown to hatred, between him and Alexander king of Scotland might be wholly allayed. For it seemed inadvisable to the wise who weighed future events in the balance of reason that the kingdom of England, surrounded on all sides by foreign enemies, should secretly breed internal hate.

Now the following cause, as is said, produced the ground of this quarrel. The king of Scotland urgently demanded,—and he asserted that he had charters concerning it, and the testimony of many men, as well of bishops and high clerics as of earls and barons,—the land of Northumbria, which king John had bestowed upon him as a marriage gift with his daughter Joanna; and asserted that it was unworthy and despicable to make void words which proceed from royal lips, and to annul a contract made between so noble personages.

He added that unless [Henry] granted him peacefully what so clear a claim proved to be his right, he would demand it by the edge of the sword. He was given confidence by the shadowy and ever suspected friendship of Llewellyn; also by his covenant and alliance with the marshal Gilbert, who had united to himself in wedlock [Alexander's] sister Margaret, a most beautiful girl; moreover by the hostility of foreigners, constantly manifested in treachery; and, what is more important, by his just cause, certified by royal documents.

At last, after much discussion on either side, the king of England offered to the king of Scots, for the benefit of peace and the defence of the English realm, according to his power, revenues of eighty marks in another part of England, that the territories of his kingdom might not be mutilated in the northern region.

But since the matter required consideration and delay until this should be devised and every one satisfied on either side the conference was broken up, all remaining for the time at peace.

1237, Sept.

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. III, PP. 413-414, S.A. 1237.¹

Of a conference held at York between the king of England and the king of Scotland.

Also in the same year the king wrote to all his magnates,

¹ Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 401. Abbr. Chr., *ibid.*, iii, 275. Fœd., i, 374-377.

summoning them to assemble to him and the lord legate [cardinal Otto] on the festival of the exaltation of the holy cross,¹ to discuss serious affairs relating to the kingdom.

And the king of Scotland came to meet them at York, summoned by the king of England and the legate, that there deliberation might be held in common and an agreement might be come to between them concerning the restoration of peace, and, God's favour granting it, the former claim being removed, all altercation should be stilled, and both should be satisfied of their just due.

And at last when they came there, it was thus worked out that the king of Scotland should receive of the realm of England three hundred librates of land, without the erection of a castle, and should do homage to the king of England, and that a treaty of friendship should be ratified between them; and that the king of England should swear that he would faithfully perform and uphold this, and that thus all complaint and prosecution on behalf of the king of Scotland should subside.²

But when the lord legate wished to enter the kingdom of Scotland, there as in England to treat of ecclesiastical matters, the king of Scotland replied: "I do not remember that I have ever seen a [papal] legate in my land, nor, thanks be to God, that there was ever any need for one to be called. Nor is there yet any need: everything goes well. Indeed, neither in the time of my father or of any of my predecessors has any legate been seen to have entrance, nor will I suffer it, while I have control of my actions. Nevertheless, because rumour pronounces thee to be a holy man, I warn thee to proceed cautiously, if perchance thou shouldst enter my land, lest any evil befall thee. For untamed and wild men dwell there, thirsting for human blood: and not even I myself have power to subdue them, and, even if they should attack you, I cannot restrain them.

"Recently, as perhaps you have heard, they wished to assail me also, and to drive me disinherited from the kingdom."

Hearing this the legate modified his eager desire to enter Scotland, and forsook not the side of his king, namely the king of England, who obeyed him in all things.

¹ 14th September.

² Cf. *Ann. of Dunst.*, in *A.M.*, iii, 146:—"In the same year [1237] a conference was held at York between the kings of England and of Scotland, in presence of Otto, legate of the apostolic see; and there peace was established between the kings, on such terms that the king of Scotland resigned to the king of England the ten thousand marks promised to him with his wife; and the king of England gave him three hundred librates of land for his homage, and for the annual service of one corody."

But with the king of Scotland remained a certain Italian, a relative of the legate; and the king ennobled him with the belt of knighthood, bestowing upon him land also, not to appear wholly recalcitrant.

And thus the council was dismissed, and the king of England returned to the south with his legate.

1238.¹

1238, Mar.

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. III, p. 479.²

And at that time Joanna, queen of Scotland and the king of England's sister, who had come to England to visit her brother the king, closed her last day on the fourth³ before the Nones of March. And she was buried at Tarrant,⁴ to wit the house of the nuns. . . .

1239, May.

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. III, p. 530, s.a. 1239.⁵

During the same time Alexander, king of Scotland, united to himself in marriage a beautiful maiden, Mary by name, daughter of a noble baron⁶ of the realm of France, Engelram de Couey; and celebrated his nuptials with ceremony⁷ at Roxburgh on the day of Pentecost.⁸

¹ In this year Ralph of Orpington fled to Melrose to take the habit of the white monks there; G. of C., *Contin.*, ii, 131.

² Cf. *Ann. of Dunst.*, in *A.M.*, iii, 147. *Ann. of Wav.*, in *A.M.*, ii, 318. *Fl. His.*, ii, 225. *Abbr. Chr.*, in *M.P.*, *H.A.*, iii, 276.

M.P., *H.A.*, ii, 405, adds:—"And although her death was lamentable, yet she deserved the less to be mourned for because she disdained to return [to Scotland,] although very often called back by her husband.—And thus she remained, even against her will."

³ 4th March.

⁴ In Dorsetshire. A later marginal note in *M.P.*, *H.A.*, u.s., n., says "at Havering." According to the *Ann. of Tewkesb.*, in *A.M.*, i, 106, s.a. 1237, she "died at Havering on the third before the Nones of March [5th March], and was buried at Tarrant of the nuns." *Ann. of Wav.*, in *A.M.*, ii, 318:—"and was buried in the nuns' church of Tarrant."

Joanna had been present at the enthronization of Walter de Cantelupe as bishop of Worcester; 11th October, 1237. *Ann. of Worc.*, in *A.M.*, iv, 428.

⁵ *Fl. His.*, ii, 234; and again in error s.a. 1242, *ibid.*, 253.

M.P., *H.A.*, ii, 419, adds:—"And this was by no means acceptable to the English king; for it is well known that France is a molester of England." Cf. *infra*, s.a. 1244.

⁶ *Fl. His.*, ii, 253, "a powerful and cruel baron. . . ."

⁷ "With exceeding ceremony," *M.P.*, *H.A.*, u.s.

⁸ 15th May.

1239

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. III, P. 568, S.A. 1239.

Of the entrance of a legate in the time of king Alexander into Scotland, where no legate had entered before.

In the same time the legate [Otto] hastened to enter into Scotland; and after arranging the necessary matters and that the English aldermen should spy out treachery by the way, if haply any were prepared, he set out upon the journey, choosing sumptuous lodgings in the abbeys and cathedral churches.

And before he entered the realm of Scotland the king of Scotland met him, denying him entrance. For he said that never had any [papal] legate excepting him alone entered into Scotland. For there was no need, as he asserted: Christianity flourished there, the church did prosperously.

And after many speeches, when the king was almost aroused to refusal, a written agreement was prepared by the intercession between them of the magnates of either realm: the tenour of which agreement was that never by reason of his arrival should such a custom arise; moreover that upon his return he should resign that written agreement. And this was contrived that he might not return as if repulsed in confusion to England.

Nevertheless he did not cross the sea; but staying in the good cities on this side of the sea he summoned the bishops and noble vassals of the land, and disposed there according to his will concerning ecclesiastical matters, collecting no small amount of money.¹

And while the king remained in the interior of the land, the legate returning secretly and suddenly, without the king's permission, carried away the agreement aforesaid.

1240

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. IV, P. 55, S.A. 1240.

And about the feast of All Saints² Peter the Red and Rufinus came from the regions of Scotland, carrying with them three thousand pounds for the needs of the lord pope. . . .

But the king of Scotland closed his eyes and allowed the injury to pass which had been inflicted upon him, and which none of his predecessors had endured.

¹ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 233, s.a. 1239:—"In the same year the legate entered the land of the king of Scotland: yet he did not cross the sea. But no one forbade him, and he collected from all prelates and beneficed clergy the thirteenth part of their revenues, and sent it to the lord pope."

² 1st November.

1241

ANNALS OF TEWKESBURY, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. I,
P. 118.

Master Gilbert, bishop of Galloway,¹ consecrated the altar

¹ For the dispute concerning Gilbert's election to the bishopric of Whithorn in 1235 v. the document in Raine's York, iii, 144-145:—"To all vassals of Christ to whom the present writing may come, the prior and convent of the cathedral church of Whithorn, greeting in the Lord.

"When our church aforesaid was deprived of a pastor we wished to provide for our church, that the wolf should no longer invade the Lord's desolated flock; and at last after asking consent of the lord king of Scotland, who now holds Galloway, and invoking the favour of the holy Spirit, after the greatest deliberation we have unanimously and with one accord canonically, according to custom, elected as pastor master Odo of Ydonc[hester], our fellow canon, a man literate, honourable, modest and religious: all those having been summoned who ought to have been summoned.

"And although it seemed to us, guided by the counsel of prudent men, that the form of his election had been sufficiently expressed in the similar document signed by our signs." [ibid., 146-148: with twenty-two signatures.] "to wit when we had elected him canonically and unanimously and with one accord, according to custom: yet that nothing may be able to oppose the election aforesaid, taking nothing away from the previous document, which described somewhat generally the form of the aforesaid election, we give particulars in this manner.

"When the see of our cathedral church of Whithorn was vacant we entered our chapter-house, immediately after the third Sunday of Lent" [11th March, in 1235,] "was past, to discuss the election of a pastor: and in presence of all who rightfully should, and would, and conveniently could be present, we unanimously and with one accord chose three trustworthy men of our collegiate chapter, namely master Paulinus, master Bricius and master Cristinus, our fellow-canons. And they secretly and separately inquired with care the wishes of all; and when all had agreed unanimously and with one accord for the said Odo, our canon, as has been said, and after the wishes of all had been reduced to writing, we entered our cathedral church of Whithorn; and when the said document had been made public in presence of all, we all unanimously and with one accord granted to the said Odo, as the said document testified, to rule as pastor our cathedral church of Whithorn. And in witness of his election we have caused faithfully to be appended the seal of our chapter, along with the seal of our prior, whom we have appointed our proctor in the foregoing, both to act and to protect, and if need be to appeal" [in text, *apparendum*; read *appellandum*] "on behalf of the right of our cathedral church of Whithorn.

"May you all flourish in the Lord."

Alexander II to the clergy of Galloway. In Raine's York, iii, 148-149:—"Alexander, king of Scotland, to the archdeacon and clergy of Galloway, greeting.

"Know all of you that we have afforded our assent to the election made of brother Gilbert, monk of Melrose, whom you have unanimously chosen for yourselves as pastor, because it was known to us that the said election had been held canonically.

"Witness W. Oliford, justiciar of Lothian. At Newbattle, the twenty-third day of April, in the twenty-first year of the reign of the lord king."

Alexander II to Walter Gray of York. In Raine's York, iii, 148:—"To his most reverend brother and dearest friend in Christ, by God's grace archbishop of York, primate of England, Alexander by the same grace king of Scotland, greeting and the fulness of sincere affection.

"Since, as we have heard, Odo, formerly abbot of Dercungal, who pro-

of St. Wulstan in his honour and St. Martin's, and conferred thirty days of relaxation [upon it]; and upon the altars of St. Nicholas and St. James fifty days, as is contained more fully in their charters.

1242

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, PP. 192-193, S.A. 1242.

Marriage was inaugurated between Alexander, son of the king of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of the king of England.

And while these things took place¹ . . . and good-will was restored both on the part of the king of England and on the part of the king of Scotland, betrothal was celebrated

nounces himself elected as bishop of Galloway by the canons of Whithorn, without asking permission from us, nor requesting our consent,—and it is not the custom,—strives to obtain the said bishopric, we have appointed as our proctor our beloved cleric, master P. de Alint[on], bearer of the present letter, to see that the award of confirmation and consecration be not granted by the apostolic see to this Odo, to the detriment of your dignity; and to renew our appeal with you.

“Witnesses P[atrick] earl of Dunbar; Alan, justiciar of Scotland, son of Walter Seneschal; at Cadzow, on the nineteenth day of May.”

Walter Gray, archbishop of York, to the dean and canons of York. In Raine's York, iii, 146:—“Walter, by God's grace archbishop of York, primate of England, to his beloved sons in Christ, G., the dean, and masters Laurence of Lincoln, and Robert Haget, canons of York, greeting, grace and benediction.

“In the affair of elections to the episcopate of Galloway, turning between master Odo, canon of Whithorn, and his electors, on one side, and master [Gilbert], monk of Melrose, and his electors, on the other, and in all things howsoever pertaining to the said affair, we intrust to you to represent us on the morrow of Holy Trinity [4th June] in the greater church of York, and for days to be continued by you, fully to discuss the said affair, and to terminate it, if it can be done. And if you cannot all be present, none the less let two of you see to it.

“We announce the same to the partisans. Farewell.”

The prior, etc., of Whithorn to Walter Gray, archbishop of York. In Raine's York, iii, 145:—“To their reverend lord and dearest father in Christ, Walter, by God's grace archbishop of York, primate of England, his and your humble and devoted [subjects], the prior and convent of Whithorn, due greeting and in all things honour and obedience.

“Hindered by the great difficulties of our church, and chiefly by reason of the war of the lord king of Scotland against Galloway, we cannot be present with you in the greater church of York on the morrow of the translation of St. Martin [5th July] for the confirmation and consecration of master Odo, our canon and bishop-elect. We have appointed brother Gregory, our fellow canon, both to act as our proctor in everything concerning us in the matter aforesaid, at the aforesaid time and place, with the intention of gladly ratifying all that he does by the mediation of justice; and especially to appeal, if need be, for the right of our church.

“In witness whereof we have caused to be appended to this writing our seal of the chapter of Whithorn, along with the seal of the prior. Farewell.”

¹ Henry's crossing into Gascony on the 19th May.

between Alexander, first-born son of the king of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of the king of the English, by intermediation of the lord [bishop] of Durham, that in the king's absence the kingdom might be more firmly established.

And the side of England which borders upon Scotland was intrusted to the same king of Scotland for keeping while king [Henry] was engaged abroad.

1242

FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 253, S.A. 1242.

[William Marsh's] father, one of the most powerful men of Ireland, Geoffrey Marsh by name, hearing this¹ fled to Scotland, to find there scarcely safe retreat; and wasting away through confusion and grief soon after ended in wish-for death his miserable life.²

1242

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. IV, PP. 200-202, S.A. 1242.

Of a cruel crime perpetrated by Walter Bisset in the regions of Scotland.

At this same time, while tournaments were practised calamitously in the northern regions, a certain knight called Walter Bisset,—vigorous in arms, but crafty,—received a fall in the jousting, (which was held in the borders of England and Scotland,) through the superiority of a certain noble, namely Patrick, son of Thomas of Galloway; and conceived the wickedness of taking unrighteous revenge and performing an unheard-of crime.

While the said Patrick lodged on the following night at Haddington along with some other nobles who were with him, and rested securely sleeping in a barn, this Walter Bisset aforesaid blocked the doors outside with barricades of tree-trunks, and applying fire secretly in very many places in the wall of the barn, wattled with thorn, burned almost all who were there.

So there died the said Patrick with some of his companions, vigorous and distinguished men.

And when this came to the knowledge of earl Patrick [of Dunbar] and of other magnates of Scotland they made

¹ I.e. hearing of the execution of his son for piracy, on the 24th July, according to M.P., Chr. Maj., iv, 196; H.A., ii, 462-463.

² Geoffrey Marsh, "expelled from Scotland," died in misery and exile in 1245, according to M.P., Chr. Maj., iv, 422.

ready to avenge so great a crime, and pursued this Walter in enmity, wishing to cut him to pieces. But [Walter] fled to the protection of the king of Scotland, and demanded that mercy and justice should be granted him. For he denied the crime laid to his charge, offering his body to prove his innocence judicially before the king and his court against any man excelling in arms and strength.

But his pursuers opposed this, asserting that the evident enormity of the deed needed no proof. They therefore demanded of the king vehemently and with great insistence and bitterness of mind the public enemy, bloody from recent slaughter and polluted by unheard-of crime. And the king with difficulty curbed their fury, and to such extent tempered their vengeance that [they permitted that] this Walter should abjure Scotland and go disinherited into perpetual exile.

But they granted this to the king with grudging, believing that they should entrap [Walter] when separated from the king's protection and slaughter him by a deserved death. But after learning this the king, being a just man and merciful, hid him cautiously for three months in places which were inaccessible to his enemies. And afterwards in the evening of a dark night this Walter escaped, making a secret flight, as an exile never to return, and judicially outlawed and disinherited; the very many nobles of Scotland who sought his life not knowing of his flight.

But he, who had sworn to take the road to the holy land and never to return, for the redemption of his soul and those of the aforesaid who were destroyed in the burning,—although not, as he said, through him,—turned his course and hastened to the king of the English, to make serious complaint before him of so great an injury inflicted upon him.

For he asserted that the king of Scotland had disinherited him unjustly, and could not otherwise allay the presumption of some of his rebels who rose in fury against him: although he was ready and prepared to repel the charge brought against him in judicial duel, and to clear and prove his innocence.

He added moreover that since the king of Scotland was the liege-man of the lord king of England he could not disinherit or irrevocably exile from his land one so noble, especially unconvicted, without the king of England's assent.

He added moreover that the said king of Scotland, in violation of the vassalage and fealty by which he is bound to the king of England, had received in his land Geoffrey

Marsh when he fled from Ireland, hurt in his mind by the betrayal of his son William, recently judicially condemned and hanged at London; and having received him had protected him, and was still protecting him.

And hence the lord king of England was violently provoked against the king of Scotland, but reserved his anger for a fitting time of retribution, as the sequel shall declare.

1244

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, PP. 358-359.¹

Moreover the lord king [Henry] heard other news² in addition to the foregoing: ³ that the king of Scotland had impudently written to the king saying that not even a particle of the kingdom of Scotland did he hold, or wished he or ought he to hold, of the king of England.

Now friendship between the kings was exceedingly strained, to wit since the king of Scotland had allied himself by contract of marriage with the daughter of Engelram de Coucy, who, as also all the French, was discerned to have been the chief, or one chief, enemy of the king of England. . . .

And not to reply lukewarmly to the announcement and insolence of the king of Scotland [Henry] wrote confidently to the count of Flanders,⁴ as his vassal and one in many ways obliged to him, to come with an armed band to his aid against the king of Scotland.⁵

And to this [the count] kindly consented.

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, PP. 360-361,
S.A. 1244.⁶

Engelram de Coucy dying miraculously, his son John was asked by the king of Scotland for military aid.

During the same time, when August was approaching, Engelram de Coucy, father of the queen of Scotland, died miraculously, and John his son sent a force of knights across

¹ Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 488-489: Abbr. Chr., *ibid.*, iii, 290-291. Fl. His., ii, 278, 279.

² "New and unheard of," M.P., H.A., u.s.

³ I.e. reports of an insurrection of the Welsh, and of the rejection of Robert Passelewe from the bishopric of Chichester.

⁴ Thomas of Savoy, husband of Jeanne, countess of Flanders and Hainault, who died 5th December, 1244. L'Art, iv, 108.

⁵ Henry summoned aid from Ireland also (7th July, 1244:) v. Feod., i, 426-427.

⁶ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 279-280. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 291.

the sea to the king of Scotland ; but the king of England forcibly repelled all whom the same John had sent.¹

Miraculously, I say, died the said Engelram, ancient persecutor of the church,—but of that church especially, to wit of Clairvaux, which his glorious ancestors had gloriously founded upon their land ;—he perished by a two-fold death. For when he, a too zealous builder while he lived in temporal things, but in spiritual things a prodigal, one day on a journey had to cross a certain ford, his horse's foot struck upon some obstacle ; and he fell backwards into the depths, [into which however he was dragged by his own stirrup with violence and disastrous result.]² And as he fell headlong his sword slipped from the sheath and transfixed his body. And so submerged and pierced and torn by the sword he departed from this temporal light to gather the fruit of his ways.

So John, his son and sole heir,³ for love of the queen of Scotland his sister afforded aid, as was said above, and counsel to the king of Scotland.

The same king also fortified the castles which border upon England, and urgently demanded aid from the nobles of his kindred and territory⁴ against the king of England, who was planning evil against him.⁵

And the aid demanded in time of need was granted him with willing mind by many nobles and potentates, so that the number of fighting men promised rose to an incalculable quantity.

1244

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. IV, P. 378.

The count of Flanders arrives to aid the king.

During the same days the count of Flanders landed at

¹ Fl. His., ii. 280 :—“ . . . But the king of England, hearing this, commanded those parts of the sea to be most strictly guarded by the keepers of the Five Ports.” Cf. MS. E, *ibid.*, note :—“ . . . and by them they who were sailing toward Scotland were terrified, and returned by the way by which they had come.”

M.P., H.A., ii. 490 :—“ And he would have sent by sea what was asked, had he not been prevented by the pirates of the lord king of England.”

² The part in brackets is from the margin of the MS.

³ John was not Engelram de Coucy's heir : the eldest son, Raoul, succeeded his father. Cf. Madden, M.P., H.A., iii. 561 ; L'Art de Vér. les Dates, iii. 255.

⁴ *affinibus et confinibus*.

⁵ At a council in Westminster king Henry asked for “ monetary aid to be given him, passing over in silence his purpose of subduing the king of Scotland in force ” ; M.P., Chr. Maj., iv. 362.

Dover, coming to aid the king in his purpose to subdue Scotland.

And his arrival aroused indignation and mockery in the minds of the magnates of England, for England was sufficient without him even to depopulate Scotland.

But the said count brought with him sixty ¹ knights and a hundred esquires, sufficiently provided with arms, and greedily thirsting for the king's pence.

1244

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*. VOL. IV, PP. 379-380, S.A. 1244.²

Of the controversy roused between the lord king of England and the king of Scotland.

And while the year's orbit was revolving in these times the king, publishing an edict and giving a general summons, caused it to be announced through all England that every baron holding of the king in person should have ready for the king's commands all the military service which was due to him, ready and prepared; as well bishops and abbots as lay barons.

And he set out with a numerous army towards Newcastle upon the river Tyne, feigning this reason chiefly, that Walter Cumin, a noble and prominent baron of Scotland, and certain others of the kingdom of Scotland had fortified two castles in Galloway and Lothian suspiciously to the prejudice of the king of England, and contrary to the charters of [Alexander's] predecessors.

The king's exiles also and fugitive enemies [Alexander] had received, being in league with the French, as though wishing by connivance to withdraw to himself the homage by which they were bound to the [king]; such as at present Geoffrey Marsh, and others at another time.

Thus all the nobles of the whole of England assembled at the said castle and diligently discussed so serious a matter, taking most heedful counsel, about the Assumption of St. Mary; ³ and there an agreement was made between the kings by the efforts of earl Richard and by the prudent and profitable intermediation of other magnates on either side.

For the king of Scotland,—a good man, just, pious and generous,—was beloved by all, as well by English as by his

¹ "Forty," MS. C.

² Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 494-495. Fl. His., ii, 278-279, 280-281.

³ 15th August.

own subjects; and deservedly. He had therefore a very numerous army, and strong; to wit a thousand armed men, upon horses sufficiently good, although not Spanish, nor Italian, nor of other valuable kinds; and satisfactorily protected by iron and linen armour. But the foot-soldiers were about a hundred thousand, who all with one accord feared not at all to die, having confessed and being inspired by the consolation of men who preached that they were about to fight justly for their fatherland.

But fortunately peace was restored, as the following charter testifies: so that the spilt blood of so many Christians should not cry to the Lord for vengeance, and offend Him into whose hands it is dreadful to fall.

1244

ANNALS OF DUNSTABLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. III, p. 164.¹

In the same year [1244], on the festival of St. Peter ad Vincula,² the lord king was at Newcastle upon Tyne with all his army and with the count of Flanders, who had come with fourscore knights to reinforce him against the king of Scotland.

But [Alexander] sent messengers and offered peace and obtained it in this fashion, that his son and heir should receive the daughter of our king as wife, and retain for ever the land which our king had before given to his father with his sister in marriage.

And this being done, our king returned to London.³

¹ Cf. Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 333-334:—"In this year lord Henry III, king of England, led his army against the king of Scotland. And he came to Scotland, and each faced each with a large army: but when the king of England had made many and various inquiries of the king of Scotland, at last peace was re-established between them, so that the king of Scotland's son should take to wife the daughter of the king of England."

Very brief accounts are in J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 179. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 89-90. Fitz-Thedmar, 10.

² 1st August.

³ Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 488-489, note (a passage inserted in the wrong place, and erased):—"but because they were still children the nuptials were not yet celebrated, [nor] marriage contracted." Cf. Abbr. Chr., *ibid.*, iii, 291.

Margaret visited Dunstable on the 9th August, 1247: Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 173:—"In the same year, on the vigil of St. Laurence, the king came to Dunstable, with the queen and Edward and Margaret, his daughter. And we gave jewelry to them all; to wit, to the king a gilded cup, and another to the queen; to Edward a golden brooch, and another to Margaret. The price of the jewels was twenty-two marks, besides other expenses."

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, PP. 381-385,
S.A. 1244.¹

“ Alexander [II], by God’s grace king of Scotland, to all Christ’s vassals who shall see or hear this writing, greeting.

“ We wish it to come to your knowledge that we have conceded, in our own name and in that of our heirs, and have faithfully promised to our dearest and liege-lord Henry III, by God’s grace illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and of Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, and to his heirs, that we will for ever preserve good faith to him, and also love for him : and that we will never enter into any treaty, either directly or through any others on our behalf, with the enemies of the king of England or of his heirs, to stir up or to make war by which harm would result, or could to some extent result, to them or their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, unless they should unjustly oppress us : the agreements entered upon between us and the said lord king of England recently at York, in presence of master Otto, dean of St. Nicholas-in-carcere-Tulliano, at that time legate in England of the apostolic see, to continue in full force : and saving the agreements made concerning the contract of marriage between our son and the daughter of the said lord king of England.

“ And that this our concession and promise in our name and in that of our heirs may have the confirmation of validity we have caused Alan Durward, Henry de Balliol, David de Lindsey, William Giffard, to swear by our soul that we will observe all the foregoing in good faith, firmly and faithfully.

“ And likewise we have caused to swear the venerable fathers David, William, Geoffrey and Clement, bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld and Dunblane : and moreover our vassals, Patriek, earl of Dunbar, Malcolm, earl of Fife, Malisse, earl of Strathearn, Walter Cumin of Menteith, William, earl of Mar, Alexander, earl of Buchan, David de Hastings, earl of Atholl, Robert de Bruce, Alan Durward, Henry de Balliol, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abernethy, Richard Cumin, David de Lindsey, Richard Siward, William de Lindsey, Walter de Moray, William Giffard, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veteri Ponte, William de Beuire,² Auleus de Mesne,³ David de Graham, and Stephen de Smingham.

¹ For the charter and letter to the pope cf. J. of E., in Fl. of W., ii, 259-261.

² Read *Bervie* ?

³ Read *Merne*, “ Mearns ” ?

that if we or our heirs transgress (which heaven forbid) the concession and promise aforesaid, they and their heirs will afford us and our heirs no aid or counsel against the concession and promise aforesaid nor allow them, to the extent of their power, to be afforded by others; on the contrary they will endeavour in good faith toward us and our heirs that all the foregoing be upheld for ever firmly and faithfully by us and our heirs, and by themselves also and their heirs.

“In witness whereof both we and the prelates aforesaid, and our earls and barons have confirmed the present writing by appending their seals. Witnesses the prelates, earls and barons above-named, in the . . . ¹ year of our reign.”

Seals are appended.

These signs were appended to the document, namely those of Alexander, king of Scotland, of William de Beure, William de Veteri Ponte, William de Lindsey, Stephen de Smingham. The seals of others were appended afterwards, and the writing was sent to the king of the English at the next Christmas following by the lord prior of Tyne-mouth,² who had laboured much in that affair, faithfully and diligently, for the honour of either side.

The papal confirmation of the foregoing.

Therefore that these writings might for ever obtain greater authority they were sent to the lord pope, that he might confirm all these things; and with them the others noted below, in this wise:—

“To the most holy father in Christ, I[nnocent IV], by God’s grace chief pontiff, Alexander, by the same grace king of Scotland; earl Patrick; the earl of Strathearn; the earl of Lennox; the earl of Angus; the earl of Mar; the earl of Atholl; the earl of Ross; the earl of Caithness; the earl of Buchan; Roger de Mowbray; Laurence de Abernethy; Peter de Mauver; Richard Cumin; William de Veteri Ponte; Robert de Bruce; Roger Avenel; Nicholas de Sully; Walter de Moray of Dumphail; William de Moray of Petty; John Bisset, younger; William de Lindsey; John de Vaux; David de Lindsey; William Giffard; Duncan de Argyll; John de Motherwell; Eymer his son; Roger, earl of Winchester; Hugh, earl of Oxford; William de Vesey; Richard Siward; William de Ross; Roger de Clare; Henry, son of the earl of Brechin; Eustace de Estuteville; earl Malcolm of Fife; the earl of Menteith; Walter Fitz Alan; Walter Olifard;

¹ The date is omitted by J. of E. also, u.s.

² Richard de Parco. (Luard.)

Bernard Fraser; Henry de Balliol; David Cumin; David Marshal; Thomas Fitz Ranulf; William de Fortibus; John de Balliol; and Robert de Ross, greeting, and due reverence with all honour.

“We announce to your Holiness that we have in person given an oath in presence of the venerable father Otto, dean cardinal of St. Nicholas-in-Carcere-Tulliano, then legate of the apostolic see in England, Scotland and Ireland; and have given our charter, which thus begins:—‘Know present and to come that it was so agreed in presence of master Otto of St. Nicholas, etc.,’ which charter remains in writing with the lord king of England and with us.

“Also another which begins thus:—‘We wish it to come to the knowledge of you all.’

“Since from the nature of the foregoing is plain [the nature] of our obligations, we have submitted ourselves to your jurisdiction, that you may be able to constrain us or our heirs by ecclesiastical censure, if we should at any time transgress the said peace.

“And if it sometimes happens that some of us, or all, or one, rashly presume, or strive or shall strive to presume, to contravene it,—and by this might arise grave peril both to our souls and to those of our heirs: and no small loss might threaten our bodies and possessions,—we implore your holy Paternity to give commands to some one of the suffragans of the archbishop of Canterbury to compel us and our heirs to the preservation of the aforesaid peace, even as is more fully contained in the documents drawn up concerning it: otherwise that you appoint by your authority as is canonical contradictors concerning that peace, etc.

“And for the consummation of this our petition we have appended to the present document our seals.”¹

And when this had been concluded the lord king of England and the lord king of Scotland became, as is to be hoped, indissoluble friends, without pretence and minute contention about words.

And when they had said farewell one to the other, the lord king of England came to the southern parts of England. And the king of Scotland betook himself to the farther parts of his own land.

And the army of the king of England upon its return

¹ This document is placed s.a. 1237 in *Foed.*, i, 377. But Innocent IV was pope from 1243 to 1254.

from Newcastle-upon-Tyne was reckoned at about five thousand knights, most elegantly equipped with arms, besides a very powerful and numerous band of foot-soldiers.¹

1244, Nov.

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. IV, P. 396, S.A. 1244.²

Margaret, sister of the king of Scotland, died.

And on the day of St. Hugh³ died Margaret, sister of the king of Scotland,—to wit the widow of Gilbert, earl Marshal,—in London. And she was buried reverently beside the preaching friars, in their church.

1245⁴

1246

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. IV, P. 563, S.A. 1246.

*The countess of Albemarle, daughter of Alan of Galloway, died.*⁵

The countess [Christina] also of Albemarle, daughter of Alan of Galloway and sister of the countess [Helen] of Winchester, at the same time was removed from earthly things.

And hence, because she died without children, the large part of Galloway which pertained to her was transferred to the lot of the earl of Winchester, Roger de Quiney, who had taken the eldest sister to wife.

¹ Cf. an insertion in margin of MS. C of M.P., in Chr. Maj., vi, 518, note :—
“ Note that king Henry III, when he went as an enemy against Alexander, king of Scotland, had a thousand and two hundred knights armed elegantly and to the teeth. And the king of Scotland had five hundred knights and sixty thousand foot-soldiers. But the foot-soldiers were light-armed and fittingly supplied with weapons, namely with axes sharpened to a point, with lances and bows. And they were very courageous, ready in constancy to live or die for their lord, to conquer or be conquered, reckoning death as martyrdom and salvation.”

² Cf. M.P., H.A., ii, 497–498. Fl. His., ii, 283, 284.

³ 17th November.

⁴ Henry III among his reasons for discountenancing the crusade in 1245 says, according to M.P., Chr. Maj., iv, 489 :—“ I suspect the king of the French : I suspect more the king of Scots : clearly prince [David] of Wales opposes me. The pope protects insurgents against me.”

⁵ Her death is mentioned in M.P., H.A., iii, 15.

1247

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, P. 602, S.A.
1247.¹

Godfrey, son of the prefect of Rome, bishop elect of Bethlehem, is sent as legate to Scotland.

Also in those days Godfrey, son of the prefect of Rome, bishop elect of Bethlehem, was sent by the lord pope as legate to Scotland; it is not known wherefore. For there catholic faith throve undefiled, and peace both of clergy and of people flourished invigorated.

It was believed therefore that according to the custom of the Romans, even as adamant draws iron so did greed of silver draw the aforesaid Godfrey, and rich and longed-for revenues from the Scots.

1247

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. IV, P. 653, S.A.
1247.

Of the peril of the earl of Winchester.

During the same days also Roger, earl of Winchester, being in his land of Galloway,—which [belonged to] him by reason of his wife, the daughter of Alan of Galloway,—since he oppressed by tyranny the nobler vassals of that land more than was customary and otherwise than he ought, was suddenly besieged in one of his castles, unprepared. And being exposed to an ignominious death the earl chose rather to die by the sword than to waste away through hunger; and armed to the teeth mounted a valuable horse. And but few daring to follow him he opened suddenly the castle gates, and hurling himself upon them cut a way for himself with the sword through the midst of his enemies, of whom there was an endless multitude. And they fell to either side from him; and so he cleft and scattered the whole army, and narrowly escaped from danger of death.

And he ceased not to ride till he came complaining to his lord the king of Scotland, who punished the rebels and established the earl peacefully in his possession.

¹ Cf. *Fl. His.*, ii. 329.

1248

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, P. 41, S.A. 1248.¹

Moreover earl Patrick died, who was held to be the most powerful among the magnates of Scotland.

And he died signed by the cross, on pilgrimage in the company of the lord king of the French, being believed to have taken the cross to be reconciled with God and St. Oswin. For he had unjustly distressed and injured the house of Tynemouth, a cell of St. Albans, and the special domicile of that blessed king and martyr Oswin, whose body also is known to lie there.

1249

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, PP. 88-89, S.A. 1249.²

Of the lamentable death of Alexander, king of Scots.

During the cycle of the same year, on the fifth³ before the Nones of July, died Alexander, king of Scots; a man wise and modest, who, after reigning many years justly, successfully and in peace, in his last days prompted by greed is said to have swerved from the path of justice.

For, seeking an opportunity of oppression, he kindled gratuitous wrath against one of the noblest of his realm, by name Owen⁴ of Argyle, a vigorous and very handsome knight. And purposing to disinherit him he laid against him a charge of treason, because in the last preceding year he had done homage to the king of Norway for the possession of a certain island which the father of this Owen had held of the same king, and for homage to him had possessed for many years in peace. The island is situated between Orkney and Scotland.⁵

So Owen, fearing the threats of his lord the king of Scotland, wrote to him, saying that he should render entire the

¹ Cf. M.P., H.A., iii, 40; Madden, note, *ibid.*, iii, 562. *Abbr. Chr.*, *ibid.*, iii, 305.

² Cf. *Fl. His.*, ii, 362. For Alexander's death and shield cf. M.P., H.A., iii, 65.

His death is mentioned by *Ann. of Dunst.*, in A.M., iii, 179, s.a. 1249. *Ann. of Tewk.*, *ibid.*, i, 140, s.a. 1250. *Ann. of Furn.*, in *Chr. of Ste.*, etc., ii, 535, s.a. 1249.

³ 3rd July. Alexander died on the 8th of July; *Sc. Peer.*, i, 6. "Before the harvest," *Ann. of Dunst.*, u.s. "About the nativity of St. John," T.W., *Chr.*, in A.M., iv, 98 [24th June].

⁴ *Oenum*; Angus?

⁵ The island in the Pentland Firth is Stroma.

service due both to the king of Scots and to the king of the Norwegians.

But when the king of Scots still enraged had replied that no one could serve two masters, and had received the answer that one could quite well serve two masters, provided the masters were not enemies, the king prepared an army to attack him hostilely.

Owen therefore being loth to offend his lord the king of Scotland, besought him that a truce might be granted him, so that he should resign to the king of Norway his homage along with the island spoken of.

And when the king of Scots had refused him this the king's perversity was apparent, whereby he incurred the displeasure of God and of St. Columba, who lies in those regions and is honoured there; and of many nobles.

The king therefore declared Owen unfaithful and pursued him hostilely by ship to near Argyle; urged, as is said, by the vehement promptings of a certain indiscreet bishop of Strathearn,¹ a friar to wit of the order of the Preachers.

The king therefore leaving his ship, before he could mount his horse, as if in retribution was struck by a sudden and mortal disease. And while wishing to disinherit an innocent man, he unexpectedly breathed out with that ambition the breath of life, in the hands of his nobles.²

¹ Clement, bishop of Dunblane; cf. also supra, s.a. 1244.

² Cf. the Chr. Reg. Man., 233, s.a. 1249;—"At that time king Alexander assembled many ships, to subdue to himself the Isles; and died, seized with a fever, in the island of Kerrera."

PART IX

1251

THOMAS WYKES, CHRONICLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. IV, p. 102.¹

ABOUT the same time [1st May, 1251] Alexander [III], king of Scots, began to occupy the king of England's lands next to his kingdom.

Learning this, the king of England gathered a countless army and betook himself to the northern districts, sending in front John Mansel into Scotland to treat of peace: and by his mediation betrothal was contracted between the king of Scots and Margaret, daughter of the king of the English; and immediately, peace being assured, the king and his whole army returned into England.

1251, Aug.

CHRONICLE OF THOMAS WYKES, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. IV, p. 103.

On the feast of the nativity of St. Mary ² the king of Scots came to Woodstock, and confirmed the betrothal formerly initiated there.

1251, Sep.

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, p. 265, s.a. 1251.³

The queen of Scotland returns to her native land.

And about the festival of St. Michael ⁴ the queen of Scot-

¹ Ann. of Osn., in A.M., iv, 102-103:—"In this year Margaret, the daughter of king Henry IV, was betrothed to the king of Scotland." Cf. supra, s.a. 1244.

The weakness of Scotland's policy at this time was due to the youth of the king, according to M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 266; H.A., iii, 117.

Pope Innocent IV had on 6th April, 1251, refused Henry's claim that the king of Scotland could not be crowned without the king of England's consent, and also his claim to a title of the Scottish churches. Fœd., i., 463. (Cf. Henry's letter to the archbishop of York, 6th May, 1233, in Fœd., i, 328.)

² 8th September.

³ Cf. M.P., H.A., iii, 116; Abbr. Chr., *ibid.*, iii, 321. Fl. His., iii, 378.

⁴ 29th September.

land, to wit the widow of king Alexander and daughter of Engelram de Coucy, departed from Scotland to return to her own land, for the sake of visiting her country and her relatives; after assignation to her of the part which pertained to her of the kingdom of Scotland, to wit seven thousand marks in revenue.¹

And when, taking her way through the midst, she came to the lord king to salute him, he enriched her with many honours and gifts, even as it is the king's custom to afford to all foreigners gifts and honour; and requested her to return without interval of delay when she should be called to the wedding of her son Alexander the second,² whom the nobles of Scotland had raised to the throne.

1251, Dec.

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, PP. 266-270.³

The lord king was at York at Christmas.

In the year of the Lord 1252, which is the thirty-fifth year of the kingdom of lord king Henry III, the lord king was at York at Christmas for the union in marriage of his daughter Margaret, now in her . . .⁴ year, with Alexander,

¹ Cf. however M.P., *infra*, "four thousand marks and more."

² *fili sui Alexandri secundi*: perhaps "her second son." Alexander III was eight years old, according to Ann. of Burt., *infra*, note: nevertheless he was born on the 4th September, 1241; Sc. Peer., i, 6. His parents were married in May, 1239.

³ Cf. M.P., H.A., iii, 117-118; Abbr. Chr., *ibid.*, iii, 321-322; Fl. His., ii, 378.

⁴ The year of her age is omitted; so also in H.A., iii, 118. Margaret was born in Gascony in 1243, according to Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 89. In 1242, according to Ann. of Osn., and T.W., in A.M., iv, 90. In 1241, Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 156. In 1240, M.P., Chr. Maj., iv, 48, and H.A., ii, 438, (after the 29th September; on the 29th, according to Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 281;) Ann. of Tewk., in A.M., i, 116 (where she is called Matilda, and the day is given as the 1st October;) Ann. of Worc., in A.M., iv, 432. In 1240, October 2nd, according to Fl. His., ii, 239-240.

Cf. Ann. of Burt., in A.M., i, 296, s.a. 1251:—"In this year the king of Scotland, son of king Alexander, a small boy of eight years, married at York on the day of Christmas Margaret, the daughter of king Henry of England, a little girl of the same age; king Henry being present there, and queen Eleanor, his wife, and the queen of Scotland, mother of the king, and nearly all the nobles and magnates of England and of Scotland. And she was taken with them to Scotland."

Margaret was Henry III's eldest daughter. (Ann. of Tewkesb., in A.M., i, 146.)

Ann. of Worc., in A.M., iv, 436, s.a. 1245:—"The lord king sought aid from the religious houses throughout England for the marrying of his first-born daughter, and we gave him a hundred shillings" (sols) "and a silver cup of price."

Ann. of Tewkesb., u.s., i, 145:—"The king exacted tallage from all

king of Scotland, and for the celebration of the nuptials as was fitting between so great personages.

Now there had come together there an exceedingly numerous host both of the clergy and of the knighthood of either realm, that the serenity of so important nuptials might shine with greater lustre and extent.

For there were present the lord king of England and the queen, with their magnates, whom it would be over-long to enumerate by name. There were moreover the king of Scotland and the queen, his mother, called for this from foreign parts; and many nobles accompanied her, not of Scotland only, but also many from France, whence she took her origin. For she had obtained, as is the custom for widows, the third part of the revenues of the kingdom of Scotland, amounting to four thousand marks and more, besides other possessions which she had received from the gift of her father Engelram; and she proceeded exceedingly loftily with a magnificent and numerous retinue.

But when they had all come to York those who had come with the king of Scots were for precaution lodged in one street without admixture of others.

And while certain of the nobles' officials whom we call marshals were providing lodgings for their lords, they came to blows, fist to fist, then with their nails,¹ finally with their cudgels. And some of them were seriously hurt; one fell slain, others wounded never afterwards recovered.

But the kings through the guardians whom they had there, discreet and moderate, prudently restrained the dissensions of both lords and servants.

The archbishop's men, moreover, provided accommodation sufficient, considering the times, for all, although they exceeded number, lest the scarcity of lodgings should provoke strife.

The king of Scotland is presented with the belt of knighthood.

Therefore on the day of Christmas the lord king of England presented the king of Scotland with the belt of knighthood at York; ² and with him made twenty new knights, who

England for the marriage of his daughter, on the eighteenth before the Kalends of September," i.e. 15th August, 1251.

Henry promised to give with her a dowry of 5,000 marks, to be paid [yearly] "from the next following Easter for four years" (*in quatuor annos*;) Fœd., i. 467. The document is dated on the 27th December. Cf. Alexander's letter concerning part payment of the dowry, 17th February, 1259; in Fœd., i. 671.

¹ *clavis*: read *clavibus*?

² "And received homage from him," Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 93.

were all decorated with choice and costly robes, as was fitting in a so renowned noviciate.

The king of Scotland married Margaret, the daughter of the king of England.

And on the morrow of Christmas, that is on the day of St. Stephen,¹ the king of Scotland married the daughter of the king of England.²

And because the people hurrying in troops and masses crushed one another inordinately that they might be present and see the celebration of such nuptials, the celebration of marriage was performed in the earliest morning, secretly and before the expected time.

There were there indeed so many diversities of people, so many numerous hosts of nobles of English, French and Scots, so many large troops also of knights, adorned with wanton robes, vain in their silks and changing adornments, that their profane and wanton vanity, if it were described to the full, would produce in the hearers' ears wonder and disgust.

For a thousand knights and more appeared there on behalf of the English king at the wedding clothed in silk and, to speak in the vulgar tongue, in *cointises*. And on the morrow they threw all those aside, and presented themselves at court in new robes.

And on behalf of the king of Scotland sixty knights and more, and many the equivalent of knights, adorned with sufficient appropriateness, presented themselves there to the gaze of all.

The king of Scotland did homage to the lord king of the English, by reason of the holding which he holds of the kingdom of England.

So the king of Scotland did homage to the king of the English, by reason of the possessions which he holds of the lord king of the English, to wit in the kingdom of England: namely for Lothian and the other lands.

And when in addition to this the king of Scotland was required to do homage and fealty with allegiance to his lord the king of the English by reason of the kingdom of Scotland, as his predecessors had done to the English kings, according as it is clearly written in the chronicles in many places, the king of Scotland replied that he had come thither in peace

¹ 26th December. So G. of C., contin., G.R., ii, 203. Fitz-Thedmar, 18. J. of T., in Fl. of W., ii, 183. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 93. Ann. of Wore., *ibid.*, iv, 441. T.W., Chr., *ibid.*, iv, 103.

Cf. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 183. Ann. of Tewkesb., *ibid.*, i, 146.

² "The nuptials were celebrated at York by the archbishop [Walter de Gray] of that place," Ann. of Tewkesb., u.s.

and for the honour of the king of England, and by his command, to wit to be allied to him by mediation of a matrimonial alliance, and not to reply to him about so difficult a question. For he had not held full deliberation or suitable counsel concerning this with his chief men, as so difficult a matter demanded.

And when the lord king heard this he refused to becloud with any commotion so placid a festival, or to distress a king so young and his younger spouse, especially as he had come when summoned as with the greatest joy to wed his daughter ; but dissembled everything, passing it over for the time in silence.

Concerning the right of the earl marshal on this occasion.

And in this novitiate and wedding the earl marshal¹ urgently demanded his right and ancestral custom to be granted him, namely the king of Scotland's palfrey, which he claimed as by right should be given to him to be saddled ; not for a price or for greed, but for the ancient custom in similar cases, lest it should be lost in his time through his remissness.

And he was answered that the king of Scotland lay under no such exaction, because if it pleased him he could even receive arms from any catholic prince or from any one of his nobles : but he chose to be presented with the belt of knight-hood by the king of England rather than by any other, through reverence and honour for so great a prince, his lord and neighbour, and so great a father-in-law.

And thus by the lord king's commands all strife disappeared entirely from the feast.

Of the nuptial banquet.

So the kings and their magnates and households feasted pleasantly together, and passed the days of Christmastide with the greatest joy.

And if I should expound more fully the abounding diversity of the banquets, the variety of changed robes, the pleasure of the applauders of jesters, the great numbers of those at table together, the extravagant narrative would arouse derision in the ears and minds of those who were not there.

But that by apt comparison the rest may be understood from one thing, in that banquet by the archbishop's gift more than sixty pasture cows supplied one first and universal course.

They feasted all in turn now with this, now with the other

¹ Roger Bigod : cf. *infra*, s.a. 1253.

king, who emulously prepared for the guests in plenty voluptuous repasts, that the world's theatrical vanity might offer to mortals whatever it could of its brief and transient happiness.

They all dined for some days with the archbishop, who was as a northern prince and cheerful host of all. And in every lack or need he afforded to all the shelter of his aid; now in guesting wanderers, again in feeding horses; now in various dishes, now in fuel for fires; now with the gift of money, again by authority he supplied the needs of all: so that in that Lord's Advent he sowed in a barren shore in gifts of gold and silver and of silk four thousand marks, which he never afterwards reaped. But this he had to do for the occasion, to preserve the entirety of his repute; and to close the mouths of them that speak lies.

1252

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, PP. 270-272.

Philip Luvel is reconciled [with Henry III].

While still the festivity of nuptial joy endured, and the remaining devices and plans celebrated a feast-day to Hymen, the cleric Philip Luvel, a man crafty and eloquent, humbly besought the new king of Scotland and his more newly-made spouse to make supplication for him, thereby to incline the king towards him and render him kind and placable.

For this Philip formerly knew the king of Scotland well, and at one time was on very friendly terms with his father and mother. For while he was seneschal of the earl of Winchester, and abode at one time in Galloway, which is known to belong to the earl's right, he favoured the said king of Scotland, and the queen, and his friends, very often with honourable gifts.

Seeing therefore that the occasion was fitting, the new king favouring Philip's requests bowed his knees and joined his palms before the lord king of England, and pronounced these introductory words, which were able to move the heart of the king of England,—for he wished to raise him, but the suppliant refused,—and which seemed to rouse tears of compassion and pleasure in many who sat by.

He spoke therefore:—"My lord king, your Serenity knows that, although I am a king and have of your generosity been made a knight, I am a child, without age or knowledge; moreover also an orphan, because my father is dead, and my mother returning to her native country, distant and foreign,

has left me in my tender age, and has not even yet returned except upon your summons.

“Therefore from this time now and henceforth I adopt you as my father; that indeed you may supply to me the loss of both father and mother, and afford to my insufficiency counsel and fatherly protection.”

And when the lord king, checking a sob and scarce refraining from tears, had answered “Gladly,” the child speaking not childishly added, saying, “In this then I shall test and know by trial that you have in your favour hearkened to me, if you give effect to the inception of my desire and remit all offences to Philip Luvel, who formerly bestowed many honours upon my father and mother and me; and also restore him to former friendship. For I have learned from men worthy of trust that he has been unjustly accused; indeed he was long ago found faithful, and, in the difficulties of the earl of Winchester, indispensable; submissive also to your counsels and service.”

And when those who sat there had applied the spur of their approval, the king kindly granted it. Now in this affair John Mansel was an efficient helper and the chief preceptor.¹

*Upon the king's return, an influential guardianship is assigned to the queen of Scotland, namely Robert de Ross.*²

So when the wedding celebration was completed the king of Scotland asked for permission courteously, and departed, to return with the new queen, his wife, to his own. And the surest guardianship was assigned to the queen for her instruction in every way, namely the knights sir Robert le Noreis the lord king's marshal of guests, and sir Stephen Bauzan. And with them a certain noble dame endowed with all honour, Matilda, the widow of William the second de Cantelupe; and certain other prudent and courteous men.

And the lord king of England promised to send to the

¹ Cf. *ib.*, v, 261. Philip Luvel became Henry III's treasurer after 23rd August, 1252; *ib.*, v, 320.

² “Namely . . . Ross” is added in the margin.

M.P., H.A., iii, 118:—“So the queen of Scotland was intrusted to the guardianship of Robert, also the kingdom of Scotland and the king, by counsel of the magnates of either realm, because [Robert] was held to be of stainless and blameless repute. And he was bidden and instructed not to permit the king and queen of Scotland to sleep together, because of their tender youth.”

Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 322:—“The guardianship of the king of Scots and of the queen and of the kingdom was intrusted to Robert de Ross and John de Balliol.”

king of Scotland a prudent and faithful counsellor, providently to examine with the nobles of his kingdom into the affairs pertaining to the interest both of the queen and of the king.

1252

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, P. 288, S.A. 1252.¹

And about the same time master Ralph, canon of the church of Lincoln, was elected bishop of Moray in Scotland.

1252

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, P. 340.²

During the same time Geoffrey de Langley, a knight who had oppressed beyond measure those whom he had been able to entangle in any suits, was removed from the guardianship of the forests, and sent to Scotland as counsellor of the queen of Scotland, daughter of the lord king. . . .

The same Geoffrey, by command of the king of England, [was made] one of the guardians of the queen of Scots. But the magnates of Scotland refused long to endure his oppressions, and removed him.³ . . .

1253

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, PP. 382-383, S.A. 1253.⁴

Roger Bigod, earl marshal, receives again his wife.

About the same time earl Roger Bigod, marshal of England, having been instructed and assured of the truth by the judgment of the church, salutarily received again [Isabella], the king of Scotland's daughter, whom previously he had put away, misled by evil counsel; and he said, "Since such is the judgment of the church I assent gladly and safely to the marriage which I had formerly in doubt and suspicion." For it had been instilled into his ears that they were related to each other by consanguinity.

¹ Cf. M.P., H.A., iii. 119.

² Cf. Fl. His., ii. 379. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii. 322.

³ This second paragraph is written at the foot of the page.

⁴ Cf. Fl. His., ii. 387.

1255

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, PP. 501–502,
S.A. 1255.¹

Robert de Ross and John de Balliol are seriously accused to the king of unfaithfully and dishonourably treating the kingdom of Scotland and the queen.

And during the same times Robert de Ross and John de Balliol were seriously accused on the charge that they had unfaithfully and dishonourably controlled the kingdom of Scotland and the king and queen, whose tutelage had been intrusted to them. And the king was at that time in the northern parts of England, to wit at Nottingham.

The source of the accusation and disagreement.

There was a certain physician well skilled and experienced in the art of medicine, namely Reginald of Bath, sent by the queen of England,—who eagerly desired the welfare and prosperity of her daughter the queen of Scots and of the king of Scots her husband, whom she loved as her adopted son,—to watch over the health of the queen of Scotland, and of the king, and of their friends.

And when this master Reginald came to Maidens' Castle, which is called Edinburgh in the common tongue, and explained the cause of his coming, and showed letters both of the king and of the queen of the English bearing witness to this cause, he was received kindly.

And when he visited the queen in private, as is the custom of physicians, and inquired the cause of her distress and pallor,—for he had found her sorrowful,—she replied, “It is fitting to disclose to a physician the secrets of the body, even as to a priest are revealed the hidden things of the mind.”

And when master Reginald had learned the troubles of her mind and body he severely reprov'd her guardians and magistrates. And after disputes and words of bitter altercation and even of threatening, he accused all the nobles of the king and queen and the guardians of the kingdom as being guilty of treason, convicted and menaced them. So this physician Reginald after not many days fell mortally sick and took to his bed; and there were some who insinuated and said that he had been poisoned.

But when² he saw that he was irrevocably approaching

¹ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 410. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 346. B.C., 132.

² “Fleeing to Oxford” is added in the margin, written with a style.

to the gates of death he wrote both to the king and to the queen, saying that he had come thither under an inauspicious star; for he had seen that their daughter was unfaithfully and inhumanly treated among those unworthy Scots, and because he had blamed them the Northerners had prepared for him snares of death.

And when the king heard this he was much enraged, and silently planned vengeance for so great an offence.

But master physician, after vomiting forth this poison of strife and great future evil and irrevocable loss, breathed out his wretched life.

1255

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, PP. 504-506.¹

The king marches towards Scotland.

At the same time, while the king was daily more and more moved by complaints and importuned by communications from the queen of Scotland and her friends, he called together an army and turned his reins and standards toward Scotland, intending to bring a serious charge against Robert de Ross and John Balliol, knights and men of great power and authority. For he was assured, so he asserted, by frequent secret communications from his vassals, that they had treated both

¹ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 410-411. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 347.

Cf. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 198, s.a. 1255:—"In the same year the king of England was angered against the council of the king of Scotland, because they treated his daughter ill; and he sent before him Richard earl of Gloucester and John Mansel, to inquire the truth of the matter. And when they arrived in those parts and came to the castle of Edinburgh, in which the king and queen were kept, finding it badly guarded they entered the castle; and greeting the king and queen they learned for certain that, hindered by Robert de Ross (who had been appointed their guardian by the council of the kingdom) the king could not come to the queen, even as the queen had before stated to her father.

"But the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel aforesaid removed the guardians, and put the king and queen together in bed; and so that night with their servants retired to distant parts, and reported all that had been done to the king, who followed close behind.

"And he conceived the greatest wrath and indignation against the guardians, to wit against Robert le Ross and John de Balliol, insomuch that he summoned them to London, and accused them of many transgressions."

Ann. of Burt., in A.M., i, 337, s.a. 1255:—"King Henry and the queen were at York on the day of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin [15th August], and set out thence for Scotland, to speak with the king of Scotland, their son-in-law, and with the queen, their daughter: both because of some dissension which had arisen between them, and because of Robert de Ross, who treated them not according to their wish, in that he did not permit them to have carnal intercourse together: for which cause the king dispossessed this Robert of the castle of Wark" [in text *Wreck*; read *Werk*?] "and of certain other of his lands."

the king and queen and the kingdom of Scotland otherwise than as was fitting and expedient.

And when he came near to the kingdom of Scotland he sent before his face Richard, earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel, the lord king's special clerk and counsellor, to learn discreetly whether Robert de Ross had carried his protest into action, and whether perchance he presumed rebelliously to defend his fault and the charge brought against him, and to kick against the pricks.

So the earl and John went in front, according to the king's command, accompanied by a chosen suite and a numerous retinue; and being assured that the king and queen of Scots abode at that time in Maidens' Castle, they suddenly arrived there without any noise. And leaving their company behind, to follow, that is, at some distance, the earl and John entered cautiously, as though they had been humble knights of the household of Robert de Ross, deceiving the doorkeeper and the other warders. Thereafter their company and suite followed them a few at a time, and united suddenly into a great army, so that if those who were in the castle to defend it should dare to rise, those who had now entered in should have no fear of them.

So the Scots' queen went to them with confidence, and complained grievously that she was unfitly guarded or rather imprisoned in that castle, a dreary and solitary place, wholly lacking wholesome air or verdure, as being near the sea. Nor was she permitted, so she said, to go about in her realm, or to keep a special household, or even the girls whom she desired to have, as attendants and chambermaids. Nor was the king her husband permitted to have conjugal access to her, or to rejoice in mutual embraces. And whether anything secret was added to her complaints is unknown.

But the earl and sir John, as men most eloquent and discreet, soothed her and checked her tears and sobs, and consoled her courteously and temperately, promising her certain amendment of these abuses. And they caused them without restraint to sleep together in one bed, the king to wit and queen of Scots, as husband and wife. And Robert de Ross was strictly summoned to come prepared to answer in the court of his lord the English king to the charges laid against him. And Robert in trepidation at first absented himself, but afterwards was humbled and came.

And there were some of the nobles who were wroth that the earl and John had so suddenly and unhindered by op-

position of any [come into] their castle, which is in the entrance to their land, and is a protection and bar for the whole kingdom: and desiring vengeance they came and with a great host surrounded the castle.

But when they understood that they were foolish and misled, in that they had hostilely besieged their king and queen, they retired. And so everything was arranged and left in peace.

And Robert de Ross promised in specified form to come to the court of the king of England, his lord, to answer for everything. None the less by counsel of friends of fortune the king caused Robert's lands to be seized and committed to strict keeping.

1255

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, p. 507.¹

John de Balliol prudently made peace for himself by money which he had in abundance.

During the same time also John de Balliol, a rich and powerful knight, whose father, vigorous in arms, had been of great service to king John in a strait, and had often afforded him assistance in critical circumstances,—being like Robert seriously accused, prudently made peace for himself by satisfying the king's needs with money, which he had in abundance.²

The king planned thereupon to return from the districts of the north.

So everything being pacified and arranged to his wish, when the lord king of the English and the queen had had sufficient mutual conference with the king of Scots and the queen their daughter the king hastened his return to the southern parts of England.³ . . .

¹ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 411. Abbr. Chr., in M.P., H.A., iii, 347.

² See also M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 528:—"And the lord king, knowing that this John had abundance of much money, brought a serious charge against him, as has been said above; hoping to diminish the pile of his treasure in the repurchase of peace.

"And Robert de Ross, entrapped in a similar noose, in many ways was impoverished through losses inflicted upon him."

Cf. M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 569; infra, s.a. 1256.

³ The Scottish king and queen were allowed to accompany them to the border, upon Henry's giving assurance not to detain them longer than the 29th September (Fœd., i, 562-563.) Upon the 20th September Alexander appears to have made an announcement at Roxburgh; Henry published it on the same day at Sprouston; Fœd., i, 565-567. On the same day at Wark Henry announced that he had detained the queen of Scotland on account of the English queen's ill-health (Fœd., i, 565.)

1255, Nov.¹

1256

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, P. 569, S.A.
1256.*The property of Robert de Ross was plundered.*

The possessions of Robert de Ross were despoiled,—cows, sheep, his utensils, everything which he had in the realm of England was mercilessly plundered, and sold on good terms at the will of the buyers. And of no benefit to him was the humble justification which he offered, or which he obtained from the king, namely that he did not permit the king and queen to sleep together because of their youth, until a certain time should come which was not yet proved to have arrived.

And he followed the king, soliciting and awaiting his favour: but he could not yet obtain it. It was instilled into the ears of most men that the deprivation of royal favour [arose] from [Henry III's] inveterate hatred of the Normans, who formerly strove to bring to justice² his father: the king persecuted him like other Normans. For besides this Robert and John de Balliol, whom the king now strove with utmost endeavour to ensnare, he deprived all Normans of their former prosperity, and transferred their possessions to foreigners.—O strange king, with whom services rendered pass as the morning mist, but offences are treasured for such length of time!—

But the oft-mentioned Robert's unwary answer when he wished to defend himself by bodily strength from the charge brought against him and to clear himself in the judgment of his enemies or of the friends of fortune who cast down the falling and prop him who is lifted up, put him in the wrong.

1256, Aug.

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, PP. 573–574.

Of the arrival in England of the king and queen of Scotland.

Now in the beginning of the month of August, by the kind command of the lord king of England and the queen, the king and queen of Scotland came to England with the great

¹ About November, 1255, pope Alexander IV sent Rustand as legate to England, empowering him and the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Hereford to collect the title in England, Scotland and Ireland. M.P., Chr. Maj., v. 519–520.

² *justificare*.

and numerous retinue of an honourable household, so that they were believed to have with them about three hundred horses, for the sake of visiting the lord king and the queen of England; that the queen of Scots might see her father and mother, the king and queen, and that the king of Scots might see his lord and father-in-law the king, who also by the prompting of affection had adopted him as his son: also to see the English queen. For they thirstily longed to see and behold the English king and queen, and the realm of England; the manners and customs of the English, the churches, cities and castles, the rivers and meadows, woods and fields, which are appraised most highly among the delights of all realms.

The king of England meets the king and queen of Scotland on their arrival.

And when the lord king of the English learned this, with the greatest joy he met them on their arrival; and falling into their embraces he exchanged with them pleasant and friendly conversation. And by the lord king's command innumerable nobles assembled there.¹ . . .

1256, Sept.

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, p. 576.

The king granted Huntingdon to the king of Scotland.

And on the morrow² of St. Giles' day the lord king of England granted and chartered Huntingdon to the king of Scotland, to hold and to have it and the honour pertaining to it, as some of his predecessors had had and held it.

And thus the king decreed, although daily impoverished.

¹ According to Fl. His., ii, 414, the feast was held at Woodstock on the 15th August: so Fitz-Thedmar, 23: so also Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 95, where it is said that the feast was held because of the arrival of the king and queen of Scots.

M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 574, says that on the 15th August the king and queen left Woodstock for London, with the whole company. On the 29th August they were entertained in a large and magnificent banquet by John Mansel: *ibid.*, 575. Cf. Fitz-Thedmar, 23:—"For afterwards the king of Scotland and his queen came to London, on the Sunday [27th August] before the Beheading of John the Baptist, the city being adorned and draped."

The king and queen of Scotland interposed in favour of William de Insula, sheriff of Northampton, who was condemned to be hanged: M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 580.

² 2nd September.

1257

MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, P. 656.

The nobles of Scotland direct the ways of their king.

About the period of those days ¹ since the king of Scotland, Alexander,—from whose youth the greatest benefit was hoped for the kingdom of Scotland,—misgoverned too unbecomingly, promoting and following foreigners and exalting and appointing them over his native subjects, the inhabitants and natives were indignant, and to prevent his breaking out in worse ways they placed the king himself and the queen under custody again; and the queen they removed and guarded carefully, lest she should take after her father; ² until, after the example of the Germans,³ they should have removed to a distance all the foreigners. And thenceforward the nobles of Scotland held the reins of their kingdom with greater freedom and safety.⁴

They upbraided the queen moreover in that she had incited and summoned her father to come upon them as an enemy with his army, and do lamentable destruction. And thus Robert de Ross, most eminent of all the northern barons, was pitilessly and irrevocably ruined. For all his goods which seemed saleable had for confiscation been exposed for sale.

1258,⁵ Nov.MATTHEW PARIS, CHRONICA MAJORA, VOL. V, P. 724, S.A.
1258.

And while [Henry] stayed [at St. Albans]⁶ messengers arrived, asserting that Walter Cumin,⁷ a most powerful earl in Scotland, had yielded to fate, having fallen from his horse, which had stumbled upon some obstacle; and thus he had broken his legs, and expired.

¹ The last event recorded is dated about the 29th September; *ibid.*, 655;

² *ne patriarret*: read *patriaret*, "lest she should return to her country?"

³ V. M.P., Chr. Maj., iii, 325.

⁴ Henry III now afforded favour to the Cumin party; 6th November, 1258, in *Fœd.*, i, 670. For his previous opposition to it cf. *Fœd.*, i, 565–567 (20th September, 1255); 567 (21st September, 1255); 605, 606 (13th September, 1256).

⁵ In 1258 the Welsh rose against the English, "trusting however in this, that the king was taking action against the nobles of Scotland, who had raised themselves against him. . . ." M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 675. There was a definite agreement in 1258 between the princes and barons of Wales and the Scottish barons: *Fœd.*, i, 653–654.

⁶ 22nd to 25th November; M.P., v, 724.

⁷ The earl of Menteith.

1259

MATTHEW PARIS, *CHRONICA MAJORA*, VOL. V, PP. 739-740,
S.A. 1259.¹

How master William de Horton conducted king [Henry's] affairs in Scotland.

And in the same year about the Kalends of March ² master William de Horton, monk and treasurer of the church of St. Albans, returned from the remotest parts of Scotland. He had long before undertaken the laborious journey thither,—in the same year about the festival of St. Catherine,³—by command of the lord king and by provision of his counsellors, moreover also by the benevolence of his abbot. For difficult but secret affairs had been intrusted to him on behalf of the king and queen and magnates of England, to announce to the king and queen and magnates of Scotland.

And when he came thither he found, as he wished, the king and queen and magnates of the realm there assembled for parliament. And explaining the cause of his journey he asked submissively, showing letters of credence and favour, on behalf of the lord king of the English and the queen and the barons, that the lord king of Scotland and the queen should not omit to come into England to listen and discuss concerning these things which they urged emphatically were a difficult and private matter.

And after [the Scots] had put in the way much opposition and obstruction of difficulties he at last, after various disputes, by persisting in diligent petition persuaded them prudently to this, so that he obtained their consent according to his desire. For they wrote for him their letters patent, sealed in common both with the king's seal and with that of all the magnates of Scotland, to the king of England and the whole community, and gladly agreed to do their will, provided only that the king of England and his magnates would assure them of the document which had before been faithfully promised to them. And they wrote moreover to the lord king of England, and to the queen and the nobles of the land, their letters of high commendation of the said William's prudent and unwearied diligence in the matter laid upon him: and, immediately after his return, sent to England their messengers of state, to wit the earl of Buchan,⁴ master William the chancellor ⁵

¹ Cf. Fl. His., ii, 422.

² 1st March.

³ 25th November, 1258.

⁴ Alexander Cumyn.

⁵ William Wishart, afterwards bishop of St. Andrews.

and sir Alan Durward,¹ to treat more fully with the king of England and his council concerning the affair aforesaid. And when they had come and spoken with the said William, who had preceded them, they returned, leaving no testimony in public concerning the success of their affair with the king and the community of the realm.

1260, Oct.

FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, PP. 459-460, S.A. 1260.²

Of the arrival in London of the king of Scotland.

Also in these days and this month [of October]³ the king of Scotland came to London, led by various causes: namely to visit the king of England and the queen, and to exercise lordship and dominion over his earldom of Huntingdon. Moreover he declared the more especial cause of his arrival, and asked from the king four thousand marks to be given him, as he said had been previously promised him by the same king in the espousal of his wife; also the whole land between Tyne and Tweed, which he asserted had been formerly given to his predecessors; also aid of men from the king and the magnates of the land against his enemies, even as he had formerly promised them and the nobles of Scotland by his signed document, taken charge of and sent by brother William de Horton.

And there were then present in London the kings of England and of Germany; and therefore there was there, and ought to have been, so great display that the whole surrounding country endured insufferable expense.

And after a few days [Alexander's] queen followed him, very near to her confinement, coming for the sake of visiting the king and the queen and England, and, God willing, to be delivered there near to them. And she was conducted by the venerable man bishop [Henry] of Whithorn. And her younger brother Edmund met her; and she was received in formal procession at St. Albans in the hour of vespers, and honourably enter-

¹ Alan Durward had married Marjory, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II. Sc. Peer., i, 6.

² Cf. Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 217, s.a. 1260:—"In the same year the king of Scotland came to London with his wife, who was pregnant, the daughter of the king of England. And when he had stayed there for some days he sought permission from the lord king and returned, leaving his wife with her mother until she should be confined. And she bore a daughter at Windsor." V. infra, s.a. 1261.

³ They arrived on the 30th of October, according to Fitz-Thedmar, 45.

On the 16th November³ Henry made an announcement concerning the Scottish queen's approaching confinement; Fœd., i, 715-716.

tained. In the morning she set out for London.—And when she was received, there were there at the same time three kings and as many queens: and who could without admiration think of their splendour and nobility?—And when the queen had been presented to her parents the bishop, loaded with precious and diverse gifts, returned to Scotland as quickly as he could. After him returned the king also, affairs being completed on either side; and being guested on his return at St. Albans, he made there the gift of a pall.

And it was related that that king then received a hundred shillings daily while on this side of the Humber from the royal purse, both in coming and in going, as his predecessors also had been accustomed to ask when summoned by royal command. But although this was very often asked as a right, yet, according to the statement of very many men, it was never afforded except out of generosity.

1260, Dec.

FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 461.

In the 1261st year of the Lord, and the forty-fifth of king Henry the Third, that king kept Christmas at Windsor along with his queen and his daughter the queen of Scotland, who delayed there awaiting her confinement.

1261, Feb.

FLORES HISTORIARUM, VOL. II, P. 463.

Of the confinement of the queen of Scotland at Windsor.

During the same days ¹ queen Margaret of Scotland bore her firstborn daughter ² in the castle of Windsor, where she had made a prolonged stay with her mother.

And learning this the Scots took it very ill that their queen should have been delivered outside of her own realm; for they had been altogether ignorant when she departed that she was so near to her confinement. For she had carefully hidden this from them and from the king, ³ that thus regaining her native soil she might the more gladly fulfil the desire of child-birth.

¹ The episode preceding is of the 13th February.

² Margaret, who married king Eric Magnusson of Norway in August, 1281. She died on the 9th April, 1283. Sc. Peer., i, 6.

³ Cf. the agreement given by Henry on 30th September, 1260, before she left Scotland, in the event of her becoming pregnant while in England; Fœd., i, 714.

1264

FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, P. 488.

Nottingham castle was taken by king [Henry III], and the Scots came to the king's aid.

Thereafter ¹ [Henry went] to Nottingham. . . . And nobles from the northern parts came there to the king in aid ; namely John de Balliol, and Robert de Bruce, and Peter de Bruce, and many other barons, with many thousand soldiers ; and there also the lord king held the feast of Easter.²

1264, May.

FLORES HISTORiarUM, VOL. II, P. 496.

. . . Many others also were captured :³ namely John de Balliol, Robert de Bruce, John Cumin, and the other barons of Scotland ; almost all the foot-soldiers whom they had brought with them from Scotland being slain, to a great number.⁴ . . .

1265⁵

ANNALS OF FURNESS, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. II, P. 549, S.A. 1265.

In the same year died the king of Man ;⁶ and after his death [Man] was made tributary to the king of Scotland,⁷ who paid for it definite tribute yearly to the king of Norway.

And kings ceased to reign in Man.

1267⁸

¹ After "the first sabbath of the Lord's passion," *ibid.* : Saturday, 8th March.

² 20th April.

³ At the battle of Lewes, 14th May. The Scots were on the king's side against the barons.

⁴ *Ann. of Furn., in Chr. of Ste., etc., ii, 544* :—"The rest who fell in this battle [of Lewes] were unimportant men of the common people, and especially of Scots." Cf. *Rishanger*, 27.

⁵ Under this year *Fitz-Thedmar*, 83, includes Scotland among the "lands which pertain to the dignity of the lord king."

⁶ *Magnus Olafson*. (He was knighted by Henry III at Easter, 1256 : *M.P., Chr. Maj., v, 549*.) His death is placed in 1265 by the *Chr. of Man* ; in *Langebek, Scriptorum*, iii, 236.

⁷ Cf. *Chr. of Man, u.s., s.a. 1266* :—"The kingship of the Isles was given over to Alexander, king of Scots."

⁸ The ecclesiastics of all Scotland were present or represented at cardinal Ottobon's council in St. Paul's "about the festival of St. Mark the Evangelist," *Fitz-Thedmar*, 102. [25th April.]

1274, Aug.

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY'S CONTINUATOR, GESTA REGUM,
VOL. II, P. 278, S.A. 1274.¹

Also in the same year lord Edward . . . was crowned at Westminster . . . in the month of August, on the day of St. Magnus the martyr.² And at this coronation was the king of Scotland,³ and all the magnates both of England and of France, Burgundy, Picardy and Flanders.

1275

GERVASE OF CANTERBURY'S CONTINUATOR, GESTA REGUM,
VOL. II, P. 279, S.A. 1274.

Also in the same year died Margaret, queen of Scotland, sister of lord Edward, king of England ; and her sister Beatrice, countess of Brittany.⁴

1275

ANNALS OF FURNESS, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL.
II, P. 569, S.A. 1275.

Meanwhile⁵ the abbot of Furness⁶ went to the king of Scotland, and claimed his right concerning the election to the bishopric of Man.⁷ And the king of Scotland received the abbot with courtesy, and deceived him with false promises :

¹ Cf. Fl. His., iii, 44. Ann. of Furn., in Chr. of Ste., etc., ii, 566, s.a. 1274. Ann. of Winch., in A.M., ii, 118. (Ann. of Wav., in A.M., ii, 383.) Cf. Ann. of Worc., in A.M., iv, 465.

² 19th August. Cf. Ann. of Furn., u.s., "on the Sunday within the octave of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin" [Sunday, 19th August.]

³ Ann. of Furn., u.s. :—"In presence of Alexander, king of Scotland, and his wife, to wit the sister of king Edward, etc."

H. de S., Chr., 106, s.a. 1274 :—"the king of Scotland being there, and doing homage. . . ."

⁴ Fl. His., iii, 44-45, after the coronation of Edward I :—"And a short space of time afterwards they died, and so left to the nobles great sorrow after the great joy of the coronation. For they were ladies of greatly renowned and very beauteous youth."

Cf. also Ann. of Worc., in A.M., iv, 497. Ann. of Furn., in Chr. of Ste., etc., ii, 568, s.a. 1274.

T.W., Chr., in A.M., iv, 262 :—"The same year being scarce elapsed, about the middle of Lent" [24th March, 1275] "died the serenest queen Margaret of the Scots, and her sister . . ." They both died "about the same time," according to Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 265. Margaret died in February, 1275 ; Sc. Peer., i, 6.

⁵ While pope Gregory X levied money for a crusade.

⁶ H. Brun was appointed abbot of Furness in 1267 ; Ann. of Furn., u.s. 552.

⁷ Cf. Ann. of Furn., u.s., 568, s.a. 1274 :—"Also [died] Richard, bishop of Man and the isles ; and he was buried in the abbey of Furness, on the day of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin" [25th March, 1275.]

but with guile and treachery positively commanded the clergy and people of Man on pain of grave peril not to dare to receive anyone elected by the abbot and convent of Furness.

Meanwhile the clergy and people of Man agreed upon the election of a bishop and unitedly appointed master Gilbert, abbot of Rushen; but the king of Scotland contrary to the canons annulled his election, and intruded one master Mark by name, brother of the bailiff of Man; and immediately sent him with letters from himself and letters extorted from the clergy and people, with their seals, to Norway to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Trondhjem, to be consecrated. But what has been done about it is not yet known.¹

1275

ANNALS OF FURNESS, IN CHRONICLES OF STEPHEN, ETC., VOL. II, PP. 570-571.

At that time² Godfrey, the son (but not legitimate) of Magnus the former king of Man, landed in Man with some ships.

But after the death of Magnus aforesaid, who reigned last in Man and in the other islands, the king of Norway had now sold Man with the islands in perpetuity to the king of Scotland and his heirs.

So when Godfrey came to Man some of the people rejoiced at his arrival and received him, and some turned round and were grieved; but in a short time he subdued all to himself in fear and affection, and finally they universally and unanimously appointed him their prince.

So he came to the fortress and took it, for the keepers had fled; and staying there disposed of the kingdom at his pleasure.

But the king of Scotland heard that the people of Man had conspired with Godfrey, and that [Godfrey] ruled in the land as king; and he was very angry, and caused more than ninety ships to be collected, with a great army, from Galloway and the islands. And the leaders of the army were John de Vesey, a great baron of England; John Cumin, justiciar of Galloway; Alan Fitz Count; Alexander Fitz John, of Argyle; and Alan Fitz Rother.

The aforesaid therefore landed in Man with their ships

¹ These Annals of Furness were copied about 1290 from contemporary jottings of events; cf. Howlett, in *Chr. of Ste., etc.*, ii, p. lxxxviii.

² The preceding sentence (pp. 568-569) mentions an ordination at Alverton in September.

and armies, to destroy the island; but the Manxmen also, although inferior in strength and arms, now prepared themselves for defence. So a battle was fought; and the Manxmen, unarmed and naked, could not resist the slingers, ballistaries, archers and armed men, and fled with Godfrey their king. And the others pursuing them cut down and slew man and beast, as many as they could catch, sparing not for sex or place. But Godfrey with his wife and some of his followers escaped, fleeing to Wales.

And the enemy aforesaid despoiled the abbey of Rushen and the monks, and sent them away almost naked. And at that time perished miserably all the nobles and the captains, and also the rest of the people, whose exact number no one knows.

And thus was the land destroyed and despoiled: and the armies retired, returning to their own.

1278

ANNALS OF WAVERLEY, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. II, P. 390.

Also in the middle of the month of October the lord king Edward held a great parliament at Westminster; and there the lord king of Scotland came and did homage to the said lord king of England.¹

1278

THOMAS WYKES, CHRONICLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL. IV, PP. 277-278.

When this was done,² the king of Scots was charged and summoned by the king of the English to renew in his presence the homage which he had done to king Henry for lands which he owes to hold of him, neighbouring upon the kingdom of Scotland; and this king of Scots, willingly or unwillingly, I know not, left his realm and came into England, and coming to our king adapted himself to his good pleasure in all things. And that the triumph of so great a surrender should not be hid from our countrymen for the future, the king of Scots did homage to our king; obtaining this, however, that hence-

¹ "And did his homage to the lord king of England for the lands which he holds in Tynedale and Westmoreland, saying to the king of England however his right which he says that he has in the land of Scotland and Lothian," Ann. of Worc., Vespasian MS., (written at Winchester.) in A.M., iv, 474; cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxxvi, ff.

² After the marriage of Llewellyn and Eleanour de Montfort, 13th October. MS. B has instead, "in the same year."

forth wherever he could be found in the kingdom of England, there the king and his descendants should not defer to receive his homage and that of his descendants. Agreements also concerning this were most firmly established on both sides, and the king of Scots returned to his own.

1286, May.

ANNALS OF WORCESTER, IN ANNALES MONASTICI. VOL. IV,
P. 492.¹

In this year died Alexander, king of Scotland, on the fifteenth ² before the Kalends of April.

THOMAS WYKES. CHRONICLE, IN ANNALES MONASTICI, VOL.
IV, PP. 305-306, S.A. 1285.

Alexander also, king of the Scots, died : and of his death diverse men thought diversely.

This king left no heir born of his body : and for this cause diverse men for diverse reasons claimed the succession to the kingdom. Nevertheless because his wife ³ whom he had recently married seemed to be pregnant, the claims to that kingdom lay dormant.⁴

¹ From the Vespasian MS. Cf. s.a. 1285, Ann. of Dunst., in A.M., iii, 323 : s.a. 1291. Fl. His., iii, 74, 72.

² 18th March.

³ Yolande, countess de Montfort, daughter of the count de Dreux.

⁴ The heir was however Margaret, acknowledged successor to the throne when less than two years old on the 5th February, 1284. She was the only child of Margaret, queen of Norway : (cf. supra, 1261, February :) and died in September, 1290, at Orkney.

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