

THE NARRATIVE OF THE SCOTTISH NATION AND ITS
LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS: NON-TEXTUAL READER
SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN THE MSS OF FORDUN, BOWER
AND THEIR DERIVATIVES

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ABSTRACT

Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, *Gesta Annalia* I and II, Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis*, present the narrative of the Scottish nation from its early origins up to (in the later works) the minority of James II. The extant MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives, dateable *ca* 1440 to *ca* 1500, are therefore invaluable sources for studies of late-medieval Scotland. The popularity of these histories is reflected in the number of subsequent abbreviations of their text in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (for example, *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* and *Brevis Chronica*) and by no further independent narrative being produced in Latin until John Mair's *Historia* in 1521.

The principal objective of this thesis is to analyse the nature and extent of reader interest, *ca* 1450 to *ca* 1550, in these narratives. In particular, the aim is to demonstrate what specific subjects of the narrative of the Scottish nation interested late-medieval readers the most.

To achieve this, the extant MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives, numbering over thirty, have been thoroughly researched. Within each MS the additions by late-medieval readers (**non-textual reader scribal activity**) have been identified, recorded and subjected to thematic analysis. To further demonstrate the process under consideration, an edition of particular reader interest is presented as an appendix.

The result of this research is that these narratives evidently continued to be consulted throughout the period *ca* 1450x1550 (and into the early-modern era) and that one can detect both the individual concerns of the readers' in the texts and that distinct patterns of interest are apparent in their additions to the MSS. Moreover, the research indicates some surprising results, with topics previously considered as pivotal in the narrative of the Scottish nation not registering as much interest among the late-medieval readers as expected.

This thesis shows the importance of historical research based upon the 'live' MSS and illustrates that the non-textual reader scribal activity adds substantially to our knowledge of the mindset, and interests, of late-medieval Scottish readers.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1871 William Forbes Skene presented John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* as a work of five books detailing the origins of Scottish history to the death of David I in 1153, followed by material (labelled the *Gesta Annalia* by Skene) charting the events of the period 1153-1385.¹ However, recent research, based on the manuscript evidence, has indicated the need to revise this thesis. As Dr D. Broun has shown: 'Only the *Chronica* in five books (up to David I's death) and 15 chapters of an incomplete sixth book (on St Margaret's English royal ancestors) may be safely attributed to Fordun'.² It seems likely, therefore, that the five books of the *Chronica* (and the first 15 chapters of 'book VI') were completed by Fordun in the period between 1371 and the mid-1380s, and that the so-called *Gesta Annalia* was then probably added to it before the end of the 1380s.³

While little is known of Fordun's life and career, the chronicle reveals his strong identification with the east of Scotland,⁴ and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* of the 1440s informs us that he was probably a chaplain at the

¹ *Johannis de Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. W.F. Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1871-2) [hereafter *Chron.Fordun*]. On W.F. Skene's life and career see, most recently, E.J.Cowan, 'The invention of Celtic Scotland', in E.J. Cowan and R.Andrew McDonald (eds.), *Alba, Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (Tuckwell Press, 2000), esp. 1-4.

² D.Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999), 10 (n.1). See also *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, in *Latin and English*, gen.ed. D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols. (Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1987-98) [hereafter Bower, *Scotichron.*], vol. III, xvi-xvii; D. Broun, 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia* attributed to John of Fordun' in B.Crawford (ed) *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1999), 9-30.

³ The date of Fordun's work is uncertain; see, *inter alia*, Broun, *Irish Identity*, and, especially, Broun 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia*'. Also see S. Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda in Fourteenth-Century Scotland. Robert the Steward, John of Fordun, and the Anonymous Chronicle', *Scottish Historical Review* [hereafter *SHR*], 76 (1997), 23-43.

⁴ As S. Boardman has highlighted, 'the geographical vocabulary of the chronicle itself reveals a distinctly regional perspective. For Fordun, the south of Scotland lay beyond (*ultra*) the Forth, while the lands north of the Forth were noted as being on this side (*citra*) of the river. Likewise, those who crossed the Mounth to 'northern parts' (*partes borealis*) did so from 'this' side of the hills. Fordun thus identified himself (and his intended audience) with the north-eastern Lowlands, Fife, Angus, the Mearns and Aberdeenshire...' (Boardman, 'Chronicle Propaganda', 24).

cathedral church in Aberdeen.⁵ He probably died sometime between 1371x1387. As well as subjects like the legitimate succession of the royal household and the loyalty due to a king, one central element of Fordun's work was the stress on Scotland's historic independence.⁶ Using disparate sources, including 'a thirteenth-century synthesis of at least four versions of the origin-legend'⁷, Fordun charted the legend of Scottish origins from the marriage of Gaedel (*Gaythelos*) son of Nel (*Neolus*) to Scota daughter of Pharoah, to the eventual arrival in Scotland of Fergus, son of Ferchar or Feredach, the first king of the *Scoti* in Scotland.⁸ There are seven surviving manuscripts of Fordun's work, to which we should add the MSS of Bower's *Scotichronicon*. These are all dateable to the period *ca* 1440 to *ca* 1500.⁹

Fordun's account of the Scottish past was greatly expanded upon by Walter Bower in the 1440s with his massive work the *Scotichronicon*. Bower, who was born in Haddington in 1385 and died on 24 December 1449, joined the Augustinian canons at St Andrews around the year 1400, and from 17 April 1418 he was abbot of the Augustinian abbey of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth.¹⁰ Acting upon a commission from Sir David Stewart of Rosyth,¹¹ Bower was certainly at work on book I by November 1441 and had reached book XVI by

⁵ We can, however, probably discount Bower's assertion (in the Coupar Angus version of the *Scotichronicon*) that Fordun travelled to Ireland and England, in search of source material. The discrepancies apparent between Fordun's account of Scottish origins and the *Lebor Gabala* (one of his supposed Irish sources) makes this unlikely. As Dr Broun has explained: 'The whole notion of Fordun's research-trip to Ireland, therefore, must be called into question. A context for inventing the trip is found in the prologue to the 'Book of Coupar Angus' itself. It was claimed there that Edward I had denuded Scotland of her chronicles; it would have been consistent with this, therefore, to have stated that Fordun (on whom much of the credibility of the 'Book of Coupar Angus' itself depended) must have found his sources outside Scotland' (Broun, *Irish Identity*, 13).

⁶ R. Mason, 'Kingship, tyranny and the right to resist in fifteenth century Scotland', *SHR*, 66, (1987), 125-151.

⁷ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹ See chapter two, 14-32.

¹⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 204-208.

¹¹ See Alan Borthwick's biography in *ibid.*, 354-362.

1444-5.¹² He continued to amend his working copy of the *Scotichronicon* until his death.¹³

In books I-V of the *Scotichronicon* Bower utilised Fordun's Chronicle (with additions) and carefully, at least to begin with, differentiated between his work and Fordun's by adding the marginal indicators of *scriptor* (writer) and *auctor* (author). As Bower explains in his prologue:

I am, I confess, a debtor, not through necessity but compelled by love. The debt-collector ought not to be harsh in compulsion, when the debtor is ready and willing to pay. So I must pay what I promised, and I have agreed to satisfy the urgent requests of the noble knight Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, that is to transcribe the following famous historical work recently and excellently begun by the venerable orator sir John Fordun, priest, clearly and elegantly written as a chronicle in five books. And not only, as I said before, to transcribe but also to continue the work right up to the present day, particularly since after completing his fifth book he left a great deal of written material, which had however not yet been everywhere arranged, but by means of which a careful investigator could easily continue the work to the aforementioned time.¹⁴

In addition to Bower's working copy of the *Scotichronicon* there are five extant copies of the full text.¹⁵ The sheer scale of the *Scotichronicon*, however, was recognised to be discouraging to readers,¹⁶ not least by Walter Bower¹⁷

¹² *Ibid.*, 210-214.

¹³ Bower's working copy survives as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 171 (*ScotichroniconC*: see chapter 2 for an explanation of the sigla adopted). As Professor D.E.R. Watt has argued: 'As a fair copy developing into a working copy intended for the library of Inchcolm Abbey, the main text was probably written by a scribe under Bower's direction at Inchcolm in the mid-1440s before marginal additions were being made by 1447 at latest' (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 149). These marginal additions were then incorporated into later copies of the *Scotichronicon* (such as *ScotichroniconR*).

¹⁴ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 3. It is important to note at the outset, therefore, that the version of Fordun in Bower's working copy of the *Scotichronicon* is actually one of the earliest surviving copies and may even be closer to Fordun's original text than any other manuscript. See Broun, *Irish Identity*, esp. 20-27.

¹⁵ See chapter two, 22-32.

¹⁶ One such (late-fifteenth century) reader was Patrick Russell, a monk at Charterhouse in Perth and compiler of the work known as the Perth MS. As Dr Mapstone has argued: 'The quantity of revisions and abridgements of the *Scotichronicon*, along with the sizable, in Scottish terms, numbers of MSS of it and its derivatives still surviving, are themselves eloquent witness to the

himself who by 1444 had started work on what he intended to be a shorter, more compact, version. This (now lost) manuscript was the exemplar of the Coupar Angus MS,¹⁸ dateable to *ca* 1450 x *ca* 1480.¹⁹ A further abbreviated text, derived from the Coupar Angus MS or its exemplar, is the work known as the Perth MS (*CouparAngusP* below), compiled by Patrick Russell (a monk at Charterhouse in Perth) and dateable to *ca* 1480.²⁰ There are three further derivative versions of the *Scotichronicon* modelled on the Coupar Angus text.²¹

A further fifteenth-century abridgement and revision of the *Scotichronicon* is the work known as *Liber Pluscardensis*,²² which was probably begun in the mid-1450s and finished in 1461.²³ There are six extant manuscripts of *Liber Pluscardensis*²⁴ which contrast significantly with the text of the *Scotichronicon* through, for example, the eleven books of Pluscarden including a great deal of information on Scottish military support to the French in the 1420s, with the (still) unknown author stating that he was in France for much of that decade and the 1430s.²⁵

tremendous impact of the work, despite the fact that many of the abridgements were a reaction to its perceived loquaciousness, what Patrick Russell referred to in the preface to his abridgement of it as its 'tedious loquacity' (*prolixitatem tediosam*), (S. Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers' in B. Crawford (ed), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1999), 39).

¹⁷ In the introduction to the Coupar Angus MS Bower recognised the disadvantages to an excessively long narrative: '*Sed quia delicatis auribus grata est brevitās, prolixitas odiosa...*'. (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 14.)

¹⁸ National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.1.7. (*CouparAngusC* below). The *CouparAngus* version differs in several ways from the format of the longer *Scotichronicon*: for example, the former consists of forty shorter books, replacing the sixteen books of the latter, with some chapters omitted or entirely rearranged (as is the case with the original content of book VII).

¹⁹ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 193 (on the advice of Professor R.J. Lyall). Also see R.J. Lyall, 'Books and Book Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall (eds), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), 239-56.

²⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 197 (on the advice of Professor R.J. Lyall).

²¹ See chapter two, 32-36.

²² *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. F.J.H. Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1880-7).

²³ Mapstone, 'First Readers', 15 (n.23).

²⁴ See chapter two, 37-46.

²⁵ Dr Mapstone has proposed that one can finally discount Maurice Buchanan - treasurer to Princess Margaret - as the author, as papal records indicate that he was dead by 1438. Rather, she has tentatively offered the writer Sir Gilbert Hay - known to have been in France at this time - as a more likely candidate. Hay, in fact, borrowed Bower's working copy of the *Scotichronicon* from Inchcolm Abbey between 1458 and 1464, and corrected, in the course of his reading, the text to show that he himself had been knighted by the French king Charles VII while assisting the French against the English. Thus Dr Mapstone, whilst acknowledging the

Another derivative of the *Scotichronicon* is the *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* (of which there are three surviving copies),²⁶ compiled in the early sixteenth century and essentially a work which summarises (and occasionally adds to) the material found in the *Scotichronicon*. The *Extracta* draws heavily on the Coupar Angus version of Bower's work. Moreover, a further work deriving from the *Scotichronicon* is the *Brevis Chronica* (extant in both Latin and Scots copies dateable to the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries), while the fifteenth-century *Chronicle of Scotland in a part* (referred to in one MS as the *Scottis Originale*)²⁷ is based on the text of *Liber Pluscardensis*. The Chronicle of John Law²⁸ - begun in 1521 by Law, a canon of St Andrews - essentially derives from the *Scotichronicon* but also introduces a great deal of new material concerning, for example, Scottish abbeys and St Kentigern.

This brief outline of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives²⁹ indicates that while these accounts of Scottish history were frequently abbreviated by fifteenth and sixteenth century historians (or readers), no truly independent work was composed in Latin until John Mair's *Historia* of 1521.³⁰ As M. Drexler puts it: 'The Scottish Latin-reading public seems to have been content with Bower's outline of their history, however eager they were to narrow the scope of his works'.³¹ While recognising the inherent difficulty of assessing Scottish late-medieval literacy,³² and that the advance of printing

fragmentary nature of the evidence, argues that 'it is tempting to speculate that Hay borrowed the Corpus MS of the *Scotichronicon* because he had been commissioned to produce a revision of it for the abbot of Dunfermline' (Mapstone, 'First Readers', 4).

²⁶ See chapter two, 47-49.

²⁷ It is called the '*Scottis originale*' in the Asloan MS (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 16500), and is also located in the Dalhousie MS (Brechin Castle, Angus) and London, British Library, Royal 17 D.xx.

²⁸ Edinburgh, University Library, MS Dc.7.63.

²⁹ For a more detailed analysis of the relationship between these MSS see chapter two. See also Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 186-202; Broun, *Irish Identity*, 20-27; Mapstone, 'First Readers', 1-9; D.E.R. Watt, 'Editing Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*', in R.J. Lyall and F. Riddy (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)* (Stirling and Glasgow, 1981), 161-176; and M. Drexler, 'The extant abridgements of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*', *SHR*, 61, (1982), 62-67.

³⁰ John Mair, *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* (Paris, 1521).

³¹ Drexler, 'Extant abridgements', 67.

³² See G.G. Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650* (Edinburgh, 1973), esp. 10-12.

changed the situation in the sixteenth century, this 'Latin-reading public' will be taken to refer to members of the following (often overlapping) sectors of society: churchmen (abbots, priests, friars, monks etc.), royal administrators, university graduates, professional lawyers and notaries public, and, as will be shown with regard to at least one *Pluscarden* MS, members of the merchant class also. Evidently, the possession of a MS, whether it was in private ownership or held in institutional faculties, would partly determine the scope of its readership.

The *Scotichronicon* has been described as a Scottish 'national treasure'.³³ Bower's own position as an ecclesiastical magnate, involved in attending the councils and parliaments of James I after 1424 and instrumental in the collection of taxes in 1424, 1431 and 1433, provides an insight into national politics and royal administration. Moreover, the actual subject matter of the *Scotichronicon* allows for comparison with Fordun's own time, and demonstrates the particular themes that dominated Bower's view of Scottish history - and his contemporary period - by the mid-fifteenth century (such as the importance of strong leadership, Anglophobia and the regicide of James I in 1437). In other words,

In exploring Bower's great work, therefore, we are invited to see Scotland's past as it was understood in the mid-fifteenth century, but also to understand the problems and challenges of his own day as they are revealed to us in the mind of an Augustinian abbot who was in the thick of affairs and knew what was going on.³⁴

In the same manner, the material included, omitted or added in the derivatives of Fordun and Bower clearly provides an insight into the themes of interest to late-medieval readers. However, whilst we can gauge the response of these late-medieval abridgers, or rewriters, from their selection of material to include in their histories, is there any evidence concerning how these works were actually received by their late-medieval readers? More specifically, can we really be

³³ D.E.R. Watt, 'A National Treasure? The *Scotichronicon* of Walter Bower', *SHR*, 76, (1997), 44-53.

³⁴ Watt, 'National Treasure', 165.

certain that the Scottish Latin-reading public, rather than solely the more select group of individuals involved in producing these derivatives and abridgements, were 'content with Bower's outline of their history'?³⁵ Indeed, does the *prolixitatem tediosam* of *Scotichronicon*, in the words of the late-fifteenth century reader Patrick Russell, suggest that the readership of certain MSS was patchy at best? Given the paucity of sources available, is it possible to fully comprehend how these Scottish histories affected their late-medieval readership? Were there elements of these histories that interested them more than others - thus possibly providing clues to their contemporary period and perception of Scottish identity?

The answer could lie in the margins of these late-medieval MSS and the evidence that individuals have left us concerning their readership. Marginalia, readers writing in books, has been the focus of much recent literary scholarship. In her exploration of the importance of marginalia in the literary world, Professor H.J. Jackson has commented:

Given the recent shift of attention from the writer to the reader and to the production, dissemination, and reception of texts, marginalia of all periods would appear to be potentially a goldmine for scholars.³⁶

Although Professor Jackson's work concentrated primarily on the many literary examples of marginalia between the dates 1700-2000,³⁷ she acknowledged the ancient nature of marginalia and how readers have been marking and recording their impressions in MSS and books for millennia. As she explains:

³⁵ Drexler, 'Extant abridgements', 67.

³⁶ H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press, 2001), 6. In his subsequent review of this work William Sherman, writing in the *Times Literary Supplement*, stressed the historical nature of marginalia: 'Throughout the history of books, readers have scribbled and doodled in them; they have inscribed them with every version of "this book belongs to me"; they have practised the alphabet, copied recipes and recorded the weather' (*Times Literary Supplement*, June 15 2001, 40). On the history, and influence, of marginalia also see R.E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books* (Cambridge, 1985) and P. Saenger and M. Heinlen, 'Incunable Description and its Implication for the Analysis of Fifteenth-Century Reading Habits', in S. Hindman (ed), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520* (Cornell University Press, 1991), 225-258.

³⁷ For instance, S.T. Coleridge features prominently in her analysis of marginalia. As she comments in her introduction, 'It was as an appreciative reader and then as the editor of marginalia by S.T. Coleridge that I began to notice other readers' comments in books, and to collect and keep track of them. Coleridge occupies a pivotal position in the history of marginalia in English, for his is the name associated with the publication and popularization of the genre' (Jackson, *Marginalia*, 7).

The marginalia that we see and write today are in a direct line of descent from those of two thousand years ago. Indeed the custom may be as old as script itself, for readers have to interpret writing, and note follows text as thunder follows lightning.³⁸

A classic example of instructive medieval marginalia occurs in a MS associated with Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury between 1070-1089 and a close supporter of William the Conqueror. Lanfranc, of course, was responsible for reforming and reorganising the English church along Roman lines (a movement from Anglo-Saxon tradition to Anglo-Norman), stressing the significance of canon law and church councils, and the primacy of Canterbury over York. Lanfranc, and the English church, were also used by the Conqueror as another means of asserting Norman control throughout England after 1066. Lanfranc brought a canon law collection to England in 1070 (when he replaced Stigand as archbishop) and this volume is still extant as Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 405. The significance of this surviving work was emphasised by Michael Richter in 1972 (drawing upon earlier work by Z.N. Brooke):

The volume as a whole is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Lanfranc's intellectual background. Its value is considerably increased by an additional feature: many canons have been singled out as being of special importance, by a marginal sign, and it is thought that this kind of annotation was done under Lanfranc's supervision.³⁹

Richter then proceeded to highlight several of these eleventh-century annotated passages. Lanfranc's textual interests covered many themes: the relationship between the king and his subjects; the required faithfulness of the clergy to the king and the excommunication of anyone disloyal to the monarch⁴⁰; the

³⁸ Jackson, *Marginalia*, 44.

³⁹ M. Richter (ed), 'Canterbury Professions', in *Canterbury and York Society* 67, Part CXL, 1972-3, lxvi. Also see Z.N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy. From the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1931), 57-83.

⁴⁰ Richter identified the following passage as Lanfranc's interest: '*Nam si in derogationem aut contumeliam principis reperiatur aliquis nequiter loqui aut in necem regis seu direptionem intendere vel consensum prebere...*', (Richter, 'Canterbury Professions', lxvii).

principle of religious profession⁴¹ and the powers granted to the archbishop of Toledo over all other ecclesiastics in the Visigothic kingdom. Using this marginal evidence Richter argued that ‘the conclusion seems inescapable that, as far as canon law was concerned, Lanfranc based his claim to primacy on the legislation of the Visigothic Church...we do not claim that one should see in this the only basis of Lanfranc’s primatial concept, but it was certainly a welcome addition’.⁴²

In this way therefore, Lanfranc could have used this canon law material (singled out by the marginal symbols) as further evidence regarding the historical primacy of Canterbury over York; Lanfranc was essentially searching for additional evidence to support his basic premise. Of course, in his letters to his former pupil, Pope Alexander II, Lanfranc chose to substantiate his thesis with the eighth-century arguments of Bede and earlier papal records; but the canon law material was available to him if required. From our perspective, therefore, the key point is that the medieval marginalia present in Lanfranc’s canon law collection provide an insight into the (legally trained) mind and workings of this great eleventh-century churchman; its value as a medieval historical source is unquestionable.⁴³

Similarly, a thorough examination of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives reveals a very specific medieval response to the content of these histories. Many of these MSS contain numerous Latin comments and *notas*,⁴⁴

⁴¹ ‘In this canon, the marginal mark is set against the following phrase: *‘et in nullis operibus suis canonicis regulis contradicat, atque ut debitum per omnia honorem atque obsequii reverentiam preeminenti sibi unicuique dependat’*, *Ibid*, lxvii.

⁴² *Ibid*, lviii.

⁴³ It is important to mention the late Michael Camille, renowned art historian, in the context of medieval marginalia. Camille, in books such as *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (1989) and *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (1992) stimulated awareness and interest in marginalia, conveying the detail and meaning that these medieval images often contained. A recent obituary (he died on 26 April 2002) commented on Camille’s contribution to medieval art scholarship: ‘...Camille’s exposition of the “lascivious apes, autophagic dragons, pot-bellied heads, harp-playing asses, arse-kissing priests and somersaulting jongleurs to be found protruding from the edges of medieval buildings and in the margins of illuminated manuscripts” brought a refreshing conception of medieval art to a surprisingly wide readership’ (*The Times*, Register, April 2002).

⁴⁴ A ‘*nota*’ is a common feature in medieval MSS. They are located in the margins – or between the columns of text – of a MS. They are provided both by the text-hand of a particular MS and by subsequent readers of that work. The motive in both cases is the same – to draw attention to

pointer symbols (signs in the shape of a human hand or fist, sometimes accompanied by an elaborate cuff design, often drawn with an extended index finger directed at a particular passage of text) and marginal brackets. Moreover, sections of text are often underscored. A variety of colours are used in these additions, and there are clearly many individuals involved in the process. While the specific dating of hands is always difficult in such cases, the late-medieval nature of these additions is recognisable due to the quill, ink or script used.⁴⁵ For example, medieval ink was thicker and more glutinous in appearance; many of the marginal comments are heavily abbreviated in a medieval fashion; and vibrant colours (such as red or lilac) are often used to underscore the text. Therefore, in researching the MSS, it is possible to observe the late-medieval characteristics of these additions, distinguishing between the different hands involved and ascertaining whether an individual added comments, for example, throughout a manuscript or only on occasion.

Although several terms have already been used to label the marginal additions (marginalia, reader activity etc.), it is now necessary to employ a precise, accurate and useful terminology to describe the additions in these MSS. It is clear that the term 'marginalia' - referring to writing or decoration in the margins of a manuscript - is too general. While marginalia is often of an extraneous nature, it can also represent part of the original work of the author and scribe producing the MS. As already stated, a good example is the marginal additions by the text-hand involved in Bower's own working copy of the *Scotichronicon* (*ScotichroniconC* below), which were intended as part of the text and were then incorporated into later copies of the work (such as *ScotichroniconR*). This marginalia is therefore an integral part of the main work. The phrase 'scribal activity' is equally inadequate as it can refer to the

the text at that point. Like marginal comments, therefore, they offer an indication of the subjects of interest to readers.

⁴⁵ See Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting*, and L. Avrin, *Scribes, Script and Books: The Book Arts from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago and London, 1991). One can (broadly) date these medieval additions according to the (earliest ascribed) date of the MS in which they are located and the beginning of the early-modern era; thus these annotations can be dated (generally) to between the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. Post-medieval hands are also, on occasion, involved in these additions to the MSS. These will also be identified, but only in order to discount them from the main argument concerning the late-medieval hands.

work of the text-hand. Therefore, as we are concerned with the late-medieval readers of these MSS, a more accurate definition of these manuscript additions is ‘non-textual reader scribal activity’. This will frequently be shortened to ‘reader activity’. This term differentiates these additions from the marginalia of a text hand on working copies of MSS and also from the contributions of later annotators (such as Sir William Sinclair of Roslin).⁴⁶ In addition, only reader activity that plausibly belongs to the period *ca* 1450x1550 has been considered; any activity that could be dated to the later sixteenth or seventeenth centuries has been excluded from the investigation.⁴⁷ Thus, whilst it is recognized that some italic hands could be early sixteenth century in date, this is unlikely and it is safer to discount them from consideration.⁴⁸ It should, moreover, be stressed that the concern is not with a scholarly reader’s interest in textual collation between the different MSS; nor is it with corrections (by the text hand or others) to the text. Rather, the interest lies in this non-textual reader scribal activity, whereby late-medieval readers illustrate their interest in particular areas of the text and (through pointer symbols for instance) provide reference points for future consultation by themselves or others.

One can normally only offer generalisations concerning the actual readership of a given source. However, the non-textual reader scribal activity in these MSS offers a glimpse into how these Scottish histories affected their readers; it is evidence of how the Scottish Latin-reading public perceived their history and the work of Fordun and Bower. This reader activity provides further

⁴⁶ Sir William Sinclair (d.1582) possessed, or examined, many of the MSS under discussion. Sinclair’s annotations, however, fall out with the time frame of this thesis. Furthermore, the abundance of Sinclair’s reader activity, in *CouparAngusP* for example, would require a thesis in its own right. See chapter two, 25 n.49.

⁴⁷ The one exception is the reader activity of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1559-1575), who possessed *ScotichroniconC* in the mid-sixteenth century. Although Parker cannot be regarded as a late-medieval reader of this MS, his additions have been included on the basis that they can be definitively attributed to him and they reveal a striking engagement with the text of *Scotichronicon*. See chapter two, 22-23.

⁴⁸ Although Simpson notes the growing use of italic in official documents in the sixteenth century, he also acknowledges the limited scope of this script in Scotland: ‘At the very end of the reign of Mary, queen of Scots, occurs another group of hands suitable for analysis. In 1567 a body of 216 barons signed a Bond of Association pledging themselves to support her son James as king of Scots. Only twelve of these signatures are undoubtedly italic, although a few others may show italic features’ (Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting*, 25).

illumination on the subjects of interest to Scots in the late-medieval period (involving admittedly only the upper echelons of society).

The approach undertaken has been to chart all the examples of non-textual reader scribal activity in the MSS, and then subject this evidence to thematic analysis. We must begin, therefore, with a technical description of each MS under discussion and the exact evidence of reader activity in each source. As will be illustrated, the record of late-medieval readership of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives is extensive and, to echo the words of the journalist William Sherman in 2001, this reader activity will prove to be a surprisingly productive source for historical enquiry:

Marks in books offer complex evidence not just for the physical and social worlds in which they move. In the small space of the margin lies a very big subject.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Times Literary Supplement*, June 15 2001, 40.

CHAPTER II

THE IDENTIFICATION OF MEDIEVAL NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN MSS OF FORDUN'S CHRONICLE AND ITS DERIVATIVES

For the following manuscripts the *sigla* used by W.F.Skene (for the Fordun MSS), F.J.Skene (for the *Pluscarden* MSS) and Professor D.E.R.Watt (for the *Scotichronicon* MSS) have, where appropriate, been retained.¹ However new *sigla* have been adopted for the MSS derived from the Coupar Angus version of the *Scotichronicon*.² The *sigla* are also prefixed by the category to which the particular MS belongs (namely *Fordun*, *Scotichronicon*, *CouparAngus* or *Pluscarden*).³ To enable constructive analysis, a system is required to differentiate between the non-textual reader scribal activity of the individuals involved. Although the identity of some late-medieval readers is apparent, in most cases they remain anonymous or subject to conjecture. Therefore, the readers are simply labelled ('R') and classified numerically, according to their appearance in the technical analysis that follows. In this way, the activity of R¹ in *FordunB*, for example, can be clearly distinguished from the additions by R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*. In the event of a reader being apparent in more than one MSS, as appears to be the case with R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconC*, *ScotichroniconR* and *ScotichroniconD*, he will retain the same reference throughout. Thirty-four late-medieval readers have been identified in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. These readers, and the nature of their activity in the specific MS,

¹ An exception to this is London, BL, MS Cotton Vitellius E xi. This volume is actually a compilation of four different sections. As will be discussed, different readers gained access to these elements at different times (before the MSS were joined to produce the extant volume). Thus the four sections of MS Cotton will be treated as separate MSS, according to the *sigla* adopted by Dr Broun (Broun, *Irish Identity*, 20-27).

² See above, 32-37. This allows one to distinguish between copies of Fordun and the Coupar Angus text brought together in the same MS (such as, for example, London, BL, Harleian MS 4764).

³ Thus the MSS will be referred to as *FordunA*, *FordunB*, *ScotichroniconA*, *ScotichroniconB* and so on.

can be conveniently referenced in Table 1 (pp.51-52) at the conclusion of this chapter.

Manuscripts of Fordun's *Chronica*

FordunA. Wolfenbutel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Helmstadiensis 538.

Parchment; 219 folios; single column; written by two or more hands. It contains books I-V of Fordun's *Chronica* (fos.1-132r); fifteen chapters for a sixth book (fos.133v-139r); a sequence of documents (including the Declaration of Arbroath) (fos.140r-164r); and an account of events up to 1385 (fos.165r-219r).⁴ However, space for rubrication is normally left blank, suggesting that the MS was never finally completed. As stated on fo.1r, this MS belonged at some point to the Augustinian priory at St Andrews. There is no distinctive late-medieval reader activity in *FordunA*.⁵

FordunB. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E xi.

Paper; 279 folios. The volume is a compilation of four separate elements.⁶ The first section, written in a tidy cursive hand, is a copy of books I-V of Fordun's *Chronica* (with some fire-damaged folios of this section now residing, out of order, at the rear of the MS on fos.169-176). This first element was once owned by William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews (1479-97).⁷ This fact, coupled to paleographical evidence, allows one to date this section (at least) of the volume to the late-fifteenth century.⁸ Only this first section will be referred to as *FordunB*. The second component consists of fos.24-27, which have been used

⁴ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 200; Broun, *Irish Identity*, 20.

⁵ This MS has only been examined on microfilm. This was the main MS utilised by Skene in his 1871 edition.

⁶ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 21 and Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 201-2.

⁷ Scheves' name is visible on fos.3r, 3v, 70r, 91r and 114r, but nowhere else in the volume.

⁸ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 22.

to bridge a gap in the first section: 'It presumably once belonged to a manuscript of Fordun's chronicle which has been cannabilised'.⁹ This will be treated as a separate manuscript (see *FordunH* below). The third element, fos.84-166, contains the so-called *Gesta Annalia* (covering the years 1153-1363). This will also be treated as a separate entity (see *FordunI* below). The second and third sections may date to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century.¹⁰ The fourth section of the volume consists of material concerning Anglo-Scottish relations up to 1401.

One medieval reader has corrected the text of *FordunB* in several places.¹¹ However, there is one hand (hereafter **R**¹) of interest in *FordunB*, characterised by occasional marginal comments in black ink. Intriguingly, this is possibly the hand of William Scheves himself and it has been argued that a similar hand appears in the Glasgow University copy of *Liber Pluscardensis* (*PluscardenC* below) that Scheves also possessed.¹² A comparison of the MSS does not, unfortunately, allow one to prove this conclusively. **R**¹ will not play a prominent role in the forthcoming analysis.

FordunC. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.9.9.

Paper; 277 folios; single column and written by one hand. The MS is dateable to the late-fifteenth century.¹³ It contains books I-V of Fordun's *Chronica* (fos.1r-121r); a list of rubrics for a book VI, correlating to Bower's *Scotichronicon* (fos.122v-123v); the first eight chapters of book VI of *Scotichronicon* (fos.123v-127r); the same fifteen chapters that follow book V in *FordunA* and *FordunG*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹¹ It should be emphasised that we are not principally concerned with the hands involved in correcting (or collating) the text of the manuscripts under discussion. A good example of this is the medieval hand, using dark ink, which supplies most of the chapter headings up to fo.70r in *FordunB*. This hand also corrects the text on numerous occasions. For instance, on fo.8v the erroneous date 3889 is corrected to 3689.

¹² Broun, *Irish Identity*, 22 (n.64). As Dr Broun states 'it is possible to recognise the same occasionally glossing hand in black ink' in both *FordunB* and *PluscardenC*.

¹³ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 202.

(fos.128r-134v); an account on Margaret's English royal ancestors and events up to 1285 (fos.135r-168v); the collection of documents also in *FordunA*, *FordunD* and *FordunG* (which now follows a new foliation, fos.1r-34v); and a narrative of events from 1285-1385 (fos.35r-60v).¹⁴

A late-medieval reader (hereafter **R²**) has added numerous marginal comments to *FordunC*. **R²**'s cursive and abbreviated Latin comments, commonly greyish/brown in colour, are evident throughout *FordunC*,¹⁵ with the exception of the collection of documents and narrative of events 1285-1385 at the tail of the MS. In this section of *FordunC* another late-medieval reader (hereafter **R³**) has included three brown pointer symbols on fo.1r and 42v of the new foliation of the MS. No further reader activity by **R³** is apparent in *FordunC*. With the lack of accompanying comments, one cannot precisely date the evidence provided by **R³**; however, the ink used by this reader is viscous and medieval in appearance. **R³**'s interest lies in the text of the Declaration of Arbroath with, for instance, his first addition in the left-margin of fo.1r (of the new foliation) directed at the title '*Generose probitatis Scotorum progenies domino pape Johanni xxii^o de illatis eis injuriosis per regem Anglie Edwardum conquerentes in huius modium*'.

FordunD. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 498.

Paper. This volume consists of two manuscripts. Both are paginated, with 398 pages in total. Pages 1-222 contain, in single column, the Coupar Angus version of the *Scotichronicon*, up to the end of book IV (*CouparAngusD* below). The second section (pp.223-398) is paper, in double columns and written by one hand throughout. It has been dated to the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁶ It contains copies of book V of Fordun's chronicle (pp.223-64) and of the so-called *Gesta Annalia* (pp.264-355). This is followed (pp.357-96) by a sequence of documents

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, and Broun, *Irish Identity*, 23-24.

¹⁵ On, for instance, fos.34r ('*Basianus Romanum dux*'), 36r ('*Maximus*'), 38v (*Rex Hurgust filius Ferguso regis*') and 44r ('*Scotis a circio Picti ab aquilone*', '*Ad mare orientale urbs Guidy ad occidentale Alclutht ad fluvium qui nunc Clid vocatur*', '*Romam Scotos et Pictos superant*' and '*Murus edificatur*').

¹⁶ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 200.

also in *FordunA*, *FordunC* and *FordunG*.¹⁷ Pages 397-8 contain an incomplete copy of *Vita Sancti Servani*.¹⁸ *FordunD* will refer only to the second section of the volume (pp.223-398). The early ownership of *FordunD* is unknown.

A late-medieval reader (hereafter **R⁴**) has added a red pointer symbol to page 249. **R⁴** is also evident in the first section of the volume (*CouparAngusD* below), where he has supplied a number of marginal comments and *notas*, as well as occasional pointer symbols. A second medieval reader (hereafter **R⁵**) is responsible for the numerous pointer symbols, in black ink, throughout *FordunD*. **R⁵** has also added many marginal *notas* (also in dark ink). The symbols occur throughout *FordunD*, from page 232 to 394.¹⁹ The pointers are located either in the margins or, more commonly, in between the columns of text. They are often accompanied by (or directed at) a *nota* by the same hand,²⁰ thus making the activity (and interest) of **R⁵** distinctive. **R⁵**'s additions are also apparent in the first element of the volume (*CouparAngusD* below), thus both this reader and **R⁴** clearly had access to the whole work.

FordunE. London, British Library, MS Harley 4764.

This volume consists of two sections: the first (fos.1-113) contains the first five books of Fordun's Chronicle, while the second (fos.114-188, *CouparAngusH* below) is a copy of books VI-X of the abbreviation of *Scotichronicon* compiled by one of the monks at Charterhouse at Perth (*CouparAngusP* below). *FordunE* will only refer to the first section (fos.1-113) which is vellum, single column and written by one hand throughout. It is dateable to the late-fifteenth century.²¹

Two late-medieval readers have added copious comments to the margins of *FordunE*, thus (through summary) drawing attention to specific parts of the

¹⁷ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ They are more prominent in the later stages of *FordunD* however. On p.378 alone, for example, there are three pointer symbols.

²⁰ As on, for example, pp. 232, 236, 306, 376, 378-380 and 382-386.

²¹ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 25.

text. The first (hereafter **R**⁶) is neat, orderly and uses black ink,²² while the other (hereafter **R**⁷) is very cursive and employs a light brown ink.²³ **R**⁷ is also apparent in *CouparAngusH* (below). There is no further reader activity in *FordunE*.

FordunF. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Acc.

10301/6.

Parchment; i + 210 folios (numbered in roman numerals); single column. This volume is in two sections: the first (fos.Ir - LXXVIIr) contains books I-V of Fordun's chronicle, while the second and later part (fos.LXXVIIv - CLXXXIXv) is dated 1509 (fo.CLXXXIX) and consists of chapters derived from the Coupar Angus version of *Scotichronicon* (*CouparAngusF* below). *FordunF* will refer only to the first section (fos. Ir - LXXVIIr). There is no detailed medieval non-textual reader scribal activity in *FordunF*.

FordunG. London, British Library, MS Add.37223.

Parchment; 216 folios; single column; written by several hands. Professor Lyall has dated the MS to *ca* 1450²⁴, and it was probably the exemplar of *FordunA*.²⁵ One scribe has been identified (up to fo.91r) as a A.de Haliday.²⁶ Fos. 1r-116r contain books I-V of Fordun's Chronicle; fo.116v has a medieval colophon followed by a blank folio; fos.117r-123r consist of fifteen chapters that follow book V (as apparent in *FordunA*); fos.125r-151v contain material beginning with the Declaration of Arbroath (also common to *FordunA*, *FordunC* and *FordunD*) and fos.152r-212r cover an account of St Margaret's royal ancestors

²² For example on fos.21v-22r **R**⁶ added the comments '*Nota quod Alanius erat de genere Japhet*', '*Nota divisione regnorum inter tres filios*' and '*Nota responsa Scotorum Julio Cesare*'.

²³ **R**⁷'s additions are evident, for instance, on fo.29v ('*Nota de morte Julii Cesare*'), fo.36v ('*Thebea legio possa est*') and fo.74v ('*De bello de Bronnyngfelde*').

²⁴ Lyall, 'Books and book owners', 254 (n.13), on paleographical grounds.

²⁵ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 197.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, and Broun, *Irish Identity*, 26.

and events up to 1385.²⁷ As outlined on fo.212v, at various times the MS was in the possession of Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, William Sinclair of Roslin and Master Robert Elphinstone.²⁸

FordunG contains non-textual scribal activity by three late-medieval readers. The first (hereafter **R**⁸), using brown ink, has underscored passages of text²⁹ and supplied occasional marginal comments.³⁰ While the reader activity by **R**⁸ is not extensive, it is apparent between fos.7v and 73r. As will be discussed, this reader does not seem to be haphazardly underscoring passages of text; the content of the selected material demonstrates a clear motivation in **R**⁸'s approach.

Using black ink, another reader (hereafter **R**⁹) has added, on occasion, comments and pointer symbols to the MS. The comments usually only consist of single words³¹ to draw attention to (or summarise) aspects of the text. **R**⁹'s crudely drawn pointer symbols³² also highlight his interest in particular subjects. **R**⁹'s pointer on fo.53v is accompanied (in the same ink) by an abbreviated, cursive, Latin comment concerning St Kentigern of Glasgow, further illustrating the late-medieval nature of this hand. **R**⁹'s pointer symbols demonstrate a marked interest in the medieval history of Galloway, with five of the evident symbols drawing attention to passages of text linked to this theme.

Moreover, a further reader (hereafter **R**¹⁰) is responsible for two extremely elegant pointer symbols on fos.83v and 87r of *FordunG*. **R**¹⁰, using black ink, has taken great care in the depicting of these signs; a well shaped hand and directing pointer finger tapers down to an elegant cuff, with a cone shaped

²⁷ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 26.

²⁸ H.J. Lawlor, 'Notes on the Library of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 32 (1898), 90-120.

²⁹ For example on fos.10r and 68v.

³⁰ As on fos.7v, 9r, 10v, 12r and 73r. **R**⁸ is also probably responsible for a pointer symbol on fo.15v.

³¹ For instance, '*Scoti*' (fo.3v) and '*bellum*' (fo.79v).

³² Ten pointer symbols in *FordunG* have been ascribed to **R**⁹, apparent on fos.53v, 79v, 86v, 88v, 172r (with two signs), 176r, 176v, 177r and 200v.

sleeve, which then finally twists back into a leaf-like tail.³³ These symbols are directed at particular lines of text. They do not appear elsewhere in *FordunG*. While the evidence (in this case) is fragmentary, the care of the decoration perhaps indicates the interest **R**¹⁰ attached to these highlighted passages.

FordunH. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E xi,
fos.24-27.

Paper; written in a pre-secretary hand, using black and brown ink, with initialising in red and the chapter-headings boxed by a simplistic red border. These folios have been used to fill a gap in *FordunB*. *FordunH* can probably be dated paleographically to the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴

FordunH contains non-textual scribal activity by one main late-medieval reader (hereafter **R**¹¹). **R**¹¹ has added pointer symbols, comments and *notas* to the margins. These additions are all in light-brown ink and **R**¹¹ uses them to pinpoint sections of the text³⁵ by placing the *notas* beside the passage of interest or directing the symbols at particular words or lines. **R**¹¹ does not appear in *FordunB*, *FordunI* or the section dealing with Anglo-Scottish relations up to 1401, illustrating that **R**¹¹ gained access to fos.24-27 before they were removed from their original manuscript to bridge the lacuna in *FordunB*.

FordunI. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E xi,
fos.84-166.

Paper; written in a pre-secretary hand and probably dateable to the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century.³⁶ These folios contain the so-called *Gesta Annalia*, covering the events of the period 1153-1363.

³³ The possibility exists that these symbols were drawn by the previous hand discussed (**R**⁹), with factors such as available time, application, interest or even scarcity of ink accounting for the discrepancies between the crude and elaborate pointer symbols evident in *FordunG*. Nevertheless, there are too many areas of contrast to ascribe this non-textual scribal activity safely to one reader alone.

³⁴ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 26.

³⁵ Fos.24-27 contain Fordun's book II.c.2 through to II.c.11.

³⁶ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 21.

In *FordunI* a medieval reader (hereafter **R¹²**) has underscored a great deal of text in red ink. As the volume of this underscoring illustrates, **R¹²** is clearly very interested in the narrative of the years 1153-1363. His activity is not random; in tandem with underscoring great swathes of text,³⁷ he deliberately underlines specific lines or words. This is clearly evident on fos.112r (V.47) and 112v (V.48) of *FordunI* with **R¹²** highlighting passages pertaining to Ailred of Rievaulx's lamentation for David I, consisting of a series of extracts from his *Genealogia regum Anglorum* and his *Eulogium Davidis Regis Scotorum* (which together originally comprised a single work). **R¹²** carefully underscores, in red ink, short lines supposedly cried out by David I in his lament: '*feci iudicium et justitiam, non tradas me calumniantibus me*',³⁸ '*Ad Dominum, cum tribularer clamavi, et exaudivit me*',³⁹ '*Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa*',⁴⁰ '*Heu! Mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est: habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar: multum incola fuit anima mea*'⁴¹ and '*Cum hiis qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus: cum laquebar illis, impugnabant me gratis*'.⁴² This evidently illustrates **R¹²**'s methodological approach and his careful readership of the MS. **R¹²** features prominently in the thematic discussion on the Wars of Independence.

³⁷ On fo.124v, c.xx of the Annals, this hand has effectively underscored the whole chapter from the first word '*Initur*' down to '*abeo*'.

³⁸ In translation: 'I have done judgement and justice; give me not over unto mine accusers'.

³⁹ In translation: 'In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and he heard me'.

⁴⁰ In translation: 'Deliver my soul, O Lord, from unrighteous lips, and from a deceitful tongue'.

⁴¹ In translation: 'Woe is me, that my sojourn is prolonged! I have dealt with the dwellers in Cedar; my soul hath long dwelt there'.

⁴² In translation: 'With those that hate peace, I am for peace; when I spoke unto them, they fought against me without a cause'.

Manuscripts of the full text of *Scotichronicon*

*Scotichronicon*C. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171

Paper; 391 folios. As already discussed, Bower produced this working copy of *Scotichronicon* at Inchcolm during the 1440s. The MS developed from a fair copy into a working copy, with marginal additions inserted into the MS by 1447 (at latest). *Scotichronicon*C contains a copy of Fordun's books I-V (fos.1r-109r) and the fifteen chapters that follow book V (in *FordunA* and *FordunG*) (fos.113r-117v). By the mid-sixteenth century the MS had come into the possession of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1559-1575), a notable benefactor to Cambridge University and particularly to his own college of Corpus Christi, to which he bequeathed his manuscript collection upon his death.⁴³ It is possible to identify the reader activity of Parker (hereafter R¹³) in *Scotichronicon*C. Parker's reader activity – often in red chalk but occasionally employing black ink⁴⁴ – is prevalent throughout the MS, clearly demonstrating his readership of *Scotichronicon*C; he undoubtedly dipped into this work on several occasions. Parker added pointer symbols, comments, marginal brackets and signs, and underscoring to the MS. For example, Parker's pointer symbols – universally crudely drawn fists (lacking a thumb), in red chalk, with an indistinct cuff design and rounded, inelegant, fingers – are apparent on fos.142r, 197v and 286r, while Parker has underscored sections of the text on, for

⁴³ See H.G.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 42, 707-728. Matthew Parker was born in Norwich in 1504 and sent to Cambridge in September 1522 (where he was educated at St. Mary's Hostel and Corpus Christi College). Although Parker gained high offices during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI (including his appointment as chaplain to the king on 1 March 1537 and his attainment of the prosperous deanery of Lincoln on 7 October 1552), his support for Lady Jane Grey led to his obscurity during the years of Queen Mary. He returned to favour during the reign of Elizabeth I (probably due to his earlier appointment as chaplain to Elizabeth's mother, Ann Boleyn, on 30 March 1535). Although he initially declined the position of archbishop (citing his desire to remain at Cambridge and his inability to fully perform his duties due to a lasting disablement caused by a fall from a horse) he was ultimately persuaded to accept the position. He was elected archbishop of Canterbury on 18 July 1559 and consecrated on 9 September.

⁴⁴ Parker's distinctive hand is easily recognisable and every occurrence of his reader activity in *Scotichronicon*C has been noted by the current staff of the Parker Library, with individual slips of paper inserted in the MS to highlight 'M.P.'s' additions. I am grateful to the Parker Library staff for their help on this matter.

instance, fos.237r, 272v, 274r, 275r, 281r, 284r, 286v, 335r and 353r. A good illustration of Parker's technique occurs on fo.335r where he uses red chalk to underline the following passages from c.39 of bk.XV (entitled '*De meritis misse et de utilitate devote audientis eam*'): '*Celebracio misse equevalens est passioni Christi dicentis*' and '*Et tantum est celebracio misse quantum mors Christi in cruce. Nam sicut omnes credentes salvati sunt Christi morte, sic omnes redempti celebratione misse*'. Parker occasionally combines his methods of drawing attention to the text, as on the left-margin of fo.142r where a pointer symbol directed at a bracket (both in red chalk) highlight the passage of interest. Parker employs a similar system on fo.147v by adding a red chalk pointer in the left margin and then drawing two lines branching off from the index finger towards the text of concern. Clearly there were specific elements of *ScotichroniconC*'s text that Parker found intriguing and would return to.⁴⁵ As noted in the introduction, although Parker cannot be considered a late-medieval reader, his additions to the MS will be considered in the forthcoming analysis. As an English reader of *ScotichroniconC*, Parker's reader activity potentially offers a valuable contrast with the Scottish late-medieval readers of the MSS.

One of the earliest readers of *ScotichroniconC*, however, was Sir Gilbert Hay (hereafter R¹⁴), translator of works on the laws of arms, chivalry and government for his patron William Sinclair, earl of Orkney and Caithness. The MS, on loan, was probably in Hay's possession 1458x1464.⁴⁶ Hay included comments in *ScotichroniconC* in seven places, ranging from the addition of two popes (Calixtus III and Pius II) to a text-hand list on fo.9r (thus bringing the list

⁴⁵ Parker, as we know, was a noted bibliophile with a particular fascination in the collection and preservation of manuscripts. One can also speculate that Parker's initial interest in *Scotichronicon* may have stemmed from his scholarly intrigue in textual collation and comparison with other chroniclers, such as Matthew Paris (whose '*Monachi Albanensis, Angli, Historia major, a Guilielmo Conquaestore ad ultimum annum Henrici tertii*' he actually edited). In fact, Parker offers possible confirmation of this at the foot of fo.162v where (relating to the text of bk.VIII, c.24) he has written (in broad strokes of red chalk): '*Vide Matthew Paris et Walterus Coventry / 1175*'.

⁴⁶ As Professor Watt argues, 'A list of popes written in the text-hand ends with Nicholas V (1447-55). Hay adds in his hand the names of Calixtus III (1455-58) as reigning three years seven months, and of Pius II as beginning to reign in 1458. Presuming that he borrowed the book only once, this points to a date 1458x1464 for the loan.' (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 51). Also see Mapstone, 'First Readers', 31-33.

up to date), criticism of an earlier reader's handling of the MS (fos.19r-19v) and an entry correcting the MS's assertion that certain Scottish nobles, including himself, had been knighted by the Scottish constable rather than the French king after the battle of Senlis in 1429 (fo.347v). Hay's interaction with the MS appears to be a relatively typical late-medieval reader's response to the *Scotichronicon* material. As Sally Mapstone contends,

The annotations make Hay one of the first generation of the chronicle's readers, and indeed one of the earliest readers to have what was to become a recurrent response to a reading of the *Scotichronicon* in a substantial number of those who got their hands on it: to start rewriting it.⁴⁷

The reader activity of three other late-medieval hands is discernible in *Scotichronicon*C. One reader (hereafter **R¹⁵**) is responsible for the addition of nine neatly drawn pointer symbols, typified by an elongated index finger and the fist attached to a curved cuff design with several buttons visible; it appears secular in nature. These symbols are apparent at various points throughout the MS, first appearing on fo.5v and then finally on fo.350r. They commonly target chapter titles or opening lines to chapters, as on the left-margin of fo.87v where a fist is directed at the rubric '*De felici applicacione Eadgari Ethlyn et sororis sue Sancte Margarite in Scociam*' and on fo.350r (bk.XVI c.32) where the opening line (and presumably subsequent passage) '*Jacobus dei graciā rex Scotorum venerabilis*' is of interest.

In addition, the activity of another late-medieval reader of *Scotichronicon*C (hereafter **R¹⁶**) is characterised by the elegantly drawn pointer symbols, light brown in colour, which are evident on fos.100v, 276v and 286r. The symbols differ in style from the other pointers apparent in the MS and, indeed, the folded gown that the fist is attached to possibly indicates a temporal, rather than secular, background for this reader.

⁴⁷ Mapstone, 'First Readers', 32.

ScotichroniconC also contains additions by another (possibly early-modern) reader. This individual (hereafter *R*¹⁷) has also drawn fists in the margins but they are distinguished by their distinctive character – black in colour, they are universally small with an extremely long and thin index finger connected to a tiny hand tapering into a conical cuff. However, the style (in terms of fashion) would appear to be more late-Elizabethan than the heavier, looser cuffs of Henry VIII's era. These symbols are perceptible on fos.96v, 188r and 279r. What is particularly significant, however, is that these symbols are also unquestionably evident in both *ScotichroniconR*, the earliest extant copy of *ScotichroniconC*, and *ScotichroniconD*. In the former there are at least 16 of these distinctive conical signs (from bk.I to bk.XIII), while *ScotichroniconD* contains 11. *ScotichroniconR* was copied from *ScotichroniconC* for Paisley Abbey at some point between October 1447 and the death in 1455 of Pope Nicholas V, while *ScotichroniconD* was copied from *ScotichroniconC* between 1471-2 'since the name of Pope Sixtus IV (elected Aug. 1471) is added by the text-hand in different ink at the end of a list of popes on fo.427v, and the diocese of St. Andrews is listed as such (fo.431), but then corrected in the margin to an archbishopric following the change authorised in August 1472'.⁴⁸ Therefore this reader's involvement with *ScotichroniconD*, at least, dates from after 1472 and, in all likelihood, he gained access to all three MSS well after that date. Although debate does exist over the dating of *R*¹⁷'s additions to *ScotichroniconC*, his reader activity will be considered in the thematic analysis that follows.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 187.

⁴⁹ Incidentally, we can discount Sir William Sinclair of Roslin (d.1582) as the reader in question. Sinclair had in his possession, at some stage, *ScotichroniconR*, *ScotichroniconD*, *ScotichroniconB*, two abbreviated versions of *Scotichronicon* (*CouparAngusC* and *CouparAngusP*) and a copy of *Extracta e variis cronicis Scocie* (NLS, Adv. MS 35.6.13). However, the system of annotation that Sinclair favoured – adding comments in Latin or Scots (especially noticeable in *CouparAngusP*, where he adds '*Leis*' several times in the margin to refute Edward I's claims of overlordship over Scotland), or sticking pieces of paper containing text into the MSS, as in *ScotichroniconD* – conclusively rules out Sinclair as the reader under discussion. Indeed, no similar conical pointer symbols are evident in *ScotichroniconB*, *CouparAngusC*, *CouparAngusP* and his copy of *Extracta*. Furthermore, the small, crude fists (often light in colour but occasionally in red) on, for example, fos.79r, 80v, 91r, 92v, 93r, 108v, 145v and 235r of *ScotichroniconC*, appear to be a text-hand device for incorporating some of

*Scotichronicon*R. London, British Library, MS Royal 13.E.X.

Parchment; 278 (remaining) folios; double column, with book numbers continuous throughout the work.⁵⁰ The *capituli* are in red, the opening letter to chapters in either blue or red, and the citations of sources are underscored in red. *Scotichronicon*R was copied from *Scotichronicon*C for Paisley Abbey at some point between October 1447 and the death in 1455 of Pope Nicholas V.⁵¹ It thus became known as the 'Black Book of Paisley'. It is the earliest extant copy of *Scotichronicon*C but it has suffered from the loss of many of its folios and errors by the unknown scribe(s) in copying the text.⁵²

*Scotichronicon*R contains non-textual scribal activity by two main late-medieval readers.⁵³ As already stated, one reader (*R*¹⁷) of *Scotichronicon*R appears to also have had access to *Scotichronicon*C and *Scotichronicon*D at some stage. *R*¹⁷'s symbols in *Scotichronicon*R (in faded dark ink) are also extremely small and delicately drawn, with a conical shaped cuff and very extended index finger. *R*¹⁷ displays his interest in particular subjects by pointing - with the elongated index fingers - at words or passages in the text⁵⁴ or at marginal comments or *notas*⁵⁵ (largely by the text hand). *R*¹⁷'s activity is

the marginal additions with the text proper; they will therefore not be referred to in the discussion that follows.

⁵⁰ Namely with '*Liber*' on the *verso* and the book number (eg. XI) on the *recto*.

⁵¹ Nicholas V was the last pope to be named in a list on fo.16v. See Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 186.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ There is further extensive non-textual scribal activity by another reader in *Scotichronicon*R. This reader has added pointer symbols (in black and brown ink) to, for example, fos.43r, 56r, 63r, 71r, 100r, 106v, 113r, 114r, 116r, 139r, 139v, 141v, 153v, 168v, 182r and 199v. However these symbols are often (though not always) accompanied by marginal comments by a post-medieval hand. These comments are often in the same ink as the signs, and illustrate this reader's interest in textual collation. For example, fo.113r contains a pointer symbol by this hand with a nearby comment (in the same ink) stating '*simili lib x cap.33*'. Likewise, fo.139v displays two pointer symbols by this reader, the latter of which (beneath the columns of text) is accompanied by the comment (in the post-medieval hand) '*vide octe cap15 et lib II cap 38*'. There are numerous comments by this hand throughout *Scotichronicon*R. We can therefore discount this reader from the analysis.

⁵⁴ For example on fos.34r, 40r and 201r.

⁵⁵ As on fos.35v and 39r for instance.

apparent in book I-II (fos.28r-50v), and then books XII-XIII (fos.195v-221v) of *Scotichronicon*R. The lack of pointer symbols in between (or after book XIII) cannot be accounted for. However, assuming that R¹⁷'s perusal of *Scotichronicon*R was complete, this reader activity would appear to have been highly selective.

The second late-medieval reader (hereafter R¹⁸) has also included numerous pointer signs in the margins of *Scotichronicon*R. These are evident in books II-IV of the MS. The symbols are all drawn in glutinous brown ink but their design varies greatly. While R¹⁸'s signs often consist of large brown complete hands,⁵⁶ he also denotes interest in the text by adding single index fingers to the margins⁵⁷ or, on occasion, incomplete hands consisting of two or three fingers coupled together.⁵⁸ There is no doubt, due to the ink used, that these symbols can all be ascribed to R¹⁸. The variation in the style of R¹⁸'s symbols is possibly due to factors of time, diligence, availability of ink, or, as is more likely, the lack of marginal space to encompass an entire symbol.⁵⁹ The symbols are directed at lines of text (eg.fo.52v), marginal comments by the text hand (eg.fo.58v) or *notas* (eg.37r and 37v).

*Scotichronicon*D. Darnaway Castle, Forres, Donibristle MS⁶⁰

Parchment; 436 folios; double column; written in one hand with capital letters in red and blue throughout.⁶¹ As noted above, it is possible to date the manuscript precisely to 1471-2. A colophon (fo.419v) indicates that *Scotichronicon*D was copied from *Scotichronicon*C for Simon Finlay, a chaplain of St Giles church in Edinburgh; upon Finlay's death *Scotichronicon*D

⁵⁶ Eg. fos.37r-38v, 52v, 54v, 58v, 61r-62v, 69r and 72v.

⁵⁷ Eg. fos.52r, 56r, 56v, 58r, 61r, 62r, 66r, 66v and 68r.

⁵⁸ Eg. fos.54r and 64v.

⁵⁹ Which would certainly account for the single digit signs included in between the columns of text, as on fos.69v and 70v.

⁶⁰ This MS has only been examined on microfilm at St Andrews special collections department.

⁶¹ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 187.

was given to the canons of Inchcolm, from where it passed (with the lands of Inchcolm Abbey) into the possession of the earls of Moray.⁶² At some point *ScotichroniconD* was examined by Sir William Sinclair of Roslin (d.1582).

As already stated, *ScotichroniconD*, like *ScotichroniconC* and *ScotichroniconR*, contains evidence of reader activity by **R¹⁷**. The distinctiveness of **R¹⁷**'s conical symbols shows that it is the same reader involved in all three cases. These pointers appear in *ScotichroniconD* between fo.36v (book II) and the index at the end of the MS. The activity is not extensive however, with only eleven symbols in total. In the MS **R¹⁷**'s signs target lines or passages of text,⁶³ and marginal comments by the text-hand,⁶⁴ with the position of the index finger signalling the particular area of interest. **R¹⁷**'s involvement with *ScotichroniconD* must date from after 1471-2 (at earliest) and, in all likelihood, he gained access to all three *Scotichronicon* MSS well after that date. It will be shown that, in all three MSS, **R¹⁷** demonstrates a clear concern with matters of a legal or judicial nature, especially in relation to the duties of kingship, with the symbols pinpointing examples of poor guardianship or justice (e.g. the weakness of Sardanapulus, the last king of the Assyrians, and the fable of the 'ass and wolf') and instances of good leadership (Caesar, Theodosius, Robert Bruce, Thomas Randolph and James Douglas). There appears to be no further late-medieval non-textual scribal activity in *ScotichroniconD*.

ScotichroniconB. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland
(formerly Scottish Record Office), MS GD 45/26/48.

Paper; 420 folios; double column; rubrics in red and the initialising in either red or blue. It is the earlier of the two manuscripts of the full text of *Scotichronicon* that were copied by Magnus Makculloch,⁶⁵ with Makculloch noting at the end

⁶² *Ibid.*, 188.

⁶³ On fos.36v, 49r, 79v, 98v, 183v, 306v (on two occasions) and 329v.

⁶⁴ On fos.48v, 73v and 183v.

⁶⁵ Magnus Makculloch produced another copy of *Scotichronicon* (*ScotichroniconH* below) for William Scheves archbishop of St Andrews (1479-97). This was copied in Edinburgh between 10 October 1483 and 7 October 1484. On Makculloch's work see Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 190-191; Lyall, 'Books and book owners', 245-246; and Mapstone, 'First readers', 33.

of book II (fo.30r) that he had reached this point in his task by 9 January 1481.⁶⁶ *Scotichronicon*B's rubricator was James Gray, in Scheves' service in the 1480s.⁶⁷ *Scotichronicon*B was copied from *Scotichronicon*D, probably for the Augustinian canons of Scone.⁶⁸ Although the early ownership of *Scotichronicon*B is unclear, Professor R.J. Lyall has highlighted how the library of the University of St Andrews appears to have owned a copy of *Scotichronicon* in the seventeenth century, written by Makculloch and formerly belonging to Scone.⁶⁹

One late-medieval reader (hereafter **R¹⁹**) clearly had access to *Scotichronicon*B over some time for his reader activity is copious and prevalent throughout the MS. He has attracted attention to sections of the text by using pointer symbols,⁷⁰ which normally target lines or passages in the text,⁷¹ or occasionally marginal comments (by himself or the text-hand).⁷² The symbols are light-brown or black. **R¹⁹** has also signified his interest through the addition of heavy underscoring, marginal comments and brackets. A great deal of text in *Scotichronicon*B has been underlined, ranging from single words,⁷³ or phrases,⁷⁴ to whole lines of text.⁷⁵ This underscoring is evident throughout

⁶⁶ Makculloch further dates his colophons on fo.104v (30 January 1481), fo.332v (31 March 1481) and 354v (2 April 1481).

⁶⁷ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 191.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁶⁹ Lyall, 'Books and book owners', 245.

⁷⁰ First apparent on fo.4v (bk. I), with the last symbol on fo.400v (Index). There are 187 pointer symbols in total.

⁷¹ For instance on fos.4v, 6r, 9v, 29r, 59v, 88v, 98v, 114r, 140r, 165v, 176v, 207r, 244v, 278v, 290v, 323v, 360v, 372r, 393r, 398v and 400v. The last two examples occur in the Index.

⁷² On, for example, fos.7r, 8r, 29r and 287r.

⁷³ Such as 'Zephirum' (fo.1v) or 'Cadwaldrus' (fo.47r).

⁷⁴ For example, 'gentes Scotos, Pictos et Britones' (fo.50v) or 'Mali moraliter dicuntur' (fo.57r).

⁷⁵ Such as 'Eodem anno apud Wirziburgh castrum ostio Francie sanctus eiusdem episcopus Chillianus Scotus cum suis discipulis Clolomano et Colmanno clam martirizantur a Geylana uxore Gothberti...' (fo.48v).

*Scotichronicon*B. R¹⁹'s marginal comments⁷⁶ and *notas*⁷⁷ are also extensive in *Scotichronicon*B, and his marginal brackets isolate certain passages and appear (sometimes) to be a shorthand version of the pointer signs.⁷⁸ R¹⁹ has thus returned to the text of *Scotichronicon*B on many occasions, fully illustrating his comprehensive readership of the MS.

A further individual has left behind a record of his readership of *Scotichronicon*B. This reader (hereafter R²⁰) has added eight pointer signs to the MS. These first appear on fo.6v, are in brown ink and are rather crudely drawn. One cannot, however, be certain that they date to our period; they could be post-medieval. Nonetheless, at one point (in between the columns of text on fo.54v) R²⁰ does apply a *nota*, in the same ink, beside his symbols, suggesting a late-medieval origin. In general, R²⁰ uses his symbols to target the *tabuli* of particular books in the MS.⁷⁹ This reader would appear, therefore, to find the subject matter of particular chapters to be of significance. His system of pointer symbols must have allowed him (or others) to locate the subjects of interest upon the next perusal of the MS.

*Scotichronicon*H. London, British library, MS Harleian 712

Paper; 277 folios; double column; chapter headings and initials (where they exist) are in red. Many of the capital letters, however, have never been illuminated (eg.fo.11r). The main text begins on fo.11r, with extra material

⁷⁶ Eg. '*Juno deum cordis*', '*Martem deum pectoris*', '*Mercurium deum loquebatur*', '*Bacchus deum dicunt gutturis*', '*Herculem deum brachiorum*', '*Cupido deum umbelici et jecoris*', '*Cenerem deam ventris*', '*Venerem deam genitalium*' (all on fo.9r), '*Rex Britonum*' (fo.11r), '*De Colmanus*' (fo.11v) and '*Sanctus Kentigernus*' (fo.40v).

⁷⁷ On, for example, fos.8v, 9v, 11v and 45r.

⁷⁸ Brackets are located on, for instance, fos.5r, 9r, 11r, 22v, 28v, 33v, 42r, 54v and 56v.

⁷⁹ R²⁰ is interested in the *tabuli* of books III (fos.30v-31r) and IIII (fo.54r-54v). He has directed signs at the title of c.59 of book III ('*De principio studii Parisiensis a Scotis*') and beside the *tabuli* of the following chapters of book IIII: c.5 ('*Ammonicio profutura regibus*'), c.17 ('*De rege Gregorio qui sibi totam Iberniam et pene Angliam subjugavit*'), c.18 ('*De morte Gregorii et comitatu Flandrie*'), c.19 ('*De Johanne Scoto philosopho et de Arnulpho pediculis consumpto*'), c.22 ('*De fonte sanguinis et de Judeis imagini Crucifixi novam passionem irrogantibus*'), c.39 ('*De condicionibus Anglorum notatis in Policronicon et de quadam propheta*') and c.47 ('*De vicio prodicionis omnium visiorum vilissimo*'). R²⁰ has also placed a *nota* beside the *tabulum* of c.48 ('*De liberalitate vel potius prodigalitate regis Malcolmi qui nichil sibi retinuit*').

included on fos.1-10v and fos.267v-276v. *ScotichroniconH* was copied at Edinburgh for William Scheves archbishop of St Andrews (1479-97)⁸⁰ by Magnus Makculloch.⁸¹ Makculloch began book III on 10 October 1483 (as he states on fo.40v) and completed the entire MS on 7 October 1484 (fo.276). Makculloch provides us with a description of his work and position in Scheves' service (fo.40v). He also adds numerous marginal comments (by way of summary) to the MS.⁸²

While there is little non-textual reader activity in *ScotichroniconH*, the MS does contain some interesting features. A post-medieval reader,⁸³ using pink ink, has added comments and underscoring on several occasions.⁸⁴ Another hand, in light brown ink, is involved in non-textual activity in several places.⁸⁵ It is possible that Scheves' hand is also apparent in *ScotichroniconH*.⁸⁶

ScotichroniconE. Edinburgh, University Library, MS 186

Parchment; 346 folios; double column, with chapter headings often in red and initials occasionally in blue or red. *ScotichroniconE* was possibly copied at Edinburgh (mostly from *ScotichroniconD*) by a Robert Scot, who completed his work by 15 May 1510 (fo.346r).⁸⁷ The only known early owner of *ScotichroniconE* is a John Walker (inscription on fo.346r).⁸⁸ *ScotichroniconE*

⁸⁰ Scheves name appears throughout: for example on fos.1r, 11r, 40v, 267v, 276r and 277r.

⁸¹ See above, n.65.

⁸² For example, '*Cartago conditur*' and '*Roma conditur*' (fo.13v). From fo.26r some of these text-hand comments are either in red ink or boxed by a red outline ('*Beda*' and '*Eutropius*' on fo.27v).

⁸³ As determined by his script, evident, for example, on fo.15r with the marginal comment '*Brigantia*'.

⁸⁴ For instance on fos.15r, 16r and 24r. On fo.16r this hand has underscored '*que et Gaidelach dicetur, quasi ab omnibus linguis collecta*'.

⁸⁵ On fo.17v '*Artaxerxes*' and '*Assuerus*' have been underlined, as have '*columpas fixit ad finem Europe sub favonio*' and '*intencione cicius redeundi dereliquit*' on fo.25r.

⁸⁶ See above, n.15.

⁸⁷ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 192.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

was presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1670. There is no significant reader activity in *Scotichronicon*E.

Manuscripts of abbreviated versions of *Scotichronicon*

*CouparAngus*C National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.1.7.

Parchment (with the exception of pages 1-2 and 23-24 which are paper); 450 numbered pages (book number in roman numerals); double column; written by more than one hand. An abbreviated version of *Scotichronicon* was produced, under Walter Bower's direction, in the 1440s.⁸⁹ This work was being compiled by 1444 at the latest.⁹⁰ This (now lost) manuscript was the exemplar of *CouparAngus*C, which has been dated to between ca 1450 and ca 1480.⁹¹ *CouparAngus*C was possessed at some point by the Cistercian Abbey at Coupar Angus in Perthshire. The original text of *CouparAngus*, the exemplar of *CouparAngus*C, differs from *Scotichronicon*C (Bower's working copy) in several ways: for instance, the former is divided into forty books, replacing the sixteen books of the latter, and much of the material is omitted or entirely rearranged (as is the case with the original book VII, which is distributed among earlier books in *CouparAngus*).

*CouparAngus*C contains activity by one late-medieval reader.⁹² This individual (hereafter R²¹) has added pointer symbols to the MS, apparent from page 53 (bk. III) to page 414 (bk. XXXVIII). There are ten symbols in total,⁹³ in

⁸⁹ It was intended as a shorter, more compact, work (see introduction). Both *Scotichronicon*C and the exemplar of *CouparAngus*C were under Bower's own direction until his death in 1449.

⁹⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 212.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.193 (on the advice of Professor R.J. Lyall).

⁹² Underscoring is also evident in *CouparAngus*C (by a hand using brown or faded red ink), at least up to p.169 of bk.X. It seems, however, that this reader is involved in textual correction or collation and thus can be discounted from the investigation.

⁹³ On pages 53 (III.31), 62 (IV.8), 63 (IV.11), 64 (IV.11), 118 (VII.6), 128 (VII.21), 174 (X.13), 259 (XVI.11), 266 (XVI.28) and 414 (XXXVIII.6).

black ink and directed at marginal comments by the text-hand.⁹⁴ The interest of **R**²¹ is therefore clear from the marginal comments highlighted.

CouparAngusP. National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS 35.6.7.

Paper (except for some leaves of parchment in the binding); 272 folios; single column; written by one hand. The text consists of twelve books. **CouparAngusP** is derived and further abbreviated from **CouparAngusC** or its exemplar. The MS dates from (at the earliest) the reign of James III (1460-88) and Professor R.J. Lyall has proposed that at least some of the paper dates from *ca* 1480.⁹⁵ **CouparAngusP** was compiled by Patrick Russell,⁹⁶ a monk at the Charterhouse at Perth. Russell was twice prior of the Charterhouse - in 1443 and then 1472-4.⁹⁷ **CouparAngusP** came into the possession of the Sinclair family of Roslin, before passing into the hands of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne (1600-57).⁹⁸

A reader (hereafter **R**²²) is involved in (very limited) activity in **CouparAngusP**. Using black ink, **R**²² has underscored several lines in the MS,⁹⁹ added a bracket¹⁰⁰ and supplied several *notas*.¹⁰¹ This could, however, be the

⁹⁴ For example '*Brigitta*' (p.64) and '*Turgotus nota applicuit Sancta Margareta in Scociam*' (p.128). The text-hand's marginal comments are often boxed in red and thus easily distinguished from marginal additions by other hands. Only **R**²¹'s pointer symbol on p.266 is not directed at a marginal comment. This symbol has been placed in between the columns of text and points upwards at the text in the right column; a line has been drawn from the tip of the index finger towards two words underscored (in the same ink). The words are '*rege suo*' in the context: '*Unde ubique rex securo agmine constipatus gavisus est de populo, et populus multipliciter exultaverunt de rege suo*'. **R**²¹ has also included a short comment here.

⁹⁵ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 197.

⁹⁶ As stated on fo.114r of BL MS Harley 4764 (**CouparAngusH** above).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ National Library of Scotland, Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts (1971), 1.

⁹⁹ As on fos.23v, 24r, 25r, 28v, 29r, 46v and 48v. For example, on fo.23v this passage is underlined '*Eius autem anno circiter xxvii nata est Beata Virgo Maria juxta librum Joachim et revelacionem factam Elizabeth. Que cum triennis esset*' ('Around about the twenty-seventh year of his reign the Blessed Virgin Mary was born according to the Book of Joachim and the revelation made to Elizabeth'), while underscored on fo.28v is '*Itaque Moravia Pannonie regio quedam juxta Danubii flumen*' ('So Moravia a region of Pannonia near the river Danube').

¹⁰⁰ Fo.25r.

work of the text-hand. There are copious post-medieval annotations in *CouparAngusP*, many of which belong to Sir William Sinclair (d.1582).¹⁰² Nevertheless, as explained, Sinclair's annotations will not play a role in the following analysis.

CouparAngusD. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 498.

Paper; single column; written by more than one hand. The first section of the volume (pp.1-222) contains, in books I-IV, a copy of the abbreviated version of *Scotichronicon* found in *CouparAngusC*. *CouparAngusD* also contains evidence of non-textual reader scribal activity by the two readers already identified (see *FordunD* above). *R*⁴, using red ink, has added short marginal comments,¹⁰³ *notas*¹⁰⁴ and the occasional symbol to *CouparAngusD*.¹⁰⁵ *R*⁵'s activity is also apparent in *CouparAngusD*, with pointer symbols¹⁰⁶ and *notas* (in black ink)¹⁰⁷ added to the margins. *R*⁵'s system of directing his symbols at *notas* (see *FordunD* above) is also clear in *CouparAngusD*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Fos.23v, 25r and 48v. *R*²² could also be responsible for the black comment ('*Sibilla*') in the left-margin of fo.23v (II.20), drawing attention to the summoning of Sybilla of Tibur by Caesar Augustus.

¹⁰² Sinclair has added (in light-brown ink) extensive comments and, at points, underscoring to the MS. This is first apparent from fo.79r and continues throughout the remainder of *CouparAngusP*. His annotations demonstrate his interest in many subjects, including genealogical matters and Anglo-Scottish relations. On fo.182v, for instance, Sinclair has underlined the following - '*Anno domini mxxvii Malcolmus Kenremor rex Scocie sanctam Margaritam duxit in uxorem, de qua genuit sex filios, scilicet Eadwardum, Eadmundum, Etheldredum, Eadgarum, Alexandrum et David*'. His marginal comments are numerous: '*Mors Donabaldi apud Sconam, in Iona sepultus*', '*succesit Constantinus*' (both on fo.83r), '*De custodibus regni Scotie*' (fo.179v) and '*descriptione off William Wallace*' (fo.187r). Indeed, Sinclair has added the word '*leis*' (in five places) in the margins of fos.194r and 194v, in relation to the account of Edward I's claims of sovereignty over Scotland.

¹⁰³ On, for example, pp. 85 ('*Utherpendragon*'), 124 ('*Coldingham*') and 185 ('*Kynloss*').

¹⁰⁴ Evident, for instance, on pp. 29, 30, 57, 78, 102 and 107.

¹⁰⁵ A red pointer has been added to p.151 and a drawing of a face (in red) is located (in the right margin) on p.157, beside the opening lines of bk.III c.8.

¹⁰⁶ There are black symbols on pp.96 and 140.

¹⁰⁷ On for example pp.29, 62,121, 133, 135, 174, 181 and 183.

¹⁰⁸ As seen on p.140.

CouparAngusH. London, British Library, MS Harley 4764
(fos.114-188)

Parchment; single column; written by one hand. This second part of the volume was written (probably as a continuation of fos.1-113)¹⁰⁹ at Dunkeld by Richard Striveling, notary public, for Bishop George Broun at some point between 1497 and 1515.¹¹⁰ *CouparAngusH* is a copy of books VI-X of *CouparAngusP*, with further abbreviations and omissions.

As already noted, *CouparAngusH* (fos.114-188) contains marginal comments by a very cursive hand using brown ink (labelled **R⁷**). **R⁷** is apparent throughout the volume (see *FordunE* above). *CouparAngusH* also contains extensive activity by another reader (hereafter **R²³**) not present in the first section of the volume. **R²³** has added a plethora of pointer signs to *CouparAngusH*, drawn in red, brown or black ink.¹¹¹ Many of the symbols are accompanied by small, red brackets in the text (placed in the line that the pointer is directed at).¹¹² These red brackets also belong to **R²³**. It would appear that **R²³** is employing a relatively sophisticated system; the red brackets directly precede the start of a new line or passage of text (thus their function seems similar to paragraph marks) and are almost always accompanied by red pointer symbols.¹¹³ The brown and black signs do not generally correspond to these red brackets.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 25 (n.85).

¹¹⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 198.

¹¹¹ There are 164 symbols in total, from fo.114r to 187r. Despite the different colours involved, it seems that there is only one reader involved in this process. On fo.160r a pointer symbol is begun in red and then the hand has changed to brown ink midway through the drawing. In fact it seems likely that the colours are used as part of a system by **R²³** (see above).

¹¹² These are evident in many places (accompanied by a red pointer symbol): for example, on fos.116v, 118v, 120r, 130v, 132r, 142r, 160r, 165r and 168r. There are at least 94 occasions where a red pointer symbol (in the margin) is directed at a red bracket (in the text).

¹¹³ See previous note. **R²³** does add red pointer symbols without any accompanying red brackets positioned in the text - as seen on fos.119v, 120r, 122r, 123v, 124r, 126r, 132v, 141r, 153r, 169r and 173r.

¹¹⁴ For example on fos.114r, 131r, 158v, 160r, 165r, 170r, 174r, 181r, 183v and 187r. In fact, fo.165r contains 6 pointer symbols, three red and three brown, in quick succession. Only the red signs are pointing at red brackets in the text. Moreover, on fo.131v a symbol was begun in red and then finished in brown. There is a red bracket in the text preceding '*Anno domini mccxxii...*'. However the symbol appears to be targeting the lines '*Anno sequenti Isabella soror regis*'.

Therefore, it seems possible that a red pointer (when accompanied by a red bracket) indicates interest in the whole passage of text (which follows the red bracket) while the other symbols could be for particular sentences or citations. R²³'s symbols illuminate in two ways: they illustrate the main concerns of this late-medieval reader, and they appear to demonstrate a peculiarly specialised form of reader activity. This late-medieval reader will feature prominently in the analysis that follows.

CouparAngusF. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS
Acc. 10301/6 (olim Edinburgh, Scottish catholic archives, MS
MM2/1).Fos.LXXVIIr - CCXr;

Parchment; single column; written by two hands. This second section of this volume (fos.LXXVIIr - CCXr) consists of chapters derived from the *CouparAngus* version of *Scotichronicon*. It is dated 1509 (fo.CLXXXIXv) and is a later continuation of the earlier first section (*FordunF* above) containing Fordun's chronicle.

CouparAngusF contains non-textual scribal activity by one late-medieval reader. This individual (hereafter R²⁴) has added three pointer symbols to the MS between books XIX and XXIII.¹¹⁵ These pointers are small, black and relatively crudely drawn. They are directed at particular lines (or surrounding passages) in the text.¹¹⁶ There is no other significant late-medieval non-textual reader scribal activity in *CouparAngusF*.

Alexandri rediit ad fratrem de custodia...'. It seems possible, therefore, that this reader began his symbol in red, then realised that the text did not fit in with his system (or that the red bracket was in the wrong position) and thus completed it in brown.

¹¹⁵ On fos.CXLIIv (XIX.10), CXLIXv (XXIV.2) and CLXXIXv (XXXII.16). A comment is apparent beside the last pointer symbol, in the left-margin of CLXXIXv (XXXII.16), noting the MS reference to the date of Bower's birth. This comment is unquestionably post-medieval and could be quite recent in date. However, although both the pointer and comment are brown, the ink appears quite distinct and they are noting different subjects in the chapter, with the pointer drawing attention to the line '*flamma incineravit. Et destruccione per maxima facta per eum in Laudonia, ad propria*' (concerning Richard II's campaign in the south of Scotland in 1385). Therefore, whilst some doubt must exist over the activity of R²⁴, this reader will be referred to in the forthcoming discussion.

¹¹⁶ On fo.CXXXXIIv the symbol is directed at the line '*O emula invidia! Cur in tantum dominaris in Scotia? Scotorum proth dolor, natura [est odire non solum aliene sed et proprie patriote felicitati]*'.

Manuscripts of *Liber Pluscardensis*

PluscardenA. Glasgow, Mitchell Library, MS 308876

Often referred to as the Marchmont MS.¹¹⁷ Paper and parchment; 271 folios; double column; written by one cursive hand throughout. The MS is a copy of *PluscardenD* (see below),¹¹⁸ and was probably transcribed before 1500.¹¹⁹ Fo.1r contains several inscriptions (by different hands) indicating ownership.¹²⁰ F.Skene believed that the MS possibly belonged to a Lyon King of Arms,¹²¹ then passed into the possession of Montjoi Roi d'Armes in France¹²² and was brought back to Scotland by two monks of Linlithgow who duly presented it to Newbattle abbey after 1543.¹²³ At some point thereafter it belonged to a Richard Brown, then to a Crawford, before it came to John Gilmour (d.1671). It then came into the possession of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth.¹²⁴

A late-medieval reader (hereafter **R**²⁵) is involved in extensive non-textual scribal activity in *PluscardenA*. In dark ink (faded in many places) **R**²⁵ has added numerous marginal comments and *notas* (apparent throughout

¹¹⁷ After Marchmont House, residence of the Humes of Polwarth who owned the MS at a late date.

¹¹⁸ *PluscardenD*, *PluscardenA* and *PluscardenB* all have the date 1489 at bk.VIII, c.17. *PluscardenA* is a copy of *PluscardenD*, incorporating all the textual characteristics of the latter.

¹¹⁹ As F. Skene wrote in 1876 'The transcriber copied into it the Appeal of the Paris University, dated 1491, but none of the other documents appended later to the Bodleian MS; and the dates 1503 and 1506 occur on the fly-leaves of the Marchmont MS' (Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, xvii).

¹²⁰ These are '*Lioin Albinie*'; '*Liber Ricardi Bruni et amicorum*'; '*Liber Sancte Marie de Neubotill ex dono virorum venerabilium domini Henrici et domini Jacobi Herculi de Linlithq*'.^w

¹²¹ '*Lioin Albinie*' (above note).

¹²² At this point it was probably translated by Gremond Domat in 1519 (which survives as France, Paris, Bibliotheque de Sainte-Genevieve, MS 936). This MS will play no part in the discussion that follows.

¹²³ Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, xix.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

PluscardenA up to fo.248r), ranging from short entries¹²⁵ to detailed additions¹²⁶; they are essentially descriptive in nature. **R**²⁵ is clearly summarising the text throughout the MS and adding comments to enable easier future reference (for himself or others). The choice of passages to summarise (as reflected by the comments), however, lends a direct insight into what this reader considered important. **R**²⁵ has also heavily underscored¹²⁷ the text of *PluscardenA*, and included many brackets in the margins.¹²⁸ On fo.131v (VII.10) **R**²⁵ included a short comment in between the columns of text: '*Nota de spes dedicata ecclesia de Nevbotil*'. With the knowledge that *PluscardenA* was presented to Newbattle Abbey after 1543, is **R**²⁵ on fo.131v drawing attention to the institution with which he is affiliated? The reader activity of **R**²⁵ will play a significant role in the forthcoming thematic chapters. There is no other late-medieval reader activity in *PluscardenA*.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ For instance, '*Scoti*' (fo.3v), '*Sanctus Brendanus*' (11r), '*Divisionis Albionis insula*' (14v), '*Coronta regis Scotorum Alexandri*' (134r), '*Genealogia regum Scocie*' (153v), '*Tres filios Robertus Secundus*' (228r), '*Nota Henrici quartus Anglorum regis*' (230v) and '*Moritur dux Albanie Stewart gubernator regni Scocie*' (245r).

¹²⁶ For example in the right margin of fo.245r (bk.XI c.1) is the comment '*Coronata regis Jacobi primi Scotis et matrimoniam contractum cum filia ducis de Somerseth nepte regis Anglie et Murdacus Stewart ex speciali privilegio sibi ut Duci Albanie concessio eundem regem in sede regali collocavit*'. This closely matches the text at that point.

¹²⁷ This underscoring is evident through books I-XI but the motivation of **R**²⁵ is unclear. The abundance of his underlining - underscoring practically every individual cited in the text as well as passages of text - makes it difficult to draw any fruitful conclusions. His underscoring does not appear to be of a particularly selective nature. Indeed, it seems likely that **R**²⁵ added this underlining as he worked his way through the MS, rather like a system of note-taking (or to retain his place in the text) in the course of his reading. Thus, it is not necessarily the case that **R**²⁵ intended to draw attention to the underscored text.

¹²⁸ As apparent, for example, on fos.9r, 10v, 17v, 29r, 48v, 74v, 91v, 116r, 144v, 215v, 228v, 235r and 248r.

¹²⁹ It should be noted however that two post-medieval hands are apparent. One of these hands, using brown ink, has added many marginal comments and occasional underscoring. Evident, for instance, on fos.38r, 38v, 43r, 44r, 44v, 45v, 47r, 48r and 50v. On 38r, for example, are the comments '*S.Servanus, S.Palladii in predicando comes*', '*S.Terrananus Palladii discipulus*' and '*S.Kentigernus S.Servani discipulus*'. Indeed, this hand has added '*Moritur S.Brigada*' in between the columns of fo.44r. This provides a glimpse into the periods of readership of *PluscardenA* for this hand, whose pattern seems to be to add comments in the left margin directly beside the relevant passage of interest, is here forced to use the space in between the columns as the appropriate section of the MS (in the left margin) is already occupied by the comment '*De Sancta Brigida*', supplied by the earlier reader labelled as **R**²⁵.

PluscardenB. Belgium, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale de
Belgique, MS 7396

Paper; 234 folios; written in double columns by one principal (cursive) hand throughout. Whilst space has been left for initialising, this was never fully completed.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, there are occasional flashes of decoration, with faces drawn in the initials on fos.68r and 176v, and a face imprinted within the 'E' of 'Eodem' on fo.80r of *PluscardenB*. The content of the MS can be divided into various elements: fo.1 contains a library comment on the MS by a Victor de Buck¹³¹ and, on the verso, the comment '*This buke pertenis to M.Grote written in Edinburgh in Scotland and now pertenis to David Dowthillz*'; fos.2r-2v include the chronicle's preface; fos.3r-231v contain the chronicle proper; fo.232 is blank; and fos.233-234 consist of a French description of the MS.¹³² This MS is also a copy of *PluscardenD*.¹³³

This late-fifteenth century MS contains a wealth of non-textual reader scribal activity, with the margins holding a multitude of pointer symbols and abbreviated Latin comments. Five principal late-medieval hands have been identified in this process. The first of these readers (hereafter **R**²⁶) has included 136 pointer symbols in *PluscardenB* and they are evident in each of the eleven books of the MS (with a concentrated cluster in bks. VIII-X), illustrating that this reader explored every aspect of the work in detail. This reader's symbols are uniformly crude in design, with extremely simplistically drawn jagged fingers. While the colour of these symbols vary (from grey to brown to black)¹³⁴ they are normally drawn in greyish-brownish ink. Although the dating of these additions

¹³⁰ Missing initials are apparent on, for example, fos.3r-3v, 4r-4v, 22v, 41r and 59r. In fact, there are many instances of this failure to initialise, indicating the unfinished nature of the MS. Specifically, while there is red initialising on fos.1-2, there is then a break until fo.25v when the red initialising appears again in bk.II c.38, and then continues again until fo.28r. There follows a lacuna up to fo.49v and thereafter the red initialising remains up to fo.58r. A further break is then evident until fo.65v, succeeded by continuous red initialising until fo.106r. From fo.106r to fo.234r, however, initials and chapter headings are in bold black ink rather than red.

¹³¹ Stating, in short, that this is the chronicle of John Fordun up to Book V chapter xi on fo.75.

¹³² *Catalogue Des Manuscrits De La Bibliotheque Royale*, VII 4560-5265, 4628 (7396), 38.

¹³³ Evident from the date 1489 at bk. VIII c.17.

¹³⁴ Indicating, of course, that this individual returned to the MS on several occasions.

can only be speculative, there is evidence to support a late-medieval origin. It is possible that a long medieval comment at the foot of fo.98v belongs to **R**²⁶ (who has added a pointer sign in between the columns of text on the same folio)¹³⁵ and, more definitively, on fo.175r it appears that this reader has supplied the comment '*Nota Wallace*' in the right-margin, close to a pointer directed at the line '*Scocie preter Willelmum Wallas...*'. In both cases, the comment and the pointer, brown ink was used and it is glutinous in character and applied with a thick (medieval) nib. One can certainly argue, therefore, that the activity of **R**²⁶ appears late-medieval in origin. Furthermore, on fo.200r, a symbol by **R**²⁶ in the right-margin has been partially obscured by a dark, abbreviated late-medieval Latin comment; the symbol must predate the comment.

A further reader (hereafter **R**²⁷) of *PluscardenB* adds two grey-brown pointer signs to the MS (on fos.16v and 20v), in a different style to the other readers, while another reader (hereafter **R**²⁸) employs a combination of underscoring and brackets to denote the areas of the text that he is interested in. **R**²⁸'s activity is prevalent between fos.17v-39v and is always brownish in colour. Although sparse, the additions of **R**²⁷ and **R**²⁸ will figure in the thematic analysis.

A further late-medieval reader (hereafter **R**²⁹) of *PluscardenB* has occasionally added (abbreviated Latin) marginal comments in bold black ink. These are apparent on, for example, the right-margin of fo.168r, fo.180v ('*In regnum Hibernie*') and 181v ('*Hibernie*'). **R**²⁹, like **R**²⁶ and **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB* (and other late-medieval readers in the MSS), illustrates an interest in the MS text of the Declaration of Arbroath.

There is reader activity attributable to another individual (hereafter **R**³⁰) in *PluscardenB*. **R**³⁰ adds 38 pointer symbols to the margins of *PluscardenB* – predominately between fos.110r and 216v – and he also introduces marginal comments at various points throughout the MS. **R**³⁰'s symbols are relatively elaborate in technique, with the fist (complete with a curved thumb and crooked first finger) tapering down to a cuff, finished off by a criss-crossed sleeve. These

¹³⁵ The passage of interest concerns William the Conqueror.

signs are therefore easily recognisable and are commonly drawn in either brown or black ink. The late-medieval character of this reader activity can be confirmed by the inclusion, by **R**³⁰, of various accompanying comments in the same ink. There are examples of this on fo.175r and, more interestingly, on fo.183v where beneath **R**³⁰'s pointer sign (and indeed merging into it) is an abbreviated, medieval (Latin) comment on Edward Bruce. The symbol and the comment are in the same (brownish ink) and there can be no doubt that both belong to the same hand.

PluscardenC. Glasgow, University Library, MS Gen.333 (*olim*
Glasgow College, F.6.14).

Paper; 299 folios; single column; written in several hands.¹³⁶ This copy of *Liber Pluscardensis* was commissioned by William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews (1478-97), and was copied at Dunfermline under the direction of the monk Thomas Monimail.¹³⁷ *PluscardenC* was owned by a W. Gaderar (see below) in the mid-sixteenth century, then a William Hamiltoune (possibly William Hamilton of Wishaw), before passing into the possession of the library of Glasgow College around the year 1700.¹³⁸

There is non-textual reader scribal activity in *PluscardenC* by three main late-medieval readers.¹³⁹ It is possible to specifically identify and date a late-medieval reader of *PluscardenC*. This is William Gaderar (hereafter **R**³¹),

¹³⁶ Lyall, 'Books and book owners', 246-247.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* The MS ends with 'C'est tout' and a colophon on fo.299v states '*Iste liber scriptus fuit apud Dunfermlin, Willelmo Sancti Andree Archiepiscopo, de mandato domini Thome Monymelle monachi et sacriste eiusdem loci*'. Moreover, as F. Skene observed, the only long passages involving the Scots language in *Liber Pluscardensis* (cc.8 and 11 of bk. XI) are left blank in this MS, indicating that the copyist was probably unfamiliar with the language (Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, xi).

¹³⁸ Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, xvii. The signature of William Dunlop, principal of Glasgow University, is apparent in *PluscardenC* on fo.3r and that of William Hamiltoune on fo.299v.

¹³⁹ Although Scheves' signature is apparent in the MS (for instance at the top of fo.2r), one cannot confidently assert that any of the identified reader activity in *PluscardenC* belongs to him. Therefore, the 'occasional glossing hand in black ink' will be labelled as the work of a separate late-medieval reader (**R**³³) and not linked to the activity of **R**¹ in *FordunB* (see above, 15).

whose name appears at the bottom of fo.2r and is accompanied by a date: '*Liber Willelmi Gaderar, anno 154-*'. Although chopped off, the last number appears to be '3', thus Gaderar's ownership of *PluscardenC* dates from 1543. F. Skene proposed that this could be Will.Gaderar, a bailie of Elgin (apparent in a deed of 1529) or Will.Gaderar, a burges of Elgin (a witness to a charter of 1569).¹⁴⁰ Gaderar's inscription is in distinctive lilac coloured ink and he has supplied some missing initials in this ink¹⁴¹ and his signature at the end of the MS. More importantly, however, Gaderar also uses this ink to underscore passages of text¹⁴² and add marginal comments¹⁴³ and pointer symbols.¹⁴⁴ In particular, his careful and selective underscoring highlights his main interests. Gaderar's additions are evident between books II and V; he does not appear to have added (in any other ink) any reader activity. As *PluscardenC* seems to have been in his possession for some time (and with his signature also evident at the end of *PluscardenC*), we can be fairly sure that his perusal of the MS was complete. Therefore, the non-textual scribal activity of W. Gaderar, as he read the manuscript in 1543 (or shortly after), provides an illuminating insight into the principal concerns of this particular mid-sixteenth century reader, with the history of the region of Moray of prime interest.

Another late-medieval reader (hereafter **R³²**) of *PluscardenC* included pointer symbols¹⁴⁵ and marginal comments¹⁴⁶ (individually and collectively)¹⁴⁷ to the MS. **R³²**'s additions are all in glutinous brown ink, with the symbols very carefully drawn and the comments (in a cursive hand) heavily abbreviated. The activity of **R³²** is apparent between bks.II-X, demonstrating his familiarity with

¹⁴⁰ Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, x.

¹⁴¹ The 'E' of 'Ex' (fo.2r), 'M' of 'Mundus' (fo.2r) and the 'I' of 'In' (fo.3v).

¹⁴² These are particularly evident on fos.28v, 29r and 269r.

¹⁴³ For example, on fos.28v, 29r, 74v, 75v, 96v, 135v and 269r.

¹⁴⁴ For instance on fos.29r, 75v and 269r.

¹⁴⁵ For example, on fos.26r, 166r, 169v, 177v, 184v, 203v, 219v, 268r, 272v and 281r.

¹⁴⁶ For instance, on fos.177v, 203v, 219v and 272v.

¹⁴⁷ **R³²** added pointer symbols and comments in tandem on fos.177v, 203v, 219v and 272v.

the whole MS. Moreover, a third late-medieval reader is apparent in *PluscardenC*. This reader (hereafter R³³) is responsible for the addition of occasional black comments, evident in the latter half of the MS from fo.179v.¹⁴⁸ R³³'s comments commonly refer to notable Anglo-Scottish encounters in the Wars of Independence.¹⁴⁹ Post-medieval reader activity is also apparent in *PluscardenC*.¹⁵⁰

PluscardenD. Oxford, Bodleian library, MS Fairfax 8.

Paper (outer leaves on parchment): xviii + 209 folios; double column. The volume contains additional material to the eleven books of *Pluscarden*.¹⁵¹ The MS was transcribed from a (now) lost original in 1489 at Dunfermline Abbey (fo.120v). *PluscardenD* appears to have remained at Dunfermline until at least 1525, when it then passed into the hands of the Drummond family of

¹⁴⁸ For example, on fos.179v, 207r, 211r, 214v, 216r, 219r, 226r, 233r, 233v, 234r, 235r, 240v, 241v, 242r, 253r and 266v. Some doubt exists over the comment on fo.233r. The comment, which appears to be '*Dicta Ranulphe*', in the right-margin of fo.233r (IX.26) is accompanied by underscoring of the following text: '*principis in nostro wlgari compositam transeat, ubi ad longum reperiet. Dictus [vero Thomas Ranulphi obit anno Domini M CCC XXXii kalendas Augusti Xiii]*'. A line is then drawn from the underscoring to the marginal comment. Clearly the methodology in this example does not match R³³'s other additions in *PluscardenC*. However, it is possible that the scratchy underscoring was applied later and by a different hand.

¹⁴⁹ As on, for example, fo.211r (IX.1) '*Conflictus Falkyrk*', fo.216r (IX.8) '*Bellum apud Meffen*', fo.219r (IX.12) '*Bannokburn bellum contra Edwardum de Carnarvan*', fo.233v (IX.27) '*Conflictus de Duppill*', fo.235r (IX.28) '*Conflictus de Halidonhill*', fo.241v (IX.34) '*Conflictus de Kilblein*' and fo.266v (X.9) '*Conflictus de Otirburn*'.

¹⁵⁰ A post-medieval reader has added the comment '*De moribus Scotorum*' to the right-margin of fo.19r, with further comments and a pointer symbol on fos.19v-20v highlighting text on Scottish islands and the Orkneys. Furthermore, the same reader applied a brown pointer (with the word '*carta*' also evident) to the right-margin of fo.265r (X.8). A line drawn from the pointer underscores the text '*cophinos suas. Ubi reperta est quidam carta formam quam sequitur*' ('there a charter was found in the words following'), demonstrating concern in a charter by Athelstane. A further pointer symbol in the left-margin of fo.167v (VIII.12) is also discounted from the following analysis. This neatly drawn symbol, with a decorative cuff, could be the work of the text-hand; the ink used in both cases is similar. The pointer is directed at the line '*Cui Robertus de Brusse humiliter et mature respondens*'.

¹⁵¹ As follows: a copy of the appeal of the University of Paris to the Pope in 1491 (fo.192), a list of Scottish monasteries which had been sent to Fairfax by John Adamson of Edinburgh (fo.198), three bulls of pope Innocent VIII dating from 1487 (fo.201), a complaint by Adam Forman, prior of Dunfermline, against a sentence of excommunication dated 3 May 1525 (fo.203) and some Latin verses dedicated to Fairfax by Charles Geddes in 1656 (fo.204).

Hawthornden, who in turn gave it to Colonel Charles Fairfax in December 1650.¹⁵²

PluscardenD contains extensive non-textual reader scribal activity, with one principal late-medieval reader (hereafter **R**³⁴) involved. **R**³⁴ has added copious pointer symbols to the MS; these are distinctively drawn, with an extended index finder (denoting the reader's interest) and clenched hand tapering down to the curved, lined cuff (often with two or three buttons visible). The activity of this reader is easily recognisable therefore. The 106 identified symbols are in brown or red ink,¹⁵³ and are often located beneath the columns of text and pointing upwards at the last line of text.¹⁵⁴ The intention seems to be either to highlight the last line(s) in the column of text, or the entire passage.¹⁵⁵ **R**³⁴ also directs his symbols at marginal comments¹⁵⁶ (by himself or the text-hand) and *notas*.¹⁵⁷ **R**³⁴ may also be responsible for occasional underscoring in brown ink.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² A colophon on fo.viii states '*Mr James Drummond, 1650, gifted theis book to Coronall Fairfax, the 17 of December, anno 1650*'. Colonel Fairfax has added his own inscription on the same folio: '*It was sent me by the late Lady Hathornden, widdow to the famous poet, William Drummond, by the hands of her husband's brother, Mr James Drummond*'.

¹⁵³ On occasion the symbol will be drawn in brown and then outlined in red (eg. on fo.4r).

¹⁵⁴ For example, on fos.4r, 4v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11r, 12r, 12v, 13r, 14r, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17v, 18r, 21r, 29r, 29v, 59v, 72r, 75r, 85r, 86r, 129v, 135v, 139v, 158v, 161r, 161v, 162v, 163v, 164r, 165r, 165v, 166r, 167r, 168v, 169v, 170r, 171r, 174r, 174v, 175v, 176r, 176v, 178r, 179v, 180r, 180v, 181r, 182r, 183r, 184v, 184r, 185r, 186v and 187v.

¹⁵⁵ The pointers are often pointing at particular words in the last line of text (rather than at the beginning of the line): such as '*suo*' (fo.9r), '*prodiderant*' (fo.10v), '*ab*' (11r), '*ut*' (12v), '*montana*' (14r) and '*denis*' (15r). To specifically draw attention to these words makes little sense - it is much more likely to be the line, passage or chapter that is of interest to the reader.

¹⁵⁶ On, for instance, fos.59v, 67r, 69r, 70r, 71r, 72r, 72v, 73r, 73v, 75r, 84v, 85r, 86r, 86v, 88r, 95v, 98r, 139v, 149v, 152v and 158v. Some examples of the comments are '*Turgutus*' (fo.69r), '*De Duncano filio Malcolmi et Scocie superveniens*' (71r), '*De morte Matildas bona regina*' (72v), '*Et de pacis confederaciones de regibus apud Northam*' (95v) and '*Nobilium occisorum de bello de Duplyn*' (158v). These comments do not belong to the text-hand and could be the work of **R**³⁴.

¹⁵⁷ As on fos.8r, 157r, 157v, 158v, 160r, 161v and 164r.

¹⁵⁸ One cannot be certain of this as post-medieval hands are also evident in the MS (adding comments in brown and black ink, and accompanying black pointer symbols on fos.37v, 43v, 52v, 69r, 92r, 100v, 123v, 124r, 129v, 130v, 151r, 153v and 187r). Underscoring is apparent, for example, on fos.23r, 24r, 25r, 25v, 27v, 28r, 29r, 31r, 33v, 35r, 36r, 37r, 38r, 41v, 51r, 54v, 58v, 60v, 64v, 67r, 71r, 76r, 80r, 88r, 91r, 99v, 100r, 109v, 118r, 146r, 154r and 158r.

Two further styles of pointer symbol are apparent in *PluscardenD*. These are musty brown in colour and differ in design from **R**³⁴'s more regular additions; the first style are smaller, with an extended index finger (signifying the interest) and hand tapering down to an elongated tail-shaped cuff. There are 22 of these curly symbols, located between fos.67v and 126r. Another style of symbol is also apparent in *PluscardenD* and the cuff-design of these symbols is fan-shaped rather than curved. Six of these signs are evident, between fos.103r and 158v.¹⁵⁹ It is clear that the same reader has applied both types of symbol to the MS for on fo.115v a pointer in the left-margin possesses a tail that is both curly and fanned in design. Despite the discrepancy in design, however, it seems safe to also accredit this reader activity to **R**³⁴. The curved symbols are also largely placed beneath (or between) the columns of text and occasionally target marginal comments or *notas*.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, buttons have also been drawn in the cuffs of some of these smaller symbols.¹⁶¹ Therefore, it seems likely that all these symbols are the work of **R**³⁴. It is feasible that the different designs of symbol simply represent the separate occasions when this individual actually read the MS; could it be that this reader simply felt like altering the style of his pointers during his readings?¹⁶² Whilst possible, it seems more likely that the employment of different symbols indicates a definite methodology in the approach of **R**³⁴, with the intention being to distinguish between particular themes or subjects that he is interested in.¹⁶³ As with **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH*, therefore, **R**³⁴'s activity could be another example of a late-medieval reader employing a system of drawing attention to sections of the text and thematically

¹⁵⁹ As apparent on fos.103r, 104r, 104v, 105r, 105v, 109r and 158v.

¹⁶⁰ As on fos.72r, 104v and 109r.

¹⁶¹ As apparent, for example, on fos.67v and 104r.

¹⁶² The general sequence of symbols used by **R**³⁴ involves initially the larger rounded-cuff design, then from fo.67v the smaller very curved or fanned-cuff sign (interspersed, on occasion, with a smaller version of the rounded-cuff symbol), before returning after fo.126r to the larger rounded-cuff design. It does not appear credible that this pattern represents the various readings of *PluscardenD* by **R**³⁴; why would he bother to use different designs and, indeed, why not therefore use four different symbols for each reading? In fact, the time required to produce these symbols (and actually read the MS on each of these possible occasions) surely tells against this.

¹⁶³ This may explain why, although it is mainly the smaller, curved cuff design of symbol that dominates between fos.67v and 126r, there are also examples of the larger rounded cuff symbol (e.g. on fos.70r and 72r).

distinguishing between them (according to the design of pointer applied). Thus, if this was the case, this reader could, upon his next perusal of *PluscardenD*, easily locate the passages that he had previously selected according to their thematic content. The sheer magnitude of R³⁴'s activity ensures that he figures prominently in the following thematic chapters.

PluscardenE. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,

Adv. MS 35.5.2

Paper; ii + 152 fos.; single column and written by one hand throughout. There are neat chapter breaks (but no running system of chapter numbers or headings), and the opening words to each chapter are in bolder script. There are many missing initials in the MS.¹⁶⁴ This is a copy of *PluscardenC* and can probably be dated to the early-sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ *PluscardenE* was owned by a 'Wellesley' in 1632¹⁶⁶ and then Dr George Mackensie in the early-nineteenth century.¹⁶⁷ While there are copious comments by two post-medieval hands,¹⁶⁸ there is little evidence of medieval reader activity in *PluscardenE*.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ While there are decorative initials on, for example, fos.4v, 5r, 6v, 12v and 13r, this does not continue throughout the MS (on fo.26v space has been left for the initial 'E' of '*Eugenius*').

¹⁶⁵ Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, xvii. Moreover, as watermark evidence on fos.8r and 91v indicate, some of the (French) paper can be dated to the early sixteenth century (C.M. Briquet, '*Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique de Margues du papier*', vols.II and IV, in A. Stevenson (ed), *Paper Publication Society* (Amsterdam, 1968)).

¹⁶⁶ '*Willeslaeus 1632*' and a motto in Greek are evident on fo.152v.

¹⁶⁷ The first flyleaf of *PluscardenE* is inscribed '*E bibliotheca Georgii Mackensie, M.D*'.

¹⁶⁸ The first (early-eighteenth century) hand is prevalent throughout the MS. For instance, this reader has added the following comments: '*Ecclesia de Abernethy*' (fo.41r), '*S.Andreas apostolus*' (fo.41v), '*Marianus Scotus*' (fo.50v), '*Walteras Bower abbas insulae S.Columbae interpolotas Scotichronici Fordoni*' (fo.68v) and '*S.Fiacrius*' (fo.97v). This is possibly the same post-medieval hand that is apparent in *PluscardenA*; there are clear similarities between the two hands. The other post-medieval hand in *PluscardenE* is responsible for numerous comments and corrections (in brown ink), such as '*Alex I. Iniit regnum ann. 1107*' (fo.58v), '*Alex I. Obiit 1124*' (fo.59r) and '*Innocent 3 in pontificaluni iniit ann. 1198 obiit 1216*' (fo.77v).

¹⁶⁹ A late-medieval hand has, however, added '*Somerladus*' in the left-margin of fo.69v and another comment concerning St Andrews in the left-margin of fo.142v.

Manuscripts of *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie*

The *Extracta* was written sometime after 1522¹⁷⁰ and is essentially a work that summarises (and occasionally adds to) the text of the *CouparAngus* version of *Scotichronicon*. By drawing so heavily on the material of the abbreviated *Scotichronicon*, the compiler of the original *Extracta* demonstrated the continued popularity – and greater availability – of the *Scotichronicon*.¹⁷¹ The *Extracta*, therefore, further indicates the continuity of interest that existed in Scotland for histories of this nature. The content of the *Extracta*, the material included and omitted, demonstrates another response by late-medieval readers to the work of Fordun and Bower. There are three extant copies of the *Extracta*.

*Extracta*A. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,

Adv. MS 35.6.13

Paper; 340 folios; written by more than one hand. Fos.1r-296v contain the *Extracta*, with the remainder consisting of additional notes (the last dated 1575) possibly by Sir William Sinclair.¹⁷² This is the earliest extant *Extracta*, dateable to the early-sixteenth century.¹⁷³ This MS may have belonged to Alexander Myln before passing into the possession of William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane between 1527-1564. It then came to Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow

¹⁷⁰ The *Extracta* contains an exact passage from Andrew Myln's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, which was completed in 1522 (*Extract e variis cronicis Scocie*, ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull, Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1842); Lawlor, 'Library of the Sinclairs', 101-103; and Mapstone, 'First Readers', 16 n.33. Indeed, Myln may himself have been the compiler of the *Extracta*.

¹⁷¹ The compiler of the *Extracta* had intended to use all the information (from all the chronicles) at his disposal but 'such was the primacy of the *Scotichronicon* in the existing canon, that this is another work based upon it, in the CA [*CouparAngus*] version (Mapstone, 'First Readers', 5).

¹⁷² As W.B.D.D.Turnbull noted in 1842 in his introduction to the *Extracta*.

¹⁷³ Turnbull states in his introduction to the *Extracta* that 'Independently of other evidence, it is clear that the writer lived in the reign of James IV, as, at folio 212, (page 180) in lamenting the defeat of King David at the battle of Neville's Cross from inexperienced counsel, he says, '*Sicut, proch dolor! Scriptoris tempore, Rex Jacobus Quartus prout in bello de Floudene dicetur*'. However, despite Turnbull's words, in relation to this statement [on fo.212] it would make more sense if the writer actually lived in the reign of James V.

from 1550 and bishop of Ross (*ca* 1560).¹⁷⁴ Sir William Sinclair has added numerous annotations to *ExtractaA*. However, there is no evidence of late-medieval reader activity in this MS.

ExtractaB. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 39

Paper; viii + 198 fos.; single column; probably written in the second half of the sixteenth century, in a secretary hand.¹⁷⁵ The opening pages (i-viii) contain an introduction by a John Mackinlay (dated 1843), relating the previous ownership of the MS and its relationship to the other *Extracta* and *Scotichronicon* MSS. This MS was copied from *ExtractaA* but it does not contain any of Sinclair's numerous annotations (unlike *ExtractaC* below). The copyist involved presumably gained access to *ExtractaA* before Sir William Sinclair. There is no late-medieval reader activity evident in *ExtractaB*.

ExtractaC. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,

Adv. MS 35.4.5

Paper; single column; written by one hand. This is a later-sixteenth century copy of *ExtractaA*. Sir William Sinclair's comments (in Latin and Scots) in *ExtractaA* have been neatly incorporated in a separate section at the tail of *ExtractaC*. As Dr Mapstone argues, in this way 'Sinclair's comments are kept separate from the original, but have still attained the status of material that ought to be retained'.¹⁷⁶ There is no late-medieval reader activity in *ExtractaC*.

It is interesting to record therefore that the *Extracta* MSS do not contain any reader activity in the late-medieval period under discussion. Therefore, as

¹⁷⁴ Lawlor, 'Library of the Sinclairs', 98.

¹⁷⁵ A.De La Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James R.R.Lyell* (Oxford, 1971), 107-8.

¹⁷⁶ Mapstone, 'First Readers', 6. In *ExtractaB* these comments are preceded by a note of their folio location in *ExtractaA*. For example: 'f.173 Anno Dom: 1265 Robert Haid was forfaltit for fechtynge againis ye kyng of Inghland' and 'f.263 1425 Dunbar erl of march deit'.

already stated, whilst they offer a late-medieval response to Fordun's *Chronica* and Bower's *Scotichronicon*, the sixteenth century *Extracta* MSS will not feature in the forthcoming thematic analysis. In a similar vein, the *John Law Chronicle* of 1521, a personal work surviving only in John Law's commonplace book, will be largely disregarded.¹⁷⁷ The *Scottis Orygnale* will also be ignored, with the exception of the activity of one late-medieval reader in London, BL, MS Royal 17 D.XX.¹⁷⁸

The technical description of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives has clearly illustrated the wealth of late-medieval reader activity apparent in these works. To demonstrate fully the abundance of this evidence, incorporating as many of the MSS under discussion as possible, the reader activity has been fully researched and comprehensively charted. Although this study draws on all this material, it would be impractical to document this evidence in its entirety (as part of the thesis) as this would run to several volumes. Nevertheless, it is clearly of paramount importance to present at least some of this material systematically to allow scholars to have access to it and appreciate what is involved. As in editing a text, where the comparison of different MS readings is essential, so in this case it is desirable to be able not just to record the non-textual reader scribal activity but to do so in a way that facilitates proper comparative analysis. Therefore, a manageable and meaningful approach is to limit a detailed account of the reader activity in each MS to what is found relative to a specific section of text which they have in common. However, the textual variation between the sources under discussion and the number of MSS with only part of a text, adds to the difficulty of the task,

¹⁷⁷ John Law Chronicle, Edinburgh, University Library, Dc.7.63. Law began compiling his chronicle at St Andrews in 1521. Although it is based upon the *Scotichronicon* text, Law also introduced new material (particularly on ecclesiastical affairs). Although Law's chronicle is a very personal and atypical work, representing the concerns of an individual cleric in early-sixteenth century Scotland, it is still a source of great value, indicating the interests of one late-medieval reader of *Scotichronicon*. See J.Durkan, 'St Andrews in John Law's Chronicle', *Innes Review*, 25 (1974), 49-62.

¹⁷⁸ This MS contains (fos.299r-308r) the *Chronicle of Scotland in a part*. A late-medieval reader added five black pointer symbols to fos.303r-304r, directing them at the start of lines in the MS. For example, one pointer on fo.303v targets the line 'A Diabolo existi et ad Diabolum ibis'. This late-medieval reader displays a direct interest in the genealogy of St Margaret and this will be considered in chapter four.

especially with regard to the differences between the Fordun and *CouparAngus* MSS. A satisfactory solution is to select two particular tranches of source material so that at least one is apparent in each MS. In this way one can systematically demonstrate the reader activity in the MSS, rather than randomly focusing on individual sections of text from each MS.¹⁷⁹

The analysis in Appendix I focuses on book II of Fordun's *Chronica* and book VIII of Bower's *Scotichronicon*: the former is clearly represented in the Fordun MSS, the full copies of the *Scotichronicon* and the MSS of *Liber Pluscardensis*, while the latter is common to the *Scotichronicon* MSS and, in abbreviated form, the *CouparAngus* and *Pluscarden* MSS.¹⁸⁰

It is clear that specific themes interested the late-medieval readers more than others and these 'case studies' are the focus of the forthcoming chapters concerning: Scottish origins (to Cinead mac Alpin); St Margaret; *Gesta Annalia* material on 1286-1341; perceptions of the personal rule of David II 1341-71; and the Declaration of Arbroath. The analysis of readers' interests in chapter eight will stress the individual cases of reader interest in the subject matter, offering a reminder that the additions of some readers may have simply reflected their personal concern with a particular topic as they perused the MS, and highlight the principal interests of the most prominent late-medieval readers identified in the MSS.

We shall begin, however, with the fourteen late-medieval readers of the MSS who display a marked concern in Scottish origins. The analysis will demonstrate, among other issues, that these Scottish readers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not, as a rule, inclined to gloss over Pictish involvement in the early origins of Scotland; rather, some late-medieval readers considered the Picts to be an integral element of the story.

¹⁷⁹ While this is the best method to employ, it is still not ideal; some of the readers identified in chapter two are not active in relation to the source material that has been selected (although they are apparent in other sections of the particular MS). It should be stressed that the activity of these readers has also been comprehensively recorded and, although not represented in Appendix I, will be referred to extensively in the analysis that follows.

¹⁸⁰ A further advantage of using bk.II of the *Chronica* and bk.VIII of the *Scotichronicon* is that in some of the MSS they contain non-textual reader scribal activity by more than one reader. Therefore, these sections of text provide a good overview of the process under investigation.

TABLE 1
LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS
OF FORDUN, BOWER AND THEIR DERIVATIVES

<i>FordunA</i>	No distinctive late-medieval reader activity
<i>FordunB</i>	R ¹ : occasional black marginal comments
<i>FordunC</i>	R ² : numerous cursive marginal comments R ³ : three brown pointer symbols
<i>FordunD</i>	R ⁴ : red pointer symbols R ⁵ : numerous black pointer symbols and <i>notas</i>
<i>FordunE</i>	R ⁶ : numerous neat black marginal comments R ⁷ : numerous cursive marginal comments in brown ink
<i>FordunF</i>	No distinctive late-medieval reader activity
<i>FordunG</i>	R ⁸ : occasional brown underscoring and marginal comments R ⁹ : ten black pointer symbols and occasional marginal comments R ¹⁰ : two elegant black pointer symbols
<i>FordunH</i>	R ¹¹ : light-brown pointer symbols, marginal comments and <i>notas</i>
<i>FordunI</i>	R ¹² : detailed underscoring in red
<i>ScotichroniconC</i>	R ¹³ (<u>Archbishop Matthew Parker</u>) : pointer symbols, underscoring, marginal comments and brackets in red chalk and (occasionally) black ink R ¹⁴ (<u>Sir Gilbert Hay</u>) : marginal comments and corrections in seven places R ¹⁵ : nine light pointer symbols (typified by the elongated index finger and with the fist attached to a curved cuff design with several buttons visible) R ¹⁶ : light-brown elegant pointer symbols (with a folded gown design) R ¹⁷ : occasional small black pointer symbols (characterised by the long, thin index finger connected to a tiny hand tapering into a conical cuff)
<i>ScotichroniconR</i>	R ¹⁷ : sixteen (faded) black pointer symbols (characterised by the long, thin index finger connected to a tiny hand tapering into a conical cuff) R ¹⁸ : numerous brown pointer symbols
<i>ScotichroniconD</i>	R ¹⁷ : eleven small pointer symbols (characterised by the long, thin index finger connected to a tiny hand tapering into a conical cuff)
<i>ScotichroniconB</i>	R ¹⁹ : numerous pointer symbols, marginal comments, brackets and underscoring in light-brown or black ink R ²⁰ : eight brown pointer symbols (occasionally accompanied by <i>notas</i>)
<i>ScotichroniconH</i>	No distinctive late-medieval reader activity
<i>ScotichroniconE</i>	No distinctive late-medieval reader activity

<i>CouparAngusC</i>	R ²¹ : ten pointer symbols in black ink
<i>CouparAngusP</i>	R ²² : occasional underscoring, brackets and <i>notas</i> in dark ink
<i>CouparAngusD</i>	R ⁴ : occasional pointer symbols, marginal comments and <i>notas</i> in red ink R ⁵ : occasional pointer symbols and <i>notas</i> in black ink
<i>CouparAngusH</i>	R ⁷ : numerous cursive marginal comments in brown ink R ²³ : numerous pointer symbols (and accompanying brackets) in red, brown or black ink
<i>CouparAngusF</i>	R ²⁴ : three small pointer symbols in black ink

<i>PluscardenA</i>	R ²⁵ : numerous marginal comments, <i>notas</i> , brackets and underscoring in (faded) dark ink
<i>PluscardenB</i>	R ²⁶ : numerous pointer symbols in greyish-brownish ink (typified by the crude, jagged, design) R ²⁷ : two pointer symbols in greyish-brownish ink R ²⁸ : underscoring and marginal brackets in brown ink R ²⁹ : marginal comments in bold black ink R ³⁰ : numerous pointer symbols and marginal comments in brown and black ink (characterised by the fist, complete with a curved thumb and crooked first finger, tapering down to a neat cuff, finished off by a criss-crossed sleeve)
<i>PluscardenC</i>	R ³¹ (William Gaderar) : occasional pointer symbols, marginal comments and underscoring in lilac ink R ³² : occasional pointer symbols and marginal comments in brown ink R ³³ : occasional black marginal comments
<i>PluscardenD</i>	R ³⁴ : numerous pointer symbols and marginal comments in red and brown ink
<i>PluscardenE</i>	No distinctive late-medieval reader activity

CHAPTER III

LATE-MEDIEVAL READER INTEREST IN SCOTTISH ORIGINS UP TO CINEAD MAC AILPIN

Non Scotus est Christe Cui Liber non Placet Iste

The concluding words of *Scotichronicon* aptly illustrate Walter Bower's principal objective; to produce an epic narrative of Scotland's history, centred on its antiquity as a Christian kingdom and its inherent liberty through the ages, which would stir the emotions, and please, any Scot. Bower's *Scotichronicon* was, of course, preceded by Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* and these Scottish works typify the wider European phenomenon of producing, and writing down, the narrative histories of kingdoms.¹ As Alexander Grant has argued with regard to Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower:

They were trying to give the Scots their history; but they were not setting out to produce a Scottish national consciousness. That had already been displayed in the Wars of Independence; had it not been in existence then there would have been no Scots for Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower to write for. Thus, certainly in Scotland's case, the production of national histories was a reflection of the current state of affairs. Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower were indeed preaching to the converted.²

Fordun's *Chronica*, and thus the *Scotichronicon* MSS and further derivatives, recorded the mythological origins of Scotland and, indeed, 'John of Fordun has been credited as the first to formulate fully the Scottish origin-legend'.³ The Scottish origin-legend, as presented by Fordun, involved Gaythelos initially arriving in Egypt from Greece, marrying Scota daughter of Pharoah and leaving Egypt for Spain where he would settle at Brigancia. Gaythelos's sons, Hiber and

¹ Andrew Wyntoun's early-fifteenth century *Original Chronicle of Scotland* was intended as more of a 'universal history', rather than as a narrative history of Scotland *per se*.

² A. Grant, 'Aspects of national consciousness in medieval Scotland', in C. Bjorn, A. Grant and K. J. Stringer, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), 68-95, at 74.

Hymec, would then conquer Ireland, leaving behind other Scoti which allowed for the future expeditions of Hibertus, Hermonius and Partholomus. A further stage of the origin-legend involved Simon Brecc leaving Spain for Ireland, bringing with him the Stone of Scone to be placed at Tara. The story continues with a descendent of Brecc, Eochaid Rothay, journeying to the Hebrides and then Fergus son of Ferchar or Feredach settling in Scotland to become the first king of Scoti on the mainland. Fergus brought the Stone of Scone with him.

Fordun's narrative of the early origins of the Scots, a synthesis of material from various sources, was copied verbatim by Bower and incorporated in the many derivatives of their work. One should not be surprised, therefore, to discover a high level of late-medieval reader interest in the origin-legend. Indeed, as will be discussed, this reader interest could be regarded as a peculiarly Scottish response to continued English claims of suzerainty over Scotland, often based on the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the influence he ascribed to the sons of Brutus of Troy. These Galfridian concepts of overlordship were certainly in circulation during the 'Rough Wooings' of the 1540s.

Nevertheless, it does not follow that purely because the origin-legend was interpolated wholesale into *Scotichronicon* that all of this material, from Gaythelos to Fergus, was considered noteworthy by educated Scots of the later-medieval period. As will be suggested, however, the significance of the extant reader activity is that it allows one to categorically state what aspects of the origin-legend chiefly interested late-medieval readers. An analysis of the reader activity provides an indication of the specific themes of the origin-legend, such as Simon Brecc and the Stone of Scone, which concerned the readers the most. Furthermore, an equally tantalising subject involves the elements of the origin-legend which do not appear to have attracted much interest - the areas ignored by all, or nearly all, the readers could be as telling as the aspects of the narrative that were dwelled upon.

In addition, the role of the Picts in the narrative of the Scottish nation will also be explored. The Picts proved to be a troublesome quandary for early Scottish writers seeking to portray Scotland as the original and natural

³ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 11.

homeland of the Scots. It has been shown that the Scottish procurators at the papal curia in 1301, led by Baldred Bisset, and the drafters of the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 each determined to 'downgrade the role of the Picts in their history'.⁴ In this way they could offer greater clarity of argument centring, without any substantial Pictish distraction, on the ancient liberty and influence of the Scots. Thus a more concrete response to Edwardian claims of overlordship could be presented. As Dauvit Broun has argued:

The Picts, then, were an inconvenience to Scottish lawyers and politicians alike in their efforts to project a pure and potent image of an ancient Scottish kingdom. Indeed, wherever the Picts appeared in these texts there was a desire to diminish their role and eventually write them out altogether.⁵

Fordun's *Chronica*, whilst undoubtedly recording more interest in the Scots than the Picts, does present the origins of the Picts in a different light to earlier Scottish writers. Fordun chooses to describe the almost simultaneous arrival of the Picts and Scots in Scotland, qualifying this by emphasising the longevity of the Scottish kingship in contrast to the Pictish practice of judicial government. Fordun also recounts the intermarriage between Scots and Picts, the alliance concluded between them, the forty year exile of the Scots and their eventual return, followed by the ultimate crushing of the Picts by Cinead mac Ailpin. Within this narrative, therefore, the Picts are curiously not airbrushed from history and it is fascinating to acknowledge, at the outset, that the late-medieval readers of the MSS also did not disregard the role of the Picts.

In the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives eighteen late-medieval readers demonstrate interest in the variants of the Scottish origin-legend and/or the Picts' role in Scottish history. This is the largest number of readers involved with a particular subject, although the reader interest in the *Gesta Annalia* II material is similarly extensive. Indeed, the reader interest in Scottish origins is occasionally the primary focus of the specific reader. This is certainly the case with R² in *FordunC*, R¹¹ in *FordunH*, R¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR*

⁴ D.Broun, 'The Picts' place in the kingship's past before John of Fordun', in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 11-28, at 16.

and **R**³¹ in *PluscardenC*. It is helpful to outline the interests of the eighteen readers involved, before embarking upon closer examination of the discernible themes.

R² in *FordunC* registers, through the addition of numerous marginal comments, substantial concern in the arrival of the 'men of Moray', the Scots and Picts in Albion. Furthermore, **R**² concentrates especially on Cinead mac Ailpin's reign and, intriguingly, on producing a tally on fo.74r (IV.10) detailing the regnal years of each Pictish king and arriving at the total of '1165' beside the comment '*Anni Pictorum in Albione*'. **R**² also illustrates an interest in Roman imperial history and this is mirrored by **R**⁶ in *FordunE*. Furthermore, **R**⁶ employs his neat, black marginal comments to draw attention to the story of Brutus and his descendants, the relationship between the Scots and Picts, particularly the agreement reached between the two peoples over the daughters of the Picts, their joint response to Julius Caesar and the influence of Fergus son of Feredach. In fact, the themes pinpointed by **R**⁶ concerned other late-medieval readers. **R**⁷, apparent in both *FordunE* and *CouparAngusH*, used his extremely cursive comments to highlight the arrival of the Picts in Albion and the first war of the Britons against the Picts and Scots.

Furthermore, **R**⁸'s brown underscoring in *FordunG* clearly indicate an interest in a version of the tale of Gaythelos and Scota, a prophetic verse concerning the Stone of Scone, Bede's opinion of the Picts, the status of Fergus as the first king of the Scoti in Albion and in the manner in which the Scots had always been governed by kings whilst the early Picts had been ruled by judges. As we shall see, this significant passage concerned other readers of the MSS. Curiously, however, **R**⁸ also targets an extract from Bede that notes the suffering Britain endured from the Picts and Scots.

R¹¹ in *FordunH* offers evident interest, through distinctive brown pointers and marginal comments, in the mountains separating the Picts from the Scots, the significance of Albanactus son of Brutus, Fergus son of Feredach and the Stone of Scone.

Further extensive concern in the Scottish origin-legend and the narrative of the Picts is displayed by readers **R**¹⁸, **R**²⁵, **R**³¹ and **R**³⁴. **R**¹⁸ in

⁵ Broun, 'The Picts' place in the kingship's past', 14.

*Scotichronicon*R, distinguished by the viscous brown pointer symbols and the addition of smaller index digits when marginal space was limited, portrayed expansive concern in many aspects of books I-III. In particular, R¹⁸ draws attention to the division of Britain among the sons of Brutus, Isidore's description of Scotland, the flight of the Scots and Picts from Britain, the subsequent building of a wall by the Britons, the origin of the name 'Angle', and the relationship between the English and the Britons/Scots/Picts. In fact, several aspects concerning the Picts also intrigued this reader. He notes, for example, the account of the Picts request to marry the daughters of the Scots, the role of Cinead mac Ailpin and the list of the Pictish kings that so fascinated R² in *Fordun*C.

Similarly, R²⁵, through the addition of comments and underscoring to *Pluscarden*A, demonstrates a healthy interest in some of these themes. In fact, R²⁵'s concern involved a wide range of topics such as Gaythelos and Scota, the significance of Simon Brecc and the Stone of Destiny, the relationship between the Scots and Picts, the story of Brutus and his sons, Fergus son of Feredach and the arrival of the Moravians in Scotland. R²⁵ will clearly play a central role in the discussion that follows.

R³¹ in *Pluscarden*C, William Gaderar, offers reader activity that can be dated accurately to the years immediately after 1543, when Gaderar first came into possession of the MS. Furthermore, the knowledge that Gaderar was a burgess in Elgin, in Moray, provides a pivotal clue in the analysis of his reader activity. It seems, on the extant evidence, that Gaderar's primary interest revolved around the narrative of the arrival, and subsequent history, of the 'Moravians' in Scotland. As such, perhaps Gaderar's involvement with the MS, and his response to it, reflects an individual reader seeking greater knowledge of the locality in which he lived. For it was not the epic recounting of Roman emperors, or even the legendary tales of Wallace and Bruce, that stimulated Gaderar's reader activity; it was simply the MS history of the area he knew best, the land of Moray. Gaderar demonstrates this convincingly on fos.28v-29r of *Pluscarden*C where a succession of pointers, comments and underscoring, all in vivid lilac ink, testify to his concern in the expulsion of the Moravians from their homeland, their arrival in Scotland, the treaty between the Moravians and Picts, and the Picts' eventual defeat and the granting of land to the Moravians.

Therefore, future readers of the MS are left in no doubt as to Gaderar's primary focus in his perusal of *PluscardenC*.⁶

More generally, the late-medieval readers of the canon of *Pluscarden* MSS undoubtedly held a keen interest in the recounting of the Scottish origin-legend. **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* fits firmly into this pattern and his pointer symbols, decoratively drawn and evident throughout all the books of the MS, demarcated particular aspects of the narrative as worthy of further consideration. **R**³⁴ highlighted two versions of the departure of Gaythelos's household from Egypt and he followed this by drawing attention to a MS reference to discrepancies in historical accounts (in this case involving chronicles of the Persian kings). The same passage of text concerned **R**¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR*. **R**³⁴, in common with **R**⁶ and **R**¹⁷, also noted a prophetic verse in Book I pertaining to the Stone of Destiny. **R**³⁴ also demonstrated interest in the account, at the end of Book I, of how the Scots were united with the Picts from the beginning and then entered *Gallia Narbonensis* (a province of Northern Gaul) together. **R**³⁴ later notes the joint response of the Scots and Picts to Julius Caesar, and their forcible assertion of liberty in the face of Roman aggression. **R**³⁴'s extensive interest in the material of Books I-II is further illustrated by his concentration on such themes as a verse detailing the importance of Fergus son of Feradach; and imperial matters involving, especially, Emperors Caesar, Gaius Caligula and Severus. Indeed, like **R**³¹ in *PluscardenC*, **R**³⁴ highlights the victory gained by Marius commander of the Roman legions in Britain. Given the extent of **R**³⁴'s activity, he will clearly play a prominent role in the analysis that follows.

However, whilst some late-medieval readers, like readers **R**², **R**¹¹, **R**²⁵, **R**³¹ and **R**³⁴, are expansive in their consideration of these historical themes, other individuals offer much more limited reader activity. However, its sparseness should not preclude it from investigation. Indeed, this is vital evidence in terms of the wider nature of interest among the late-medieval readership of these MSS. For example, **R**²² in *CouparAngusP* uses brackets, underscoring and marginal *notas* to draw attention to the antiquity of Scottish kingship on fo.25v (II.25) ('303 years before Christ the first king of Scots

⁶ Nonetheless, as discussed below, Gaderar's interest was not entirely restricted to Moray. At one juncture (fo.28v) he also displays concern in the origin of the place name 'Edinburgh', the undoubted administrative capital of Scotland by Gaderar's era of the mid-sixteenth century.

reigned in Scotland, and from the revival of the kingdom of Jews by Judas Maccabee it was 158 years'), the history of 'Moravia a region of Pannonia near the river Danube' (fo.28v (II.30)) and the significance of Fergus son of Erc (fo.48v (III.1)). Furthermore, in *FordunD*, R⁵'s only extant activity concerning the Scottish origin-legend involved noting a passage relating how the Scots were ruled by kings but the Picts by judges. Nevertheless, as we shall see, in tandem with other interest in this specific subject, this is an important passage to pinpoint. Similarly, and again in *FordunD*, two additions in vibrant red ink by R⁴, the latter being the inclusion of a large face beside the opening lines of a chapter, demonstrate concern with the history of Cinead mac Alpin, especially his 'final' victory over the Picts. Despite the limited nature of R⁴'s evidence, therefore, it does provide an interest in the history of the Scots and Picts that does not tally entirely with the sentiments of some other readers. Moreover, R¹⁰ in *FordunG*, responsible for the addition of two exquisitely drawn pointers in the MS, illustrates his interest in the origin-legend material only once, on fo.83v, targeting an extract concerning Cinead mac Ailpin and his successors as kings of Scots. Furthermore, while the interest of R³⁴ in Gaythelos's departure has already been recorded, R¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC*, a reader clearly identifiable from his addition of curly tailed, buttoned, pointers, also drew attention to Gaythelos and his descent from Nimrod, grandson of Ham. As will be discussed, R¹⁵ has pinpointed a separate version of the narrative of the Scottish origin-legend to R³⁴. Another less prominent reader will also feature in the forthcoming analysis. R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* illustrates, through small conical pointers, an interest in the prophetic verse concerning the Stone of Destiny, Fergus son of Feredach, the response of the Scots and Picts to Julius Caesar and the eventual death of Caesar. The verse concerning Fergus son of Feredach is also noted by R²⁶ and R²⁸ in *PluscardenB*. Equally significant, however, is that many late-medieval readers chose to ignore the particular MS accounts of Gaythelos and Scota. Once more, therefore, it is the lack of reader interest in a subject that is also of interest to the modern historian.

The actions of Gaythelos and the eponymous Scota form the initial bedrock of the Scottish origin-legend. However, Fordun did not follow one line of argument, or source, in his treatment of the early origins of the Scots. Indeed, Fordun used sources that, at points, contradict each other. As Dr Broun has

argued, this is particularly evident in four passages contained in Book I c.8, which range from a description of Gaythelos as 'wayward and insolent', to Gaythelos going to Egypt to aid an ally, and then to the portrayal of Gaythelos's expulsion from Greece and then only arriving in Egypt to help Pharoah condemn the Israelites.⁷ A late-medieval, or indeed modern, reader of these passages would immediately be struck by the inherent contradictions:

The reader is thus left in confusion, wondering whether Gaedal was a friendly ally, a ruthless self-enhancer, or something in between. It is striking that such ambivalence has been permitted concerning the founding-father of Scoti, and that some thoroughly unflattering material has been relayed without comment.⁸

Of course, an awareness of the diverse, and in some cases unflattering, portraits of Gaythelos that Fordun included in his Chronicle, allows the historian to register little surprise if an element of diversity exists in the pattern of reader activity in this theme. However, it would be striking if readers largely concentrated on the MS passages that depict Gaythelos in a negative manner. Either way, given the general level of interest in the Scottish origin-legend, one would expect the narrative of Gaythelos, and Scota, to be a source of great concern among readers and a fruitful topic for the historian to explore. In reality, however, the first point to raise is that the varying accounts of Gaythelos and Scota in the MSS have been largely ignored by the late-medieval readers in question, with only R⁸ in *FordunG*, R¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC*, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* and R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* drawing specific attention to this theme. This is not to argue, however, that other late-medieval readers did not read these sections of the text; it has already been shown that some individuals, such as R¹¹ and R¹⁸, demonstrated a healthy regard in many aspects of the Scottish origin-legend. Rather, it seems that to some readers, on the evidence available, other elements of the origin-legend proved worthier of comment. It is,

⁷ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

nevertheless, a striking observation that so few late-medieval readers appeared really interested in the narrative account of Gaythelos and Scota.

R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* does illustrate concern with two extracts charting the actions of Gaythelos and Scota. On fo.4r (I.11) of the MS R³⁴ included a pointer sign at the foot of the folio and directed upwards at the word ‘*afflatibus*’. The context involves the departure of Gaythelos, his wife and household, from Egypt by ships using ‘sails spread out wide under the breath of the winds’:

*Denique paratis omnibus Gaythelos cum conjuje totaque familia
ceterique duces deorum suorum regimine fidentes, scaphis advecti
naves conscendunt paratas; et anchoris funditus subducis
nautarumque funibus diligenti cura solutis, vela lacius ventorum
afflatibus expanduntur. Mediterraneum deinde fretum petentes inter
australes Europe fines et Affricam, proris pelagi secantibus undas
versus occidentales mundi plagas tetendere.*⁹

R³⁴ then highlights on fo.4v (I.13) of *PluscardenD* another version of the departure of Gaythelos and Scota from Egypt. In this account Scota, rather than her husband, is presented as the leader of the expedition and the emphasis for their departure is placed upon the ‘disasters which were going to come upon Egypt’. R³⁴ directed a symbol, again from beneath the columns of text, at the last word in the left-column, ‘*superventura*’. Thus R³⁴ appears to note the disasters about to befall the country, with the word/line, in context, as follows:

*Antiquitas autem exiit de Egipto Scota filia Pharaonis cum marito suo
nomine Gayel et maxima comitiva. Audierant enim mala que
superventura erant Egipto, et hoc per precepta deorum vel responso*

⁹ In translation: ‘When everything was finally ready, Gaythelos (with his wife and his whole household) and the other leaders were taken in skiffs and embarked on the waiting ships, trusting in the guidance of their gods. When the anchors had been raised from the depths and the cables untied by the careful diligence of the sailors, the sails spread out wide under the breath of the winds. Then they made for the Mediterranean Sea between the southern bounds of Europe and Africa. As their prows cut through the waves of the sea, they headed towards the western regions of the world.’

*plagas fugientes quasdam venturas, miserunt se in mari deorum
suorum gubernaculo committentes.*¹⁰

In a similar manner, R⁸ in *FordunG* has underlined a segment of a verse on Scota's importance: '*communiter utraque gens perfrui gratulatur. Unde quidam: Scoti de Scota, de Scotis Scotia tota*'. The translation, in context, illustrates the emphasis placed on Scota rather than Gaythelos:

So the Greeks called themselves Gaels after the name of their ruler Gaythelos, and similarly the Egyptians at the same time called themselves Scots after Scota. Later on and still at the present time both peoples are proud to use this last name alone. Hence someone has written:

The Scots derive their name from Scota
and all Scotia is derived from the Scots,
while increased use of the name
of the leader Gaythelos is forbidden.

R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* also draws specific attention to Scota by including the comment '*Scota filia Pharaonis*' in the right-margin of fo.4r (I.8). Nonetheless, despite this concentration on Scota, it is important to note that R³⁴ has, seemingly deliberately, chosen not to concentrate upon passages that portray Gaythelos in a negative manner (for example, depicting Gaythelos' 'violent behaviour'). On the contrary, the inclusion of two pointers on fos.4r-4v of *PluscardenD* pinpoint versions of the origin-legend that describe Gaythelos in a positive, favourable, fashion and, in the case of the latter example, highlight factors beyond his control (imminent disasters) that effectively necessitated his exile together with Scota.

R¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC* also draws attention to a citation concerning Gaythelos but this is a less favourable description of Gaythelos. On fo.5v (I.9) R¹⁵'s curved pointer, directed from the left-margin, targets the line '[Gay]thelos autem quidem nepos ut fertur Nemproth, per generis

¹⁰ In translation: 'In ancient times Scota the daughter of Pharaoh left Egypt with her husband Gayel by name and a large following. For they had heard of the disasters which were going to come upon Egypt, and so through the instructions or oracular responses of the Gods they fled from certain plagues that were to come'.

successionem regnare volens'. R¹⁵ therefore notes a version of the story which states that Gaythelos was a descendent of Ham through his grandfather Nimrod, himself a grandson of Ham. Equally, however, his interest in the passage may lie less with Gaythelos' line of descent and more with the method of his departure from Greece. In this account, therefore, Gaythelos is presented in unflattering terms and it is interesting that R¹⁵, in contrast to R³⁴, has chosen to highlight such a negative depiction. The translation of the line, and continuing passage, in *Scotichronicon*C is revealing:

A certain Gaythelos (grandson, it is said, of Nimrod) wished to reign through hereditary succession over the inhabitants [of the country], but they were unwilling to submit to his rule; so after neighbouring people came to their aid, he left his native land. A large crowd of young people and an army of young warriors went with him...

Fordun used two short verses, later incorporated into *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis*, to denote the importance of firstly the Stone of Destiny and secondly the influence of Fergus son of Feredach in the Scottish origin-legend. Several late-medieval readers illustrate an interest in their significance. The extensive concern of R³⁴ has already been determined and he uses a pointer on fo.9r (I.27) of *Pluscarden*D, placed beneath the columns of text, to signal interest in the line '*Et hoc sicut vulgaris asserit actenus opinio verum in sua sepius primitiva peregrinacione fuisse comprobatur*'. In fact, the word '*sua*' is undoubtedly the target of the pointer, with the translation indicating the nature of R³⁴'s concern:

And this according to the claims of popular opinion up to the present day is shown to have been true on many occasions in the early wanderings of the Scots.

Therefore, once more the 'early wanderings', or origins, of the Scots appears of value to R³⁴. However, one should also note that the 'this' in the translation above refers to the preceding passage in *Pluscarden*D, namely the prophetic verse concerning the Stone of Destiny:

If destiny deceives not, the Scots will reign 'tis said
In that same place where the Stone has been laid.¹¹

Moreover, further late-medieval interest in this verse is discernible in other MSS. In *FordunG* R⁸ used brown underscoring on fo.9r to highlight these lines¹² and R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* included a conical pointer in the right-margin of fo.34r (I.28) to target a '*nota*' beside the same verse. In addition, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, another very prominent reader of the origin-legend material, underscored this verse on fos.10v-11r (I.27) of the MS. It is quite apparent, therefore, that this verse resonated with some of the late-medieval readers under discussion; clearly by the late-fifteenth century (and beyond) the significance of the Stone of Destiny in the narrative of Scottish history was well established and understood.

One version of the origin-legend has Simon Brecc, the favourite son of King Milo in Spain, taking the stone with him as he set off to gain a kingship in Ireland. Three late-medieval readers of the MSS signal interest in the narrative of Simon Brecc. Indeed, R⁶ in *FordunE* is forthright in his approach by including the comment '*Nota Simon Brecht*' in the left-margin of fo.12v (I.27).¹³ Moreover, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* drew attention to the same passage by underscoring '*Symon Brek*' and '*Symon Varius vel Lentiginuosus*' on fo.10r (I.26), while R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* used a pointer in the left-margin of fo.8r to highlight a text-hand comment concerning Rothesay or the island of Bute. However, the translation of the relevant passage indicates further reader interest in Simon Brecc:

¹¹ '*Unde quidam ex eorum divinacione vaticinando metricè sic profatur: Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumque locatum invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*'

¹² '*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quecumque locatum lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem*'. R⁸ also applied the word '*cathedra*', in brown ink, in the margin of fo.9r and this further demonstrates his interest in the Stone of Destiny.

¹³ The comment is placed beside the line '*tercius adveniens accola Scocie generis cui nomen Simon Brek sive Bricht Scotice*' ['a third colonist of Scottish race whose name was Simon Brecc or Bricht in Gaelic'].

Now the first leader of the inhabitants of these islands Eochaid Rothay great-grandson of the above mentioned Simon Brecc gave his name to the island of Rothesay according to the interpretation of its name.

Of course, according to one particular account of the origin-legend, it was a descendent of Simon Brecc, Fergus son of Feredach, who was credited with taking the Stone from Ireland to Scotland and establishing himself as the first king of Scottish descent in Albion. There is notable late-medieval interest in Fergus. **R**¹¹ in *FordunH* uses a light-brown pointer in the left-margin of fo.27v (II.12) to highlight the line '*sustineret impetum Alexandrum. Historia beati Congalli: 'Deinde post''*'.¹⁴ **R**¹¹'s concern therefore revolves around a passage from the (no longer extant) '*Historia* of St Congal', a source utilised frequently by Fordun, which states:

Then after a long time there came a certain king from Ireland called Fergus son of Feredach, who later brought to Scotland the royal throne carved out of marble, on which the Scots crowned their first king in Scotland.

Furthermore, **R**² in *FordunC* added the comment '*Reges Scocie Fergusus primum et secundum*' to the left-margin of fo.43v (III.2), noting the kings that reigned between Fergus son of Feredach and Fergus II, whilst **R**¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* directed a conical pointer, in the right-margin of fo.35v (I.36), at the text-hand comment (boxed in red) – '*Fergus Ferchard*'. Likewise, similar interest in Fergus son of 'Ferchard' is displayed by **R**⁶ in *FordunE*, who includes the small black comment '*Nota de Fergusio et regni principio insule*' to the left-margin of fo.25v (II.12). A further interested reader of the origin-legend material, **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, draws attention to a short verse on Fergus. On fo.15r (II.12) of the MS, **R**³⁴ uses a pointer beneath the left-column of text, a customary trademark of this reader, to highlight the word '*denis*', within the line '*Christum ter centis ter denis prefuit annis*'. This is the last line of the following verse:

¹⁴ An instance of the varied interests of **R**¹¹ is provided just above this pointer, in the left-margin of fo.27v, where he has included a light-brown comment '*Tempore Magni Alexandri*', thus noting the MS reference to Alexander the Great succeeding his father Philip as King of Macedonia.

The first king of Scottish descent in the lands of Albion,
 Fergus son of Feredach bore on his arms amid his hosts
 A red lion roaring on a yellow field.
 He lived three hundred and thirty years before Christ.

In fact, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* demonstrates even greater concern in this evocative verse than R³⁴. In addition to underscoring the entire verse on fo.19r (II.12),¹⁵ R²⁵ drew a line from this passage to a simplistic sketch of a set of arms at the top of the folio (presumably representing a lion), and he added '*Arma regis Scotorum*' to the left-margin. Furthermore, both R²⁶ and R²⁸ in *PluscardenB* signal clear interest in this verse concerning Fergus. On fo.17v (II.12) of the MS R²⁸ has underscored the entire verse, while R²⁶ has directed a pointer, from in between the columns of text, at the start of the passage.

It seems clear, therefore, that these readers are pinpointing, in some cases quite extensively, the MS references to Fergus, with the 'ancient' nature of Scottish kingship, represented by Fergus reigning three hundred and thirty years before Christ, evidently to the fore of their minds. Of course, in a very similar manner to Fordun, Bower and the anonymous author of *Pluscarden*, the objective of these late-medieval reader responses centred on emphasising the ancient liberty of the Scottish kingdom, whilst being subjected to the contrary assertions of an aggressive southern neighbour.¹⁶ We shall return to this theme shortly.

The Scottish origin-legends contained in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives were partly intended, of course, to rebut English claims of overlordship, largely based on the Brutus myth propounded in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, dateable to the mid-1130s. In Geoffrey's detailed work, which expanded the earlier views of Nennius, the

¹⁵ R²⁵ also underscored on fo.19r the words '*beati Congalli*', '*Fergusius filius Ferchardi*', '*Symon Brek ut*', '*Rether*' and '*Reudam*'.

¹⁶ As already noted, R²² in *CouparAngusP* also demonstrates interest in a MS passage on the antiquity of Scottish kingship. On fo.25r (II.25) of *CouparAngusP* a black bracket and *nota* highlight the following (translated) passage: '5199 years had passed since the beginning of the world, 2452 since the crossing of the Red Sea, 1206 since the capture of Troy; 303 years before Christ the first king of Scots reigned in Scotland, and from the revival of the kingdom of Jews by Judas Maccabee it was 158 years. Orosius in his *Apologeticum* on this text in Habakkuk'.

authority of Brutus of Troy and his descendants over the whole of Britain set a precedent for English superiority over Scotland in the medieval world. The argument centred on Britain being named after Brutus and upon his death his three sons (Locrinus, Albanactus and Camber) dividing the kingdom of Britain between them, with Locrinus gaining the superior portion and thus superiority over the lands of his brothers. The influence of Geoffrey's work reverberated over the centuries and undoubtedly helped to forge English attitudes to their British neighbours. As Julia Crick argued in 1991:

Stronger indications of Geoffrey's historical credibility may be inferred from the association of the *Historia* with texts relating to the debate about the lordship of Scotland. Walter Ullmann noted twenty-five years ago the indebtedness to Geoffrey of the letter of Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII (1301) in which he laid out his claim to Scotland.¹⁷

Fordun's inclusion of the Scottish origin-legend was partly intended to dispel Geoffrey's assertions. However, Fordun also used Geoffrey as a valuable source for his *Chronica* and in book II.c.6 he outlined '*De divisione trium regnorum Britonum inter Bruti filios*', altering and enriching the narrative to suit his purposes. In turn, Bower and the author of *Pluscarden* incorporated this chapter wholesale into their work. This account of Brutus and his descendants proved attractive to several late-medieval readers of the MSS. R⁶ in *FordunE* was quite explicit in his interest, adding particular small black comments to successive margins in the MS: '*Nota quod sub Bruto coluerunt Britones Albionem insulam*' in the left-margin of fo.21v (II.5); '*Nota quod Bruti origiae habentur a Bruto filio Enee de Troja*' in the left-margin of fo.22r

¹⁷ J.C. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: IV Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), 219. Dr William Fergusson has also touched upon this theme recently: 'In Geoffrey's account the descendants of Brutus bore sway over the entire island of Britain, the Picts are dismissed as latecomers, and the Scots are even more scathingly depicted as a mongrel race begot of Picts and Hibernians. Such curs could have no rights, so Picts and Scots are airily dismissed as of little historical interest so far as the affairs of Britain are concerned. The relevance of this to later English claims to suzerainty over Scotland is abundantly clear. And long, long after Geoffrey's history was given up by English historians his ethos lived on: the English believed, and probably still do, that they had a natural right to rule the British Isles' (W. Fergusson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 14-15).

(II.5); and '*Natus de Bruto*' and '*Nota divisione regnarum inter tres filios*' in the right-margin of fo.22r (II.6).

Indeed, the division of Britain upon Brutus's death was also pinpointed by R¹⁸ in *Scotichronicon*R. This reader employed a glutinous brown pointer, a full hand, in the left-margin of fo.37v (II.6) to target a text-hand comment – '*De Divisione Britannie*'. Similarly, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A underscored the words '*Locrinus, Albanactus et Camber*', '*Humbri*', '*ampnem de Tharent*' and '*Cambria*' on fo.16v (II.6) to register his interest in this aspect of the Brutus myth.

Moreover, R³⁴ included another distinctive pointer on fo.13r (II.6) of *Pluscarden*D, beneath the columns of text, to draw attention to the final two lines of the folio: '*quoque junioris Cambri regio connexa Loegrie regno jacet non ad australem eius finem neque borealem*'. The translation, in context, is revealing:

Then Cambria the region of the younger brother Camber lies adjacent to the kingdom of Loegria, not at its southern boundary as certain authorities declare, nor at its northern boundary, but on its western side, divided from it by mountains and the Severn Estuary, side by side as it were, and facing towards Ireland.¹⁸

R¹¹ in *Fordun*H also offered an interesting reader response to the tale of Brutus and his sons. On fo.24v (II.4) a light-brown pointer in the left-margin is directed upwards at the line '*Oceano sita, miliaria tenet in longitudine octingenta. Idem*'. R¹¹'s interest could certainly therefore be solely geographical, noting how Geoffrey of Monmouth recorded that Britain is 'situated in the western part of the ocean and is 800 miles long'. However, the pointer is actually directed at '*Idem*', the last word of the line in the MS, which marks the start of a new point in Geoffrey's passage:

¹⁸ '*Cambria deinde fratris quoque junioris Cambri regio connexa Loegrie regno jacet non ad australem eius finem neque borealem sed ad ipsius latus occiduum, ab eo montibus marique sabrino divisa, quasi collateralis ei versus Hiberniam ex opposito*'.

*Idem: Albanactus filius Bruti possedit patriam, que nostris temporibus
Scocia vocatur, cui nomine ex nomine suo dedit Albanian.*¹⁹

Thus R¹¹'s response may be quite specific, highlighting the origin, according to this account, of the name of his homeland. Indeed, this seems to strike at the very heart of the reader activity in the MSS. By drawing attention to these themes, the readers evidently considered them worthy of consideration in their own eras. In fact, in all probability the extant MS evidence provides illustrations of Scottish reader responses to the continued English propagation of the Brutus myth claiming suzerainty over Scotland. As already stated, the Galfridian thesis of British history was in circulation from the 1130s and its influence remained abundantly clear in the late-medieval and early-modern periods.

This was very much a living issue when some of these readers may have been active. During the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), there were repeated assertions of the historic superiority of the English monarchy over the Scots. Indeed, the 1540s experienced not only the military campaigns described as the 'Rough Wooings' but also an intensification in the propaganda war initiated by the English king. Henry VIII, a keen student and believer of Geoffrey of Monmouth, issued his *Declaration* in 1542 'which deployed the whole panoply of the British history (including Brutus and his progeny) in order to demonstrate his right to the sovereignty of Scotland'.²⁰ Furthermore, intense propaganda surrounded Protector Somerset's invasion of Scotland in 1547, which would culminate of course in the Scottish defeat at the battle of Pinkie. Nor was it only English propaganda that sought to use the Brutus myth to assert the subservience of the Scots to their southern neighbour. James Henryson, a major Edinburgh merchant, believed that marriage between Henry's son Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots would signal a 'return' to a British monarchy. Thus in 1547 Henryson published 'An Exhortation to the Scots to conform themselves to the honourable, expedient & godly union

¹⁹ In translation: 'Again he says: 'Albanactus son of Brutus gained possession of the land which in our day is called Scotland. He gave it the name Albany after his own name'.

²⁰ R. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: The Early History of Britain' in J. Wormald (ed), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), 49-60, at 52.

between the realms of England & Scotland', basing his view on the legacy of the Brutus legend. As Dr R. Mason has proposed:

Not unexpectedly, this claim was based four-square on the British History and Henryson not only endorsed the historicity of the Brutus legend, but went on to rehearse all twenty-two examples of the Scots doing homage to English superiors as set down in Henry VIII's Declaration of 1542.²¹

However, as is well known, much Scottish propaganda of this period offered a stinging rebuke and rebuttal to English claims of suzerainty or union. One such work was Robert Wedderburn's *The Complaynt of Scotland* (ca 1550), which focused on Scotia's three sons, the Three Estates, attacking their internal disputes and criticising the actions of the English throughout history. The *Complaynt* must be seen within the context of the time, as a clear reaction to the English actions of the 1540s. As A.M. Stewart argued in 1979, in his introduction to the Scottish Text Society's edition of the *Complaynt*,

It is a document of the resistance. It is written to combat a massive English propaganda campaign, demanding Union, with threats. This campaign had been going on since Geoffrey of Monmouth's time. It had been waged in Edward I's reign and increasingly in the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI.²²

These examples illustrate the continuing vitality of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work by the mid-sixteenth century and, equally, the rumbustious Scottish attempts to combat these arguments. It seems inconceivable that the late-medieval readers of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives would have been unaware of the contemporary issues affecting their homeland. If they were alive at the time, and William Gaderar the Elgin merchant and possessor of *Pluscarden* after 1543 undoubtedly was, these readers would have experienced, directly or indirectly, the force of the English invasions of

²¹ Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', 57.

²² A.M. Stewart (ed), *The Complaynt of Scotland*, (The Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh 1979), xxxiv.

the 1540s. Thus, perhaps the reader responses to the Scottish-origin legend, and particularly the accounts of Brutus and his descendants, can be regarded as further evidence of the depth of Scottish feeling in this turbulent period. With Galfridian notions of superiority hanging thick in the air, these readers were keen to learn, and highlight in the MSS, an alternative viewpoint that stressed the ancient nature of Scottish kingship and the liberty of the country as a whole, free from English claims of superiority.

To turn to the second principal theme of this chapter, the inherent difficulties of placing the Picts into a neat, all encompassing, narrative concerning Scottish origins, as experienced by Baldred Bisset's procurators in 1301 or the drafters of the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 or John of Fordun in the fourteenth century, has already been commented upon. Certainly in the case of Bisset and the Arbroath drafters, the Picts' role in Scottish history was denigrated, presenting the Scots as the natural inhabitants of Scotland, largely untainted by any Pictish (or indeed Irish) associations. As Dr Broun has explained:

The Scots' total conquest of the Picts in ancient times, or the claim that they were the original settlers of Scotland, ahead of the Picts, can readily be explained as further dimensions of this quest for presenting Scotland or the Scottish homeland. The Picts were clearly an obstacle to the primeval proprietorial association of Scots with Scotland.²³

Fordun's narrative, although admittedly much more favourable to the Scots, was less cutting towards the Picts and his account, based on a late-thirteenth century source, accommodates themes such as the Picts and Scots arriving in Scotland at roughly the same time, the early intermarriage between the two peoples and the initial alliance between the Scots and Picts. The tale does end however with the destruction of the Picts at the hands of Cinead mac Alpin. Fordun's narrative on the Picts and Scots was, of course, then copied by Walter Bower in the 1440s and the author of *Pluscarden* twenty years later. But what did the late-medieval readers, active at points between ca1450x1550,

²³ Broun, 'The Picts' place in the kingship's past', 16-17.

make of this material? Did these educated readers continue the trend, as outlined above, of ‘downgrading’ the history of the Picts by ignoring their citations in the MSS? Indeed, perhaps one should expect these Scottish readers to simply gloss over Fordun’s treatment of the Picts, dismissing it as irrelevant in comparison to other tales concerning Scottish heroes or saints. In fact, the evidence available, through these late-medieval reader responses, indicates a very different process at work. These readers, who after all must be regarded as keen students of Scottish history, actually demonstrate an intense curiosity in the actions and affairs of the Picts. It is now possible, therefore, to argue conclusively that Pictish history was a subject that enthralled some Scots in the late-medieval period and, as we shall see, for some readers the Picts were identified, together with the early Scots, as the protectors of the ancient liberty of Scotland.

A degree of interest is recorded in the initial arrival of the Picts in Albion. R⁷ in *FordunE* added the comment ‘*A Picti adventantibus*’ to the right-margin of fo.14r (I.29), with the comment adjacent to the following excerpt:

After the lapse of some little time, while the Scots lived in prosperous quiet and peace, a certain unknown people, afterwards called Picts, emerging from the confines of Aquitania...²⁴

In addition, another comment by R⁷ further down the margin of fo.14r (I.29) draws attention to the line ‘*acessus ad hanc insulam per varios varie describitur auctores, quorum*’, thus noting the arrival of the Picts in the island. Similarly, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* included the comments ‘*De Pictis*’ and ‘*Picti Albione insulam intravit*’ in the margins of fo.11r (I.29),²⁵ whilst R¹⁹ in

²⁴ ‘*Revulto quidam non pauco tempore, dummodo prospera quiete degebant et pace, populus quidam ignatus ab Aquitannie finibus emergens, qui Pictus postea dicebatur...*’.

²⁵ On fo.11v (I.30) of *PluscardenA* R²⁵ demonstrates even greater interest in this theme. R²⁵ firstly underscores a passage of text relating how the Picts chose kings from the female, rather than male, line: ‘*ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosopia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent. Quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum*’. R²⁵ also includes a bracket, in between the columns of text, noting a long section on the arrival of the Picts in Albion. The full translation is as follows: ‘After the Britons had taken possession of most of the island beginning from the south, it happened that the people of the Picts from Scythia, so they say, having entered the ocean in a few longships and having been driven

*Scotichronicon*B employed a pointer sign in the right-margin of fo.7r (I.25) to highlight the following (translated) passage from Geoffrey of Monmouth:

As put forward by Geoffrey [of Monmouth], the Picts set out from Poitou with their families. They sailed across the English channel to Ireland hoping to receive a place to settle in from the Scots; but the Scots sent them across to Albion, as will be shown further on, not wishing to allow them into Ireland.

R⁵ in *Fordun*D illustrates clear interest in the concept of the early Scots being ruled by kings but the Picts, who Fordun argued arrived essentially simultaneously with the Scots, were governed by judges. On page 13 (I.23) of *Fordun*D a pointer in the left-margin is directed at a comment by the text-hand: '*De Scoti regnantibus et Pictorum iudicibus*'. In addition, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A added the comment '*Picti iudicibus et non regibus*' to the left-margin of fo.13v (I.35). This is significant in terms of assessing how two readers, at least, viewed the narrative of the arrival of the Scots and Picts in Scotland. This chapter in Fordun relates how some 'ancient histories' recorded the simultaneous arrival of the Scots and Picts, whilst others viewed the Scots as reigning for many years before the Picts. The key issue is that both R⁵ and R²⁵ have drawn attention to the argument employed by Fordun that although the Scots and Picts may have been direct contemporaries of one another, only the Scots had kings ruling them, for the Picts used a system of judicial government. The tone of kingly superiority is tangible here. As Fordun argued in Book I.23:

But in this case also there is no inconsistency at all on that account in the historical records, even if they had entered the island together, because, whereas kings reigned over the Scots without interruption from their beginning for a period of 265 years and three months, the

around the coast of Britain by the force of the winds, reached Ireland and landed on its northern shores. There they found the race of Scots and asked for places to settle in these regions but failed in their request. When the Picts arrived at this island by ship...'. A further point is worth considering. The right-margin of fo.11v (I.30) also contains a comment by the text-hand – '*Quorum Scoti dederunt filias suas Pictis*'. This is instructive as it illustrates the discrepancy between the additions of R²⁵ and the text-hand; they are evidently not the same individual.

Picts did not have kings but judges ruling over them up to the time that the son of Clement one of the judges whose name was Cruithne forcibly assumed the royal insignia and reigned thereafter over this people.

R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* highlighted a similar theme, concentrating on the apparent unity between the Scots and the Picts even before they arrived in Scotland! On fo.11r (I.35) of the MS R³⁴ uses a pointer, beneath the left-column of text, to draw attention to the word ‘*ab*’. The context reveals a very interesting insight into the concerns of this reader:

*Et videtur Bartholomeum xv libro de proprietatibus rerum velle
conjuncos ab inicio cum Pictis fore Scotos, et pariter intrasse
Galliam Narbonensem.*

Thus R³⁴ highlighted a passage stressing, according to Book 15 of Bartholomew’s *De proprietatibus rerum*, the unity of the Scots and Picts ‘from the beginning’ and how they entered the territory of Gallia Narbonensis together. Clearly the Picts are presented in a favourable light here. In fact, R³⁴ has certainly not just glossed over the references, and difficulties, of the Picts in the MS. Rather, he has evidently incorporated their involvement in the narrative of the Scottish nation within his reading parameters and recognised, through his activity, their significance in the story. We shall return to the reader activity of R³⁴ shortly.

Further late-medieval reader interest is apparent in the early alliance agreed between the Picts and Scots in Scotland. R⁶ in *FordunE* added the comment ‘*Nota quod Scoti dederunt filias uxores*’ to the right-margin of fo.14r (I.29), hence signifying concern in the pact whereby the Scots gave their daughters as wives to the Picts. Indeed, this theme also attracted the attention of R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*. A pointer symbol on fo.8r (I.30), beneath the columns of text, is directed at the phrase ‘*federis et dotis*’. In context:

*Illis igitur incipientibus ibidem terras incolere nec secum sue
nacionis mulieres habentibus dederunt uxores Scoti filias suas sub
pacto sempiterni federis et dotis conducto speciali.*²⁶

As we shall see in chapter eight, the topographical features of Scotland, and Britain generally, interested a number of the late-medieval readers of the MSS. **R**¹¹ in *FordunH* was one such reader, indicating an interest in various geographical features, such as the list of Scottish islands (excepting the Orkneys) contained on fo.26v (II.10). However, **R**¹¹ also pinpointed a section of text concerning the mountains ‘which formerly separated the Scots from the Picts and their kingdoms from each other’. On fo.25v (II.7) **R**¹¹ included a brown pointer in the left-margin to highlight the line ‘*eorum ab invicem regna separabant. Impertransibiles quidem equitibus nisi perpaucis*’. **R**¹¹’s interest in Drumalban, the range traversing Scotland from Ben Lomond to Ben Hope, could of course be solely geographical in origin.

One illuminating aspect of Fordun’s treatment of the Scots and Picts concerned his account, based upon Geoffrey of Monmouth but hugely embellished, of Julius Caesar’s demands for the submission of the Scots and Picts to Roman rule. Caesar, of course, invaded Britain in 55 and 54 BC, and the latter incursion resulted in the defeat of Cassivellaunus. Fordun elaborates on this account by placing, fictitiously, Caesar at the Firth of Forth, entrenched with a large force. Thus encamped Caesar then used the device of sending two letters (one ‘merciful in tone, the other severe’) to both the king of Scots and the Pictish ruler. In this way Caesar hoped to threaten the Scots and Picts, and gain their submission and peace. The subsequent joint reply from the kings of the Scots and Picts, as recorded in the MSS, is rich in rhetoric, accentuating the noble path of liberty (*nobilique libertatis*) that the Scots and Picts have possessed, in their kingdoms, from birth. **R**³⁴ illustrates an interest in this Scoto-Pictish reply by adding a pointer on fo.15v (II.15) of *PluscardenD*. This symbol, beneath the columns of text in **R**³⁴’s customary manner, targets the first word of the last line of the right-column – ‘*nobilique*’. The full line is

²⁶ In translation: ‘So as the Picts began to inhabit the lands there and since they did not have any women of their race with them, the Scots gave them their daughters as wives under a pact of eternal alliance and a special agreement about dowry’.

'*nobilique libertatis pervia que nostri directe parentes*' and the full context, in translation, is revealing:

Do not think, Caesar, that we are like children to be won over by such flattery and fair words, or that you are able to lead us astray by diverting us from the beautiful and noble road of liberty that has been ours since birth, on which our parents, supported by help from the gods walked straight forward all their days, not swerving from right or left along the trackless path that is twisted, rough and horrendous to everyone of noble heart in the loathsome valley of slavery.²⁷

Clearly, therefore, R³⁴ has drawn attention to a passage stressing the kingdom's ancient liberty and the Scottish/Pictish rebuttal of Caesar's conquering threats.²⁸ Similarly, R¹⁷ in *Scotichronicon*R highlights this theme on fo.39r (II.15) by directing a conical pointer, from the right-margin, at the text-hand comment '*Responsa regum Scotorum Pictorumque Julio*'. R⁶ in *Fordun*E, however, offers a different reader response to the joint reply by the Scottish and Pictish kings to Caesar. On fo.27r (II.15) R⁶ included in the right-margin the comment '*Nota responsa Scotorum Julio Cesere*'. There is no mention here of the Picts, simply the Scots responding to Caesar's overtures; evidently, to this reader at least, the Picts involvement in this affair was secondary in importance and literally not worthy of comment.

It will be recalled that Fordun also narrated tales of alliance and conflicts between the Scots, Picts and Britons, with the spectre of Roman influence and threat all pervasive. These events concerned only a few late-medieval readers of the MSS. R⁶ in *Fordun*E, for example, noted the MS reference to Emperor Claudius waging war on the Britons in the fourth year of his reign (AD 45). On

²⁷ '*Ne putes, O Caesar, puerili nos more talibus adulationum seduci posse blandiciis, quod ab innate nobis amena nobilique libertatis orbita pervia, qua nostri directe parentes ape deorum suffulti semper ibant, non a dextris ad sinistram flectentes, per collem inviam generosi cordis cuique tortam asperam et horribilem sevili valle teterima devios errando...*'.

²⁸ R³⁴'s next pointer in *Pluscarden*D, beneath the columns of text on fo.16r (II.16) is curious. This symbol targets the MS reference to a house that Caesar was supposed to have built at the mouth of the river Carron, which was possibly meant to mark the north-western boundary of the Roman dominions. This house, popularly known as Arthur's O'om, near Falkirk, was demolished in 1743. R³⁴'s late-medieval interest may be the result of local knowledge of this structure. R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A also draws attention to this theme on fo.20 (II.16) by underscoring '*ab ostio non ampnis de Caroun non procul uisque*'.

fo.31r (II.24) of *FordunE* R⁶ added a small black comment to the right-margin (*'Nota quod Claudius bellum intulit Britannie ab negatem solutionem tributa'*), highlighting the Britons' non-payment of tributes and Claudius' subsequent actions. Moreover, another reader of *FordunE*, R⁷, included a short (faded) cursive comment in the left-margin of fo.31v (II.20). The comment is beside the opening to the chapter and is thus concerned with the outbreak of war by the Britons against the Picts and Scots, in the twelfth year of Claudius' reign:

*Circa quidem hec tempora duodecimum, videlicet, annum Claudii,
Britannicum primo bellum adversus Scotos et Pictos exortum fuisse
dicitur...*²⁹

Furthermore, R² in *FordunC* records interest in the impact the Scots and Picts inflicted, according to Bede, on the island of Britain. In the right-margin of fo.44r (III.3), in a chapter relating the defeat of the Britons to the Scots and Picts and the building of Grim's Dyke (Antonine Wall) by the Romans *ca* 143, R² included the comment *'Scoti a circio Picti ab aquilone'*. The textual context indicates the impact upon Britain:

Then suddenly it was stunned and groaned for many a long year
because of two very fierce peoples from across the sea, the Scots
from the northwest and the Picts from the northeast.

R² added further comments in the right-margin of fo.44r (III.3) of *FordunC*, including *'Romani, Scotos et Pictos superant'* and *'murus edificatur'* with the latter referring to the building of the Antonine Wall.³⁰

²⁹ In translation: 'About this time, therefore, that is, the twelfth year of Claudius, is said to have first broken out the war of the Britons against the Picts and Scots, which lasted one hundred and fifty-four years, to the fifteenth year of Severus, unbroken by any peaceful settlement for any length of time'.

³⁰ R²⁸ in *PluscardenB* also noted the Roman efforts to suppress the Britons, Scots and Picts. On fo.21v (II.25) this late-medieval reader has underscored the following passage in light ink (and emphasised his interest by directing a pointer symbol at *'hoc'*): *'hoc utique modo sequenti coeptum est. Vespasianus enim ab imperatore Claudio variis legionibus Britanniam transmissus, omni rebellione sapita, Britones ad annuam tributi solutionem reduxerat, Rome rediit; et pro tuenda patria sui partem exercitus ibi relinquens, ut Britonum fulsa subsidio'* ['At any rate, it broke out in the following way: Vespasian was, with several legions, sent over to Britannia by the Emperor Claudius, and, after he had totally suppressed the rebellion of the

Another prominent reader, William Gaderar (R³¹) in *PluscardenC*, also demonstrates an overt interest in the early origins of the Britons and the Picts. For Gaderar, though, the real subject of fascination involved the arrival of the Moravians in Scotland and their subsequent relationship with the Picts. As discussed, Gaderar's reader activity is unusual in that it can be dated precisely to the period in or after 1543, when the MS presumably came into his possession, and his tendency to employ lilac ink, coupled to his distinctive hand, allows us to differentiate his work from that of R³² (pointers and comments applied in glutinous brown ink) and R³³ (black marginal comments) in *PluscardenC*. Gaderar first indicates an interest in the Britons on fo.28v (II.26) of *PluscardenC* where he underscored '*Hungus vero cladis*' within the passage:

*Hungus vero cladis testes urbes Britonum fortissime videlicet,
Agned, quae, per Heth Scotorum regem reparata, postmodum
Hethinburgh dicta fuit...*³¹

However, a comment in the left-margin of fo.28v, also in lilac ink, notes how Edinburgh derived its name from Heth king of the Scots. Clearly, therefore, Gaderar is interested in the origin of the place name Edinburgh. Of course, by Gaderar's lifetime, and even well before in the reign of James III (1460-88), Edinburgh had developed into the undisputed capital and administrative centre of the kingdom. For an Elgin burgess, such as Gaderar, whose trade would surely have involved visits outwith of Elgin, an appreciation of Scotland's capital, and one of the major trading towns, is readily understandable.

However, be that as it may, Gaderar's interest thereafter appears entirely partisan and utterly centred on the history of the Moravians. On fo.28v (II.27) of *PluscardenC* Gaderar begins by underscoring '*juxta Danubii*' in lilac ink, thus drawing attention to the MS citation of the Moravians hailing from a

Britons, and subjected them to a yearly payment of tribute, he returned to Rome, leaving part of his army behind him for the protection of the country, with instructions that it should, with the assistance of the Britons (reduce to servitude, or exterminate, the Irish nation, as well as the Scots and Picts)'].

³¹ In translation: 'The strongest towns of the Britons bear witness to this desolation, namely, Agned, which, restored by Heth, king of the Scots, was afterwards called Hethinburgh...'.

district of Pannonia ‘beside the [river] Danube’.³² Gaderar follows this by underlining, in the same chapter, the phrases ‘*ipsius patrie tutricem*’, ‘*sceleris huiusmodi*’ and ‘*gladio sive perpetuo*’. Essentially, therefore, Gaderar highlights the encounter between Roderick, leader of the Moravians, and the provincial Roman legions, a conflict that would result in the expulsion of Roderick and his followers from their homeland. It is worth considering Gaderar’s underscoring in context:

... per seditionem excitata, Rodericho duce rebellans, totam ipsius patrie tutricem legionem dolo circumventam occidit. Hos quippe Morovios ante privignus Augusti Cesaris Thiberius, nondum imperator, cede cruenta ferme delevit. Quamabrem propinque provinciarum legiones, sceleris huiusmodi factione percepta, decerunt, quod vel eorum maiores, videlicet, Moraviorum, punirent gladio, sive perpetuo deinceps dampnatos exilio relegarent.³³

Gaderar continues his concern in Roderick and the Moravians on fo.29r (II.27), by using a lilac pointer in the right-margin to target the line ‘*demum, inter quos antea sepius moram fecerat, quiescere volens*’, and he hammers home his interest by also underscoring ‘*demum, inter quos antea sepius*’. Thus Gaderar notes the agreement between Roderick and the Picts, with whom he had frequently stayed. Indeed, Gaderar comments on the arrival of the Moravians in Scotland by adding ‘*Moravii in Scociam venerunt*’ to the right-margin of fo.29r (II.27).³⁴ The narrative in *PluscardenC* then records the Pictish/Scottish/Moravian assault on the Romans in Britain, which ultimately culminated in a victory for Marius commander of the Roman legions and the

³² R²² in *CouparAngusP* notes the same line by underscoring it in black ink on fo.28v (II.30) of the MS.

³³ In translation: ‘...were roused by sedition, and led by Roderick, they rebelled, and treacherously surrounded and cut to pieces the entire legion which garrisoned that country. These Moravians had, in truth, before this, been nearly destroyed in a bloody massacre by Augustus Caesar’s stepson Tiberius, before he was emperor. When, therefore, the provincial legions of the neighbouring provinces heard of so wicked a deed, they determined either to punish the ringleaders of the Moravienses by the sword or to exile them under sentence of perpetual banishment’.

³⁴ R² in *FordunC* also notes the arrival of the Moravians in Moray by including in the right-margin of fo.28r (II.27) the comment ‘*Moravii seu Moravienses unde venerunt*’.

death in battle of the Moravian prince Roderick. At the end of the chapter, still on fo.29r (II.27) of *PluscardenC*, Gaderar provides the clearest indication of his focus. He underscores a great tranche of text in lilac ink, vividly testifying to his concern with the origins of the Moravians, the land they were granted by the Picts and, crucially, how 'to this district, they gave the name of their old county of Moravia, that is, to Katanie (Caithness); and abode there with the Picts'. The full text underscored by Gaderar is as follows:

*Vero domi Pictorum populus post fugam confusi penitus; necnon et
acephale genti Moravie, cujus princeps in bello cecidit, filios in
uxores et amplam dedit patriam excolendam, cui pristinae regionis
Moravie, Katania gentes, tradentes nomen, cum Pictis insuper
commanserunt.*³⁵

William Gaderar, therefore, offers a fascinating insight into one late-medieval reader's interaction with a MS. Gaderar applies his lilac ink sparingly in *PluscardenC* but there is a marked concentration on fos.28v-29r, pages relating the origins of the Moravians. Indeed, one can almost envisage Gaderar in his perusal of the MS, at some point in or after 1543, as he came across the narrative of the Moravians. His interest heightened, Gaderar marked the sections of the text that appealed to him the most, demarcating the arrival of the Moravians in Scotland and the initial usage of the name 'Moravia' for future reference. As a burgess of Elgin, a sixteenth century 'man of Moray' himself, Gaderar's pulse must have quickened at this stage of his readership of *PluscardenC*. Gaderar's reader activity, therefore, appears very personal in nature but it is also surely instructive of the depths of local identity that existed in Moray in the mid-sixteenth century. In fact, without wishing to stretch the evidence unduly, it is perhaps striking that Gaderar chose to highlight the origin-legend of the Moravians, rather than the Scottish origin-legend *per se*.

Nevertheless, to return to the Picts, it is interesting to note that some late-medieval readers were more interested in their 'destruction' than any other

³⁵ In translation: 'Pictish people, then, after their defeat retraced their steps to their homes, in great confusion: and they also gave the nation of the Moravienses, who were deprived of their leader – for their chief had fallen in battle – their daughters to wife, and a spacious country to bring under cultivation. To this district, they gave the name of their old county of Moravia, that is, to Katanie (Caithness); and abode there with the Picts'.

theme of their history. **R**⁴ demonstrates this firmly in *FordunD*. This reader uses large pointer symbols and occasional drawings, all in vivid red ink, to portray his interest in sections of the text. Thus, on page 151 (IV.3) of *FordunD* a red pointer sign, in the right-margin, draws attention to a (faded) comment, possibly referring to ‘*de calliditate*’, the cunning, of Cinead mac Ailpin against the Picts. **R**⁴’s next entry in the MS leaves the historian in no doubt as to his concern. A large red face has been added in the right-margin of page 157 (IV.8) directly beside the chapter heading ‘*De finali victoria Kenethi regis in Pictos et eius morte*’. The face, representing Cinead mac Ailpin, clearly illustrates the MS reference to Cinead’s final victory over the Picts and his eventual death. Therefore, it is the history of Cinead mac Ailpin, especially in his relations with the Picts, that concerns this reader the most; he does not draw attention to other passages relating the history of the Picts.

R⁴’s interest in Cinead mac Ailpin is echoed by **R**² in *FordunC*, **R**¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR* and **R**¹⁰ in *FordunG*. On fos.70v (IV.3) and 71v (IV.4) of *FordunC*, **R**²’s comments clearly allude to Cinead mac Ailpin taking control of the kingdom of Scots in the year 834 and then the kingdom of the Picts in 839. In addition, on fo.73v (IV.8) of the MS **R**² includes a glutinous grey comment in the left-margin - ‘*Kenethus 16 annis monarchia et 8 mensibus*’ – highlighting the length of Cinead’s reign.

R¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR* records even more interest in Cinead mac Ailpin. A brown index finger in the left-margin of fo.68r (IV.3) is employed to highlight the line ‘*regnacionis Scotorum in Albion insula centesimo*’. The context, in translation, is as follows:

Kenneth son of Alpin succeeded to his father’s kingdom in 834 and to the kingdom of the Picts, after they had been overthrown, in 839 in the twenty-fifth year of the emperor Louis’s reign and the eleven hundred and sixty-ninth year of the establishment of the kingdom of the Scots in the island of Albion.

Furthermore, another index finger on fo.68r (IV.3) registers interest in a passage that also intrigued **R**⁴ in *FordunD*. The index finger, in the left-margin, is directed at: ‘*audacissimus. Hic miri calliditate duxit Scotos in regno Pictorum cuius [hec, ut sequitur, causa fuit]*’. Thus the ‘cunning’ of Cinead

mac Ailpin once again interests the late-medieval readership of the MSS. Indeed, R¹⁸, warming to the task, continues his interest in this theme by using a large brown pointer in the left-margin of fo.69r (IV.6) to highlight the line '*impensurum ut ecclesia Dei et populus Christianus veram pacem nostro*'. R¹⁸'s interest therefore lies in Cinead's oath at his inauguration as king: 'that I shall give orders and shall strive to the best of my ability that the church of God and the people of Christ will preserve true peace for all time according to our authority'. Moreover, R¹⁸ also targets the 'Macalpine Laws' as a subject worthy of consideration. On fo.69v (III.9) a brown index finger, in between the columns of text, is directed at the following: '*regnum compegerit e duobus anno scilicet domini viii iii x. Jura vero quo leges Makalpine dicuntur componens*'. Clearly these laws compiled in 870, known as the Macalpine laws, interested this reader. Furthermore, R¹⁰ in *FordunG*, responsible for the addition of two elegant pointer symbols to the MS, directs a sign on fo.83v (IV.32) at the line '*cum dicatur: 'Etas regis in fide subditorum consistit', nulla [lege deinceps in huius contrarium prevalente]*', indicating his awareness of Cinead mac Ailpin's decree that the succession should pass to those nearest him in blood, even if he was a one day old child, as it is said 'The age of the king rests with the loyalty of his subjects.' And henceforth no law to the opposite effect was to prevail'.³⁶

More significantly, however, R¹⁸ also offers evidence of concern in the chapter detailing the list of the kings of the Picts. On fo.70r (III.11) of *ScotichroniconR* a brown pointer, in the left-margin, draws attention to the initial 'P' ('*Primus*') of the first word of the chapter: '*Primus autem rex apud eos erat Cruthne filius Kynne Judicis qui cepit monarchiam in regnum Pictorum et regnavit annis quinquaginta*'.³⁷

R² in *FordunC* was also concerned with this Pictish king-list and his reader activity offers the most graphic illustration of a late-medieval reader's

³⁶ R¹⁰ also adds a pointer to fo.87r (IV.36) of *FordunG*, which targets an extract from *Polychronicon* (bk.I) concerning the English nation's lack of seriousness.

³⁷ In translation: 'The first of their kings was Cruithne son of Judge Kynne who founded the monarchy in the kingdom of the Picts and reigned for fifty years'. R¹⁸ then highlights, on fo.70v (III.13), a line concerning Drusken and how the 'power of the Picts' came to an end with him: '*rege Drusken Pictorum regnandi defecit potestas et ab eis penitus translatus est regnum ad regem...*'.

fascination with the history of the Picts. On fo.74r (III.10) of the MS, in a chapter entitled '*De cathologo eciam regum Pictorum et adventu Sancte Columbe*', R² has added a whole series of numbers in the right-margin and beneath the columns of text, denoting the regnal years of individual Pictish kings.³⁸ The numbers, applied in three columns with R² moving from right to left across the folio, are then followed by a total '1165'. The mindset of this reader therefore appears to be quite straightforward; R² decided to tally up the length of each Pictish reign, as Fordun recorded them, thus arriving at the sum of '1165' years in total. In fact, beneath the total of '1165' R² has also included the comment '*Anni Pictorum in Albione*', further illustrating that his principal concern centred on the number of years the Picts had been settled in Albione.³⁹ Although R²'s activity on fo.74r of *FordunC* must have been extremely time consuming, for this late-medieval reader the list of Pictish kings was a subject worth drawing attention to, with the mathematical mechanics of each Pictish reign stimulating his curiosity. R²'s reaction to this Pictish material is the most 'positive' of any of the late-medieval readers.

The analysis of late-medieval reader interest in the Picts has revealed some interesting conclusions. As argued above, several readers demonstrate concern in Pictish history, with both favourable and unfavourable portrayals being highlighted. R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, for instance, concentrates at one point on the MS description of the apparent unity of the Scots and Picts from the outset, whilst R⁴ in *FordunD* appeared to be much more intent on illustrating, literally, the defeat of the Picts at the hands of the Scots. Nevertheless, what does seem clear, from the extant MS evidence, is that late-medieval readers of the Scottish narrative were not inclined to just gloss over the Pict's role in the formation of the kingdom. Rather, these readers, or some of them, recognised that the Picts were an integral part of the story and their attention was drawn to specific episodes in the kingdom's past. Of course, whilst one aspect of this

³⁸ The numbers, in descending order, of the first column (stretching the whole folio) are as follows: 50, 250, 20, 40, 20, 60, 20, 40, 9, 30, 17, 30, 16, 6, 1, 2, 60, 27, 25, 45, 2, 10, 30, 15, 5, 8, 4, 6, 6, 11, 1, 4, 19, 20, 11, 14, 8, 5, 11 and 4. The numbers, in descending order, of the second column are as follows: 5, 6, 11, 4, 21, 18, 14, 16, 2, 26, 2, 2 and 1. The numbers, in descending order, of the third column are as follows: 4, 5, 40, 10, 4, 3, 3, 1, 2 and 3. A line has then been drawn under this running total and the sum of '1165' included.

³⁹ In the right-margin of fo.74r, to the right of the column of numbers, R² also added the comment '*Quedam reliquie Andree applicatus in Scociam 27 quos 100 Palladius*'.

reader interest may have been personal, such as William Gaderar's concern in the history of Moray, the relatively bountiful evidence also indicates a wider level of general interest in the Picts. It can be argued conclusively, therefore, that, to some educated Scots of the later-medieval period, Pictish history was not irrelevant; rather, to these readers at least, the Picts' role in the narrative of the Scottish nation was worthy of serious consideration.

The late-medieval reader interest in Scottish origins up to Cinead mac Ailpin provides a tier of manuscript evidence that exemplifies, but also challenges, recent historical thinking. It has been shown, for instance, that several late-medieval readers (R⁶, R¹¹, R¹⁸, R²⁵ and R³⁴) possessed a concern in Geoffrey's narrative of Brutus and his sons, thus the non-textual reader scribal activity contributes to Julia Crick's recent work concerning how the *Historia Regum Britannie* was received and interpreted in the late-medieval period.⁴⁰ This subject will be explored further in chapters four and five. Moreover, as stressed above, it is also noteworthy that a significant body of the late-medieval readers appeared keen not to 'downgrade' or 'diminish' the role of the Picts in Scottish history. In fact, the reader activity provides an illustration of the attitudes adopted towards the Picts in the late-medieval era. Therefore, within the context of current Scottish historical thinking on the Picts, the importance of the reader activity *ca* 1450 -1550 is that it allows one a definite insight into a period which bridges the recent work of Dr Broun ('The Picts Place in the Kingships Past') and Professor Kidd ('The Ideological Uses of the Picts, 1707-c.1990').

⁴⁰ J. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth: IV. Dissemination and Reception in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991).

CHAPTER IV

LATE-MEDIEVAL READER INTEREST IN

ST MARGARET OF SCOTLAND

Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* informs us that John of Fordun was probably a chaplain at the cathedral church in Aberdeen and, as is well known, Bower was abbot of the Augustinian monastery on Inchcolm from 1417 until his death in 1449. Thus it is not unexpected that we find a significant proportion of Fordun's *Chronica* and Bower's *Scotichronicon* devoted to church affairs and religious matters. Of course, this reflects not only their personal involvement and interest in church concerns, but also the religiosity of the eras in which their chronicles were composed. In the case of Bower, he displays a keen interest in issues such as the necessity of clerical virtues, the appropriate monastic standards to be followed, the dangers inherent in holding benefices in plurality and the evils of simony. Indeed, Bower's general motive in highlighting these themes is quite transparent for, as Professor Watt has argued, 'being the man he was, he chose to include many themes of interest to church historians, about which he presumably thought his readers in Scotland should be informed'.¹

In fact, Bower's influential words on church matters and clerical standards would not be restricted solely to Scottish readers of the *Scotichronicon*.² Matthew Parker (R¹³), archbishop of Canterbury 1559x1575, gained possession of *Scotichronicon*C in the mid-sixteenth century and, as discussed, this MS contains numerous examples of reader activity by Parker. It is therefore possible to identify Parker's interest on fo.142r of *Scotichronicon*C, concerning the

¹ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 339.

² Concerning general religious interest one can note, for example, R²³ in *CouparAngus*H who uses pointer symbols to denote concern with matters ranging from the clerical council held at Perth in 1242 (fo.132v) and the payment by the Scottish clergy in 1267 to the papal legate Ottobono and Cardinal Hubert (fo.140r), to the influence and death of Pope Clement IV in 1268 (fo.140v). Similarly, R²⁶ employed symbols in bks.I-II of *Pluscarden*B to signal interest in the birth of John the Baptist, the arrival of the three Wise Men and the Passion and Ressurrection of Christ, while R³² in *Pluscarden*C draws attention to the birth of Christ by directing a glutinous brown pointer from the right-margin of fo.26r (II.23) at the line '*David eiusdem anni mense decimo Deus et homo, Dominus noster Jhesus Christus*'.

opening lines of c.45 in bk.VIII. Parker has added a red chalk pointer to the left-margin and two lines are drawn from the index finger of the symbol, one to the opening initial of the chapter ('E') and the other to the opening word of the fifth line of the chapter ('expleto'). It is clear that Parker considered the following (translated) passage as worthy of closer scrutiny:

There was a certain cleric who performed the duties of a cleric but who was truly devoid of works of religion. For combining unchasteness of body to levity of mind, and having become in accordance with the words of the Psalmist 'like a horse or mule', he passionately devoted himself to debauchery. Thus he had a habit in the night hours of crossing a certain stream in order to satisfy his wicked desires, and of returning after completion of his diabolical work to his own abode through the same water.³

It is an intriguing observation that Bower's inclusion of a tale on the lack of a cleric's virtue should, more than one hundred years after the composition of his chronicle, be singled out as significant by a leading English churchman. It seems fair to assume that Parker highlights this passage as it represents the very antithesis of expected clerical behaviour and, if one reads on in the chronicle, this lack of virtue results in the cleric facing a trial in front of the 'Immortal Judge' before he finally achieved salvation. Whether or not Parker had a specific case in mind cannot be answered at present, although it remains an interesting possibility. Nevertheless, one must wonder what Bower, a renowned Anglophobe, would have made of the interest of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, in his text.⁴

³ *'Erat quidam clericus clerici officio functus sed religiosi operibus valde destitutus. Mentis etenim levitati corporis impudiciam socians, juxta Psalmista vocem 'sicut equus et mulus' effectus, ardens incestui serviebat. Inerat itaque ei consuetudo nocturnis horis pro perficiendo sue libidinis scelera per amnem quamdam transire, et diabolico opere expleto per eandem aquam ad proprium habitaculum redire'.*

⁴ Parker offers further evidence of interest in specifically religious issues. For instance on fo.335r (XV.39) of *Scotichronicon*C he has underscored the following in red chalk: *'Celebracio misse equevalens est passioni Christi dicentis'* ['The celebration of mass is equivalent to the passion of Christ'] and *'Et tantum est celebracio misse quantum mors Christi in cruce. Nam sicut omnes credentes salvati sunt Christi morte, sic omnes redempti celebracione misse'* ['The celebration of mass is as effective as the death of Christ on the cross, for just as all believers have been saved by the death of Christ, so all have been redeemed by the celebration of mass'].

The MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives also display a fervent curiosity in the lives and actions of saints, hence contributing to the rather sparse Scottish hagiographic archive.⁵ Both Fordun and Bower, for example, illustrate the particular importance in Scotland of saints like Columba, Kentigern, Andrew and Margaret, with Bower also particularly engaging with the life of St Waltheof (abbot of Melrose 1148-59).⁶ One senses the significance attached to saints and their *vitae* through the methodology used by these late-medieval chroniclers. The late-medieval readers of these MSS, in pre-Reformation Scotland, also considered sainthood to be a subject worth highlighting; of course in the Scotland of pre-1560 one should expect to witness an element of reader reverence to saints and their acts. Through the late-medieval reader activity apparent in the MSS it is possible to glimpse this interest and the manner in which some readers perceived the lives of saints to be an issue demanding attention. It is worth considering some specific examples of this reader activity.

The collection of Fordun MSS provides a great deal of evidence on this reader interest. *FordunC*, dateable to the late-fifteenth century, contains extensive marginal comments by R². On fo.55r of *FordunC* R² has added comments in the left-margin highlighting St Columba and he then includes ‘*Sanctus Emnundus martirio coronatur anno 872*’ in the right-margin of fo.77r. While R² thus demonstrates an interest in an English royal saint, R⁵ in *FordunD* is more concerned with drawing attention to a Scottish example. On page 236 of the MS R⁵ has directed a pointer symbol at the text-hand comment ‘*Nota de Sancta Margareta regina Scocie*’. As will become apparent, several late-medieval readers of these MSS demonstrate a keen interest in the life of St Margaret. R⁹ in *FordunG* illustrates his interest in St Kentigern by aiming a light brown pointer at a comment on the saint on fo.53v. An equally interesting

⁵ A. Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD 450-1093* (Edinburgh, 1997), 6.

⁶ Bower’s material on St Waltheof was derived from Jocelin of Furness’s *Life of St Waltheof* (probably dateable to ca 1207). Bower’s interest in St Waltheof was partly a result of Waltheof’s status as a Scottish ‘royal saint’, through his position as David I’s stepson. Bower’s intrigue with St Waltheof also concerned an earlier medieval monastic revival: ‘through his emphasis on the life-story of St Waltheof he wanted his readers to understand better the great influence of the Augustinian and Cistercian revivals of the twelfth century...’ (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 339).

feature of this MS involves the crudely drawn figures in the margins, denoting the presence of saints whenever they are cited in the text. The text-hand of *FordunG*, a MS dateable to *ca* 1450, has added, in red, the name of the particular saint in the margin and then the text-hand again (or possibly a later reader) has enveloped the name with a drawing of the figure. Thus we have the figure of St Palladius on fo.42r and SS Kentigern and Convall on fo.53v. Further drawings are apparent on fos.48v, 49r, 54v and 55r.

The canon of *Scotichronicon* MSS also contain much reader interest in the lives of saints. For example, in *ScotichroniconB*, one of the two late fifteenth century copies of *Scotichronicon* produced by Magnus Makulloch, R¹⁹ has drawn a pointer in between the columns of text on fo.323v and targeted the line '*avelli, donc rex ad sanctum Monanum*'. Clearly R¹⁹'s intention lies in drawing attention to David II's devotion to St Monan. The same reader adds another symbol to the left-margin of fo.372r, highlighting the line '*immunitatem Sancti Fergusii sive Feogri quondam*'. This citation of St Fergus in the MS concerns his influence in punishing the king of England in 1422 and this could plausibly be the source of R¹⁹'s interest. It is also worth noting that St Fergus had a local cult at Glammis and, at one stage, at Scone and this may well have stimulated R¹⁹'s interest. Furthermore, R¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR* offers several examples of his concern with specific saints. On fo.52v R¹⁸ directs a pointer sign, in glutinous brown ink, at the chapter title of bk.III c.8: '*De adventu Sancti Palladii in Scocia et Sancti Patricii in Hibernia*'. In a similar manner R¹⁸ illustrates his interest in St Kentigern on fo.58r of *ScotichroniconR* and another pointer on fo.56v highlights the twelve men who sailed to Scotland with St Columba by targeting the line '*Nomina virorum xii qui cum Columba Scociam adnavigaverunt*'.

There is further late-medieval interest in this subject in the *CouparAngus* and *Pluscarden* MSS. In *CouparAngusH*, a MS dateable to 1497x1515, a late-medieval reader has added 164 pointer symbols to the margins. This reader, R²³, clearly had a wide interest in a variety of subjects and he highlights sections of text for closer attention. One theme of concern to R²³ was the life, death and canonisation of Thomas Becket. For instance, in the right-margin of fo.117v of *CouparAngusH*, R²³ has aimed a red pointer at the line '*Et nec mirum quia cum clerici Cantuarie officium misse cum requiem*', thus demonstrating an interest in

the canonisation ceremony of St Thomas of Canterbury at Anagni in 1173. Furthermore, several of the *Pluscarden* MSS indicate late-medieval reader interest in saints, with the margins of *PluscardenA*, *PluscardenB* and *PluscardenD* being particularly affected by this activity. On fo.38v of *PluscardenA*, for example, R²⁵ has added three comments in succession to the left-margin: '*De Sancto Patricio in Hibernia ad Christum converta*', '*Nota per de purgando Sancti Patrici*' and '*De Sancto Martino*'. In addition, R²⁵ adds two comments in the left-margin of fo.50v ('*De Sancto Furseo*' and '*De Sanctis Foylano et ultrano ac Gertrude Christo*') and he also comments on Thomas of Canterbury by including '*Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis canonizatus*' in between the columns of text of fo.114v. As a brief aside, *PluscardenA* also contains substantial post-medieval reader interest in saints. One reader, possibly dateable to the late-seventeenth century, has added comments at various points in the MS, providing further evidence of how the subject of saints remained of interest to at least some Scottish readers after 1560.⁷

⁷ One can illuminate the interest of this post-medieval reader by noting his reader activity in bk.III of *PluscardenA*. On fo.38r of *PluscardenA* this reader has added several comments: '*S.Servanus S.Palladii in predicando comes*', '*S.Terrananus Palladii discipulus*', '*S.Kentigernus S.Servani discipulus*'. On fo.38v he has also included '*de S.Patricius in Hiberniam missus*' and '*moritur S.Ninianus*'. Moreover, this hand is also responsible for underscorings at certain points. For instance this passage from bk.III c.9 on fo.38v '*...postquam Palladius advenit Scociam missus est ad Scotos Hibernienses ab eodem papa Celestino Sanctus Patricius genere Brito filius...*'. It is entirely plausible that this reader's interest in St Palladius was patriotic in origin; he is stressing that Palladius was canonised earlier than Patrick. This reader reappears on fo.43r, adding to the left margin of c.20 the comment '*S.Giberianus*' and supplying a bracket around the following text: '*...Giberianus Scotus cum fratribus suis et sororibus Galliis peregrinatus urbem Remensem vita morteque sua perlustravit. Eius autem anno xvii letanie que dicuntur rogaciones a beato ut prediximus Mamerto institute in Scocia sunt promulgate.*' Furthermore, in between the columns of text on fo.44r this post-medieval reader has added '*moritur S.Brigada*'. This provides a clear insight into the periods of readership of the MS: the post-medieval reader, whose pattern has been to add comments in the left margin directly beside the relevant passage of interest, is here forced to use the space in between the columns as the appropriate section of the left-margin is already occupied by the comment - '*De Sancta Brigida*' - supplied by the earlier reader R²⁵. In addition, on fo.44v, bk.III c.23, he has underscored the following: '*Eo tempore Sanctus Brendanus in Scocia...*'. He has also added in the left margin '*S.Brendanus et Machutus floruit*'. To the left margin of c.24, on the same folio, he has contributed '*S.Orani ecclesia*' and also underscored the text '*...ad ecclesiam Sancti Orani...*'. This reader has also included a comment at this point: '*De S.Columba et eius comitum in Scociam adventu*'. On fo.47r he has added '*S.Kentegernus*' to the left margin, and then further down '*S.Convallus*' and '*S. item Baldredus*'. Moreover, this hand appears to have underscored the following on fo.48v '*...Eugenii at diebus Sanctus Columbanus Scotus multis...*', while also adding in the left margin '*S.Columbanus Scotus in galliis claret miraculis*'. Lastly, by way of example, this reader has added '*S.Finnanus Aida in succedit*' to the left margin of fo.50v and he has also contributed a comment to the left margin: '*Dido episcopus Pictavensis Scotia venit*'. On the same folio he has also underscored the line '*Eius itaque temporibus Dido Pic*'.

Even this cursory glance at the reader interest in saints reveals that this subject clearly intrigued several late-medieval readers and one can argue that patterns of interest are apparent, with saints like Palladius, Columba, Kentigern and Thomas of Canterbury featuring prominently in the attention of these readers. Evidently, therefore, an analysis into the methodology of these readers could prove fruitful. The life and influence of one saint, as described in the MSS, clearly struck a chord with many of the late-medieval readers – namely, St Margaret of Scotland. Moreover, the reader activity in the MSS offers a further tier of evidence on how some Scots perceived St Margaret, her life and cult, in the period directly preceding the Scottish Reformation. As S. Boardman and M. Lynch, writing in 2000, put it:

Tracing the evolution of St Margaret's reputation in the disturbed conditions of the sixteenth century would be an interesting and illuminating exercise. How did reformers reconcile their hostility to St Margaret as the focus for a saintly cult with her critical role in the iconography of the royal dynasty and her historical importance in the origin legends of a succession of aristocratic families?⁸

The early years of Margaret, daughter of Edward the Atheling and thus granddaughter of King Edmund Ironside (k.1016), have been well documented and do not require to be rehearsed in detail.⁹ Following exile in Hungary, Margaret's family returned to Edward the Confessor's England in 1057 but with his death in January 1066, and the subsequent defeat of King Harald by William the Conqueror in October, Margaret, her sister Christina and younger brother Edgar the Atheling, now faced an utterly changed political landscape. Edgar Atheling, as an alternative claimant to the English throne, garnered support from several quarters (such as Ealdred archbishop of York) and he played a part in the failed northern rebellions against the Conqueror in 1068 and 1070. The subsequent defeat of these uprisings led to sanctuary being sought in Scotland

⁸ S. Boardman and M. Lynch, 'The State of Late Medieval and Early Modern Scottish History' in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority: Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson*, (Tuckwell Press, 2000), 44-59, at 50.

⁹ See A.A.M Duncan, *The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 117-25 and A.J. Wilson, *St Margaret Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2001).

and it was after this visit that Malcolm III of Scotland took Margaret as his second wife. Margaret was thus to remain in Scotland until her death in 1093 and she has been credited with significant religious and social developments during this period, including the increased adoption of Roman practices in the Scottish church.¹⁰

Much of our information on Margaret is derived from Turgot's near-contemporary 'Life of St Margaret', a source heavily utilised by the late-medieval chronicles under discussion.¹¹ Turgot, Queen Margaret's confessor, addressed the work to Margaret's daughter Edith, queen (Matilda) from 1100 to Henry I of England. Turgot's glowing account of Margaret should therefore be treated with caution.¹² Nevertheless, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed an increasing focus on Malcolm III and Margaret, rather than Cinead mac Alpin, as the dynastic founders of the Scottish kingdom. Within this period, certainly from 1097x1286, kingship was inherited by Margaret's descendents in a much more disciplined manner.¹³ Moreover, Margaret's status as a member of the English royal house of Wessex allowed the Canmore dynasty to claim descent from the pre-Conquest kings of England. As we shall see, a patriotic

¹⁰ For a historiographical assessment of St Margaret's influence see Wilson, *St Margaret*, 133-135.

¹¹ D. Baker proposed that Turgot's *Vita Margaretae Reginae* survives in two versions: a longer work written 1104x1107 (addressed to Queen Matilda of England) and a shorter version possibly composed shortly after Margaret's death in 1093. See D. Baker, 'A nursery of saints: St Margaret of Scotland revisited', in D. Baker (ed), *Medieval Women* (Oxford, 1978), 119-41. However, Baker's theory that the shorter version is earlier than the longer one is disproved by Lois L. Huneycott in 'The idea of the perfect princess: The life of Margaret in the reign of Matilda II (1100-1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1989), 81-97.

¹² As Alan Macquarrie argues 'In spite of Thurgot's portrait, we have to remember that Margaret, for all the strength of her personality, and for all of King Malcolm's affectionate support, was a political exile, a foreigner, a member of a dispossessed dynasty which was entirely dependent on the generosity of the Scottish court, and a woman; all of these factors seriously limited her power and influence. It may be that we cannot fully accept Thurgot's picture of her as an assertive colonial improver; she emerges as a more attractive character as a result' (Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland*, 223).

¹³ R. Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles 1100-1400* (Oxford 1995), 104-108. Dauvit Broun has neatly summarised this process: 'The new prominence accorded to Mael Coluim and Margaret can readily be understood as reflecting a tighter dynastic structure, whereby succession to the kingship was confined to the representative of the eldest male line descended from their union. This was firmly secured when William I's younger brother, David earl of Huntingdon, did homage to William's son Alexander in 1205, four years after the other magnates had done so' (Broun, *Irish Identity*, 196).

interest in this Scottish claim to the English throne appears to have resonated strongly with some late-medieval readers under consideration.

It is difficult to underestimate the significance of Queen Margaret's canonisation in October 1249. The importance that the Scots attached to it was immediately apparent at the ceremony to translate Margaret's relics on 19th June 1250 at Dunfermline. Leading churchmen, such as Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews and the King's chancellor Abbot Robert of Dunfermline, together with the young King Alexander III, conducted the ceremony. The influence and cult surrounding St Margaret developed rapidly and is clearly illustrated by the feast days in her honour on 19th June and 16th November (the dates of the translation of her body and death respectively). Thus, unusually for Scottish saints, Margaret is honoured with a universal cult in the Roman calendar.¹⁴

Furthermore, within Scotland the influence of St Margaret was increasingly demonstrated with the adoption of her name. As G.W.S. Barrow, writing in 1993 to commemorate the nine hundredth anniversary of her death, stated:

By the middle of the thirteenth century, when Margaret was formally canonised, her name was beginning to establish itself as one which Scots families were glad to give to their daughters. A hundred years later Margaret was well on its way to becoming the most popular woman's name among the Scots, a position it has held until very recently.¹⁵

Clearly Margaret's canonisation held profound meaning for her descendants in the Scottish royal family and their Scottish subjects. However, her influence extended beyond Scotland, with Edward III of England possessing a reliquary containing bones of St Margaret and both Durham Cathedral and St George's Chapel, Windsor, owning relics of Margaret in the fourteenth and fifteenth

¹⁴ D. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford 2003), 347.

¹⁵ W.J. Sinclair., *Saint Margaret Queen of Scotland: her family history and links with Europe* (Dunfermline, 1993), 5.

centuries.¹⁶ Moreover, as is well known, Philip II of Spain demonstrated his reverence for St Margaret by acquiring various relics of Margaret and Malcolm after the Scottish Reformation and housing them in a specially constructed shrine at the Madrid Escorial.¹⁷

It is not unexpected, therefore, that we find the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives reflecting Margaret's significant position in the narrative of the Scottish nation. Fordun's *Chronica*, the *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis* all provide accounts of Margaret's 'felicitous' landing in Scotland, her marriage to Malcolm III, the children born to Malcolm and Margaret, and the death of Margaret in 1093. Obviously Fordun, Bower and the anonymous author of *Pluscarden* all highlight the translation of Margaret's remains in 1250. However, Bower's description of the ceremony is more detailed than Fordun's, presumably because he had access to a Dunfermline source (his abbey at Inchcolm in the Forth was situated nearby),¹⁸ and *Liber Pluscardensis*, following the *Scotichronicon*, includes the story of how Margaret's relics could not be moved further until Malcolm III's were translated as well.¹⁹

Seven late-medieval readers of the MSS demonstrate an interest in themes concerning St Margaret and it is useful to explore them in detail. The citation of Margaret's biographer, Turgot, in the MSS is considered relevant by four readers. On page 118 (VII.6) of *CouparAngusC R*²¹ has employed a pointer sign in the left-margin to target the text-hand comment '*Turgotus – nota applicuit*

¹⁶ R. Bartlett (ed), *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford 2003), xxxiv.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

¹⁸ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. V, 442 n.1.

¹⁹ M. Ash, 'The Church in the Reign of Alexander III' in N.H. Reid (ed), *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286* (Edinburgh 1990), 31-52, at 31-2. Ash notes how this story could be linked to a similar tale concerning Cuthbert of Durham (Margaret's favourite saint), for the relics of Cuthbert, which had been carried to several venues, could not be shifted from Durham: 'From that incident dated the beginning of Durham Cathedral and the shrine of St Cuthbert, a cult to which the House of Canmore were particularly devoted: when Cuthbert's relics had been examined and translated in 1104 the future Alexander I, king of Scots, was the only layman present at that ceremony' (Ash, 'Church in the Reign of Alexander III', 31). Ash also discusses how the translation of Margaret's relics fits in with an increased enthusiasm for Scottish church history in mid-thirteenth century Scotland. A new gothic shrine for St Kentigern (to meet the increased flow of pilgrims) was being completed in the 1250s and she also claimed that in 1253 the remains of St Duthac of Tain were translated back from Ireland to the place of his birth.

sancta Margarite in Scociam'. Similarly, R⁵ in *FordunD* uses a symbol in the right-margin of page 236 to highlight the text-hand comment '*Turgotus*', while R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* adds the comment '*Turgotus*' to the right-margin of fo.69r (V.18). Furthermore, on fo.83v (V.14) of *PluscardenA* R²⁵ utilises a different approach by underscoring '*Turgotus*' in the main text.

In a similar fashion, two late-medieval readers draw attention to general citations of Margaret; it is not necessarily that they had in mind particular issues or concerns, but rather that they simply considered the mention of Margaret cause enough to highlight that reference. Thus R⁵ in *FordunD* adds a pointer sign to the left-margin of page 236, directed at the marginal comment by the text-hand '*Nota de Sancta Margareta regina Scocie*', and R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* underscores '*Margaretam*' on fo.81r (V.9) and '*Margarete*' on fo.84v (V.15).

As already illustrated with R²¹ in *CouparAngusC*, some readers indicated a more specific interest in Margaret's arrival in Scotland. R²¹'s interest is matched by R¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC* who directed a pointer symbol at a specific chapter heading on fo.87v: '*De felici applicacione Eadgari Ethlyn et sororis sue Sancte Margarite in Scociam*'. Presumably this late-medieval reader perceived the whole chapter to be of value, although his primary focus may have been Edgar Atheling rather than his sister Margaret. This reasoning also holds for the reader activity of R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*, for he targets exactly the same chapter title with a pointer sign, in between the columns of text, on fo.77v (V.16). The arrival of Edgar and Margaret in Scotland is also of concern to R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*. This reader has added a comment in between the columns of text on fo.83v (V.14): '*Applicuit Edgarus et sue sorore Margarita in Scociam*'.

It seems evident that an element of this late-medieval reader interest surrounded Edgar Atheling, rather than simply Margaret. In addition to the examples already noted, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* has underscored '*Edgarus Ethling rex Anglorum*' on fo.83v (V.14) and added the comment '*Rex Malcolmi visitito Edgato et sororem Margareta*' to the right-margin of fo.84r (V.14). This is another useful reminder that, when viewing the additions of these late-medieval readers, it is not always possible to determine, from their reader activity, what their principle area of concern was. Indeed, perhaps it is not necessary to offer that level of evaluation; whether the specific interest in this case lies with

Margaret or Edgar is unfathomable but we can certainly illustrate that a concern with Margaret, her family and their arrival in Scotland remained of interest in the late-medieval period.

We can, however, be more precise regarding another theme of concern for **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA*. To the right-margin of fo.81r (V.9) he has added the comment '*De Margarita filia regem Anglorum uxore Regis Scocie Malcolmus*' and he continues this interest in the marriage between Malcolm and Margaret by adding the comment '*Nuptie de Malcolmum et Margareta*' in the left-margin of fo.84v (V.15). However, no other late-medieval reader of these MSS focused on the marriage in a similar manner to **R**²⁵.

As one would anticipate, several readers consider the descendants of St Margaret, when cited in connection with her, to be worthy of comment. On fo.84v (V.16) of *PluscardenA* **R**²⁵ has included, in between the columns of text, the comment '*filiu Malcolmi et Sancte Margarete*'. Furthermore, on fo.153v (VIII.13) of *PluscardenA* the same reader has added a bracket in the left-margin targeting the passage of text between '*declaracio*' and '*inclitos*':

*declaracio linialis de successione regnum Scocie, incipiendo a rege Malcolmo et a beata Margareta, usque ad reginam Norowegie, quae fuit regis Alexandri tercii filia; post cujus mortem finita est omnis linialis successio sive collateralis a rege Willelmo discendentibus. Circa quod notandum est quod Malcolmus, rex Scocie, beatam Margaretam reginam anno Domini M LXX disposavit, et uxorem duxit, de qua sex filios genuit inclitos*²⁰

Moreover, to the left of this bracket on fo.153v (VIII.13) **R**²⁵ has offered the comment '*Genalogia regum Scocie*' and, to further illuminate his interest on this folio, **R**²⁵ has crossed out an erroneous date in the main text (MLXVII) and provided, in the left-margin, the correct Roman numerals of MLXX, the most likely date for the marriage between Malcolm and Margaret.

²⁰ In translation: 'there is introduced here a brief consecutive statement of the succession of the kings of Scotland, beginning from King Malcolm and Saint Margaret, down to the queen of Norway, who was the daughter of King Alexander III, and after whose death the whole succession, whether lineal or collateral, among the descendents of King William, came to an end. On this subject, therefore, observe that Malcolm king of Scotland espoused the blessed Queen Margaret in the year 1067, and took her to be his wife, and of her begat six renowned sons'.

Furthermore, **R**²⁶ in *PluscardenB* uses three pointer symbols to demonstrate an interest in Margaret's descendents. On fo.100r (VI.17), in between the columns of text, he has directed a symbol at the text '*Postquam enim Sanctus David, filius Malcolmi Regis et beate Margarete*' and this pattern is repeated on fo.144v (VIII.13) where another sign, in between the columns of text, targets the lines '*successione regem Scocie, incipiendo a rege Malcolmo et a beate Margarete*'. In addition, **R**²⁶ offers two more examples of his concern with this subject: in the left-margin of fo.146r (VIII.16) a pointer highlights the text '*Predictus eciam Malcolmus genuit ex predicts beata Margareta duas filias*', while a symbol on fo.172v (VIII.61), in between the columns of text, is aimed at the following passage: '*Ad huc quod dicit quod Malcolmus rex Scocie, beate Margarete quondam maritus, et David, filius ejus, et Willelmus, nepos ejusdem David*'. Lastly, on this theme, **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* directs a pointer sign, in the left-margin of fo.84v (VI.15) at a marginal comment concerning the genealogy of St Margaret.²¹

The *Pluscarden* MSS also contain evidence of late-medieval reader interest in the description of Margaret's death in 1093. **R**²⁵, in *PluscardenA*, for instance, adds the comment '*Sancta Margareta regina in Castro Puellarum moritur*' to the right-margin of fo.87r (V.21) and underscores the text '*in Castro Puellarum*' on the same folio.²² Likewise, *PluscardenD* contains a pointer symbol by **R**³⁴, in the right-margin of fo.70r (V.21), directed at the comment '*de corpus sancta regina*'. Moreover, **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* includes a pointer sign on fo.89v (V.26), in between the columns of text, targeting the passage '*Quod intelligentes qui intus errant, docti a Deo, meritis ut credimus sancta regine, per posticum ex occidentali plaga sanctum corpus deferebant*'.

One final example of late-medieval interest requires analysis. The reader who has demonstrated most concern in St Margaret and her life, **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, also highlighted sections of text regarding the translation of her

²¹ This theme also proved attractive to Sir William Sinclair. In *CouparAngusP* Sinclair has added, at some stage in the later sixteenth century, the comment '*Incipit est genealogia a Malcolmo Canmore et Sancta Margareta uxore*' in the left-margin of fo.182v. On the same folio Sinclair has also underlined the text '*Anno domini mxxvii Malcolmus Kenremor rex Scocie sanctam Margaritam duxit in uxorem, de qua genuit sex filios, scilicet Edwardum, Edmundum, Ethelredum, Edgarum, Alexandrum et David*'.

²² '*In Castro Puellarum*', referring to Edinburgh as the 'fort of the girls', was a twelfth-century term for the city.

remains in 1250. On fo.134v (VII.15) of *PluscardenA* R²⁵ has underscored 'MCCL' and '*Dunfermlyn*', thus noting the date and location of the formal ceremony. Moreover, on the next folio (135r), continuing the same chapter of *Pluscarden*, R²⁵ underscores '*Malcolmi*', '*Post hec autem, pluribus adductis portatoribus*' and '*xiii kl Julii, anno ut supra. Propter ejus honorem et merita, Deus Omnipotens*'. He also includes a comment, in the left-margin of fo.135r, concerning '*...delacione corporis Sancte Margarete regine Scocie*'. In this way, therefore, R²⁵ illustrates his interest with the ceremony on the 19th June 1250, involving the carrying (translation) of the bodies of Margaret and Malcolm.

However, given the importance of the ceremony in 1250 and Margaret's canonisation the previous year, one should enquire why only one late-medieval reader has drawn attention to this in the MSS? Margaret was clearly at the forefront of some readers' activity, yet they still chose to (largely) overlook the MSS references to her canonisation and translation ceremony.²³ It seems clear that the extant late-medieval reader evidence signals that their interest in Margaret was principally genealogical rather than 'sacred' in origin. The late-medieval readers, by concentrating on aspects of the royal dynasty springing from Malcolm and Margaret, were more concerned, in the words of Boardman and Lynch, with Margaret's 'critical role in the iconography of the royal dynasty'. The evidence undoubtedly illustrates that the claim to the English

²³ A historical parallel, although not exact, does exist in another late-medieval work concerning St Margaret. A Dunfermline manuscript, Madrid, Royal Palace Library MS II.2097, dating to the reign of James III (1460-88), contains a collection of miracles associated with St Margaret, which were probably completed around 1260. The *Miracula S.Margarite Scotorum Regine* are apparent between fos.26-41v of the MS and the Madrid MS also contains an account of the Scottish royal succession concentrating on the descendants of Malcolm III and Margaret (fos.21v-26r), versions of Turgot's *Vita S.Margarite* and Jocelin of Furness's *Vita S.Valleui abbatis de Melros*, and other miscellaneous items. The *Miracula* refers to forty-five miracles in total, ranging from the opening description of 'A woman freed from tumour on her arm' to the spectacular account of 'A miller full of lizards', before concluding with the narrative of 'A girl cured from contracted muscles' (Bartlett, *Miracles of St Margaret*, 69-145). However, as Robert Bartlett, the recent editor of the *miracula* states, 'one major enigma complicates the story' (*Ibid.*, xxxv). As Bartlett explains 'If the *Miracula* were completed in the 1260s or later, it is quite remarkable that they make no mention of the papal canonisation of Margaret of 1249 and the solemn translation of her relics in 1250. This is an astonishing silence. An author whose main concern is the glorification of St Margaret and who gives a detailed account of an earlier translation in 1180, makes no reference to what most would consider the ultimate endorsement of Margaret's standing as a saint. Frankly, there is no entirely plausible explanation' (*Ibid.*, xxxv). Although the late-medieval readers were clearly more interested in Margaret's genealogy, rather than 'glorification', it is an interesting comparison to note.

throne enjoyed by kings of Scots, through Margaret's genealogy, was very much on people's minds between *ca* 1450-1550.

In fact, another fifteenth-century MS offers direct evidence of this interest. BL MS Royal 17 D.XX contains a copy of Wyntoun's *Chronicle* and, on fos.299r-304r, a version of a work known as the *Scottis Originale*. The final folios of the volume (up to 308r) contain a brief account of Scottish history '*Fra ye begynnyng of ye world*' up to the date 1482. The *Scottis Originale*, dateable to *ca* 1460, utilises *Liber Pluscardensis* as its main source and, as the title indicates, the *Originale* principally offers a brief summary on the origin of the Scots, with the anonymous author emphasising the ancient freedom of Scotland, whilst lacing the account with clear Anglophobic overtones.²⁴ The mid-fifteenth century *Originale* also includes the contention that the Scottish kingship had a direct claim to the English throne through the heritage of St Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Indeed, the very inclusion of this assertion in the *Originale* indicates that this dynastic concept continued to resonate, and have real meaning, for Scots in the later-medieval period.²⁵ To quote the text in full:

²⁴ The anonymous author of the *Scottis Originale* includes in his work a reference to Portugal which is unique to *Liber Pluscardensis*, it does not appear in either Fordun's *Chronica* or Bower's *Scotichronicon*: '*and at ye last yai comme in to Spaynzee and aryfyt in Portingale, ye quhilk has zit ye namme of Gayele, our foirfadire*'. Although the author remains unknown, he has left tantalising clues to his identity within the content of the *Originale*. For instance, we know that he was either a Gael or had Gaelic connections because he states that the son of the king of Athens in Greece, Gayelglas, gave his name to our language which is Gaelic: '*his sonne Gayelglas, eftir quhomme oure language callit is Gayelige*'. Moreover, the author of the *Originale* consistently uses *Gayel*, rather than *Gaythelos*, which illustrates another link with Gaelic culture since that is similar to how the name would be pronounced in Gaelic. The author further stresses his Gaelic connection when he describes, using the 'Irish Remonstrance' in *Scotichronicon*, the meaning of the terms '*Scotia Major*' and '*Scotia Minor*', providing evidence of the lasting identification of *Scotia* with Ireland rather than Scotland: '*ye quhilk it in old cronyclis and storyes is callit Scotia Major to ye tymme yat sum part of ws comme out of it in oure Scotland, yat now is inhybyt, and it was callyt Scotia Minor; and yan Scotia Major begowth to be callyt Ibernica eftir yis said Iber Scot*'.

²⁵ Indeed, as an aside, there is clear evidence of one reader's interest in the *Scottis Originale* and the short history that follows it in BL MS Royal 17 D.XX. A late-medieval hand has added five pointer symbols, in black ink, to the margins of fos.303r and 304r. Although this reader does not highlight the St Margaret extract for special consideration, his additions at least indicate his readership of these works. The first pointer symbol appears in the right-margin of fo.303r and is directed at the word '*ald*', in the following context: '*Alsa, gyf any of yamme wald sat yat France has standyn lang tym unconquest, it is weill wrytynn be ald Croniclis yat Gallica; yat now is callyt France, was lang tymme tributaris to Romanns, and was kingis of it...*'. A further symbol is evident in the left-margin of fo.303v, targeting the word '*existi*' in the line '*A Diabolo existi et ad Diabolum ibis*'. The reader therefore seems intent on noting the argument that English kings effectively 'exist due to the Devil and will go to the Devil'. Moreover, three further pointers, all

'...be oure king, Kenauthe Makalpyn, ye quhilk was donne sewyn hundir xxx. And ad zeiris, and sa remaynit ye Saxanns in ye south, and we in ye north, to ye tymme, yat ye Danys subjeckit ye Saxanns and rygnt on yamme xx. zeire, and synne comme Wylzamm, Bastard of Normondy, ye Duke of Normandis bastard sonne, and put out ye Danys and mony of ye Saxonns, and held ye land zit ye quhilk of grand ryt suld be ye kingis of Scottis be ye ryt of Edmonnd Irnsidis sonnys dochtir, Sancte Mergreit, yat was maryit wyt ye king of Scoctis, callyt Malcolm Chamnar, fra ye quhilk yir descendit lynne be lynne, till oure king yat now is, and yir Edmond Irnsidis was wnweddit king of Ingland, and it is such yat a bastard may not succeid till heritage, ye heire beand own lyfe'.

Implicit in the *Scottis Originale*, therefore, is the concept of William the Bastard holding land that, by right, should have belonged to the kings of Scots and that the Scottish claim, through Margaret's status as granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, had descended, line by line, until the current Scottish king. Of course, the right of the Scottish kingship to the throne of England was not a novel concept. It had been noted by Adam of Dryburgh in 1180,²⁶ referred to in *Liber Extravagans*,²⁷ and raised by the Scots in 1321 when Robert I was negotiating with the English at Bamburgh.²⁸ It is certainly plausible that the author of the *Originale* includes this section as a retort to contemporary English claims of superiority over Scotland. Equally, some late-medieval Scottish readers of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives found Margaret and Malcolm, and

in the left-margin of fo.304r, have been added to the short account that follows the *Scottis Originale*. The first targets the opening line of the account ('*Fra ye begynnyng of ye warld onne to Christ...*'), while the second highlights the first citation of *Scottis* within the passage '*SCOTTIS MEN – The first Scottis men was foure thousand thre hundir and xv. Zeris fra ye begynnyng of ye warld*'. Lastly, the third pointer is directed at the extract: '*Yir thingis before wrytynne was all before ye Incarnatiounn, and it yat followis was eftir ye Incarnatiounn*'.

²⁶ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 196.

²⁷ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 54-84. As Broun has explained, *Liber Extravagans*, the 'Scottish poem' dealing with the origins of Scotland up to 1298, can probably be dated to 1296x1306. Margaret's claim to the English throne is referred to in the (translated) lines 'Three sons fathered by the said Canmore ruled the kingdom, which they held in succession. Their mother was the blessed Queen Margaret, the heir of the kings of England and Queen of Scots' (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 73).

²⁸ Broun, *Irish Identity*, 121 n.48.

their descendants, attractive for similar reasons. As S. Boardman has argued recently,

Margaret's saintly bloodline could, of course, be traced back further to her Saxon kinsmen, most notably Edward the Confessor. There is thus little surprise in the interest displayed by late-medieval Scots in Edward the Confessor and the English dynasty of which he was a part.²⁹

In fact, as Boardman has convincingly demonstrated, Margaret's claim to the English throne held a strong attraction for many aristocratic families of late-medieval Scotland. Families that had arrived in Scotland in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, such as the Lindsays and Grahams, could not claim a direct link with the ancient founding of the kingdom associated with Cinead mac Alpin. However, by emphasising the importance of Margaret's marriage to Malcolm in the forging of the kingdom, stressing their family's subsequent involvement as loyal subjects to the royal dynasty, their 'late' arrival in Scotland did not matter; their family origin-legend could assert that they came to Scotland at the most pivotal stage in the kingdom's formation. As Boardman suggests, in many cases the family origins would be tied even more firmly to Margaret's actual movements:

By the early sixteenth century, a large group of families claimed either to have some direct association with Margaret and her immediate family's arrival in Scotland, to have accompanied Malcolm III on his expedition from England to recover his kingdom from the 'usurper' Macbeth, or to have been forced to flee to the northern kingdom by William I as a result of their continued support for the rights of members of the Old English royal house.³⁰

²⁹ S. Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain' in E.J. Cowan and R.J. Finlay (eds), *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 47-72, at 66-67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

Boardman notes that the origin-legends of families such as the Swintons and Setons identified their 'links' with Malcolm Canmore in this period and how some noble families with more ancient origins in Scotland, such as the Campbells and the Drummonds, also came to tie their entry to Scotland within the era of Malcolm III and Margaret.³¹ The influence of these aristocratic origin-legends could plausibly account for a degree of the late-medieval interest in St Margaret and it could be noteworthy that *Pluscarden*D, containing reader activity by R³⁴ pertaining to Margaret, once belonged to the Drummonds of Hawthornden, who gained possession of the MS (from Dunfermline Abbey) at some point after 1525.³²

This chapter began by illustrating the extent of reader interest in the lives of saints and perhaps it can be argued that the non-textual reader scribal activity provides another layer of evidence to the sparse Scottish hagiographic archive. More specifically, however, it has been demonstrated that the reader interest in St Margaret was (largely) patriotic in inspiration and, like the MSS evidence concerning Scottish origins, it allows the modern historian another glimpse into the late-medieval Scottish mindset. Indeed, to draw once more upon the recent research of Dr Boardman, the reader interest in St Margaret can be intertwined with the concern shown by some individuals in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Brutus and his sons (as contained in the MSS). As Dr Boardman argues:

Margaret's English descent opened up an obvious route for the Scots to claim for their own royal line an unbroken connection to Brutus and the ancient British monarchy.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

³² In addition to the eleven books of *Pluscarden*, the MS contains, between fo.192r-204r, some extra material. On fo.203r there is included a complaint by Adam Forman, prior of Dunfermline, against a sentence of excommunication dated 3 May 1525. At some point after this, but certainly well before 1650 when James Drummond (on behalf of his recently deceased brother William) donated the MS to Colonel Fairfax, it came into the possession of the Drummond family. See chapter two, 43-44.

³³ Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland', 72.

In this way, therefore, the non-textual reader scribal activity contributes to the current debate by clearly indicating how educated readers of these MSS, offering their responses *ca* 1450-1550, engaged with the text concerning both St Margaret and, as chapter three illustrated, aspects of Galfridian lore.

CHAPTER V

GESTA ANNALIA II 1286-1341

Gesta Annalia II, which commences with the account of Alexander III's marriage to Yolande of Dreux and continues to David II's marriage to Margaret Logie in 1363,¹ was copied, and greatly expanded upon, by Walter Bower in the 1440s. Bower's *Scotichronicon* was subsequently utilised, much abridged, by the author of *Liber Pluscardensis*. Within the period 1286-1341² a range of specific subjects evidently interested the late-medieval readers of the MSS more than others. One can identify seven areas of particular concern: the 'Golden Age' of Alexander III; the 'Great Cause'; William Wallace; the role of the Bruce family 1306-1320; the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton (1328); the death of Robert Bruce and role of Thomas Randolph and James Douglas; and the territorial conflicts of the 1330s.

Eighteen late-medieval readers demonstrate interest in one or more of these subjects in the MSS and it is useful, before a closer examination of these themes, to outline what the MSS state on these topics and which readers are involved.

Gesta Annalia II's view of Alexander III's reign as an 'exaltation of kingship',³ is indicated in the account of the king's death and his successes:

And all the time he lived upon earth security reigned in steadfastness
of peace and quiet, and gleeful freedom. O Scotland, truly unhappy,
when bereft of so great a leader and pilot.⁴

¹ Broun, 'A new look at *Gesta Annalia*'.

² The late-medieval perceptions of David II's personal rule, following his return from France in 1341, are considered in chapter six. Furthermore, the late-medieval interest in the Declaration of Arbroath, which does not form a part of *Gesta Annalia* II, will be analysed in chapter seven.

³ N. Reid, 'The Historiography of a Myth', in N. Reid (ed), *Scotland in the reign of Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 1990), 181-213, at 189-190.

⁴ Chron. Fordun, vol. II, 304-305.

The sketch of Alexander's death and the popular perceptions of his reign contained in *Gesta Annalia* II were embellished in Bower's *Scotichronicon*. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by Bower's inclusion of a 'lament on the death of the king and the prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer' (X.43), not apparent in *Gesta Annalia* II, which states that:

Scotland, how sweet it is to remember your glory while your king was
alive! But now:
The countless race of Eve is frail and fleeting. Speak, my flute, raise,
tragedy, a woeful lament. The servile nation is making for the depths
by the left-hand path. All is woeful and frail beneath the sun.⁵

It was Bower, therefore, seeking to proclaim the virtues of a model king in the direct aftermath of the regicide of James I, who can be credited with introducing the concept of Alexander III's 'Golden Age'.⁶ As N. Reid suggests, 'it is to the imagination of Walter Bower that we have to ascribe the decisive flourish in the myth of Alexander III'.⁷ The author of *Pluscarden* included the *Scotichronicon* material in a much abridged form.

To what extent did the late-medieval readers, active between ca 1450x1550, engage with this material? It is clear that Scottish writers of this period upheld Alexander III's reign as an aureate era but was this view of history followed by the subsequent readers of these works? It is not unexpected that we discover an interest in elements of Alexander's reign, including his eulogy, among the late-medieval readers. However, only five have been detected in this process and this must be regarded as an unexpectedly low result; as discussed in chapter three, eighteen of these readers demonstrated concern in Scottish origins. Moreover, although R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B, a prolific supplier of reader activity, engages with the text on

⁵ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. V, 427.

⁶ Reid, 'Historiography of a Myth', 193.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 194.

Alexander III to note three specific events,⁸ and R⁵ in *FordunD* and R²³ in *CouparAngusH* highlight the king's death and eulogy, the other reader responses are more fleeting. While R²¹ in *CouparAngusC* uses one pointer symbol, admittedly from a total of only ten, to target Alexander III's good relationship with his subjects, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, an energetic provider of reader activity, offers only two brief marginal comments. Therefore, as will be discussed, while the reader activity does clearly illustrate an interest in the reign of Alexander III, and the concept of his 'golden age', it is limited in nature and some prominent readers of the MSS, such as R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* and R³¹ in *PluscardenC* and R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, do not respond to this material at all.

The second theme of this chapter centres on *Gesta Annalia II*'s recording of the rights to the throne of Robert Bruce the elder and John Balliol, describing Bruce's claim by proximity (or nearness of degree), as the son of earl David's second daughter Isabella, and Balliol's claim by primogeniture as the grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of earl David.⁹ *Gesta Annalia II* includes an account of Robert Bruce declining Edward I's offer of holding the kingdom in thralldom, with the memorable passage:

If I can get the aforesaid kingdom by means of my right and a faithful
assize, well and good; but if not, I shall never, in gaining that kingdom
for myself, reduce it to thralldom.¹⁰

Gesta Annalia II recounts how John Balliol was granted the decision in November 1292 and 'this John did homage to Edward I, king of England, for the kingdom of

⁸ Although these events are actually chronicled in *Gesta Annalia I* (i.e. between 1249 and 1285), they will be considered in the analysis that follows.

⁹ William Gaderar (R³¹) in *PluscardenC* draws attention to the descendents of earl David by adding in the left-margin of fo.135v (VII.5) '*Nota mors David de Huntyndon et eius successione*'. The text at this juncture is as follows: 'Of the same wife also he begat three very beautiful daughters: Margaret he married to Alan of Galloway; the second, Isabel, he gave to Robert de Bruce to wife; and from her the present line of kings is acknowledged to have issued; Ada, the third daughter, he wedded to Henry of Hastings'. R⁹ in *FordunG* demonstrates concern in the same passage but, as chapter eight will show, this reader's interest is centred on Alan of Galloway.

¹⁰ Chron. Fordun, vol. II, 308.

Scotland, as he had before promised in his ear, submitting to thralldom unto him for ever'.¹¹ Bower incorporated *Gesta Annalia* II's account in the *Scotichronicon* (bk.XI) but he also employed other sources, especially between cc.3-9 of bk. XI, by using supplementary materials which presumably he (and Wyntoun, for their stories are similar) had access to at St Andrews.¹² Bower's extra information contained historical examples pertinent to the subject, such as the hypothetical litigants Ticius and Seyus (bk.XI c.4) and the views of Master Giles Lamberti dean of St Martin at Tours (bk.XI c.7). According to Bower, Master Lamberti stipulated that:

But when it is a question of several persons of different degrees of relationship, the person nearer in degree has immediate precedence in succession, primogeniture notwithstanding, as is shown in the case of a second son who in succession to the father has precedence over the children of a first-born son who has died while the father was alive.¹³

Whilst abbreviated, the later *Pluscarden* follows Bower's account and was as critical of Balliol's actions as the earlier chronicles:

[Balliol] shamefully and foolishly did homage to King Edward the tyrant, at Newcastle, for the kingdom of Scotland which he was to hold of him. Such a thing had never been seen from the beginning of the world, and until the end of the world shall not the disgrace thereof be wiped out.¹⁴

Clearly the 'Great Cause', as recorded in the MSS, should be a fruitful topic to consider. The two main areas to explore concern whether the late-medieval readers were interested at all in the Great Cause and, if so, which line of argument did they

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 315.

¹² Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 195.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴ Chron. *Pluscard.*, vol. II, 105.

choose to focus on? As will be discussed, it is not unexpected to find some readers, such as R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A and R³⁰ in *Pluscarden*B, demonstrating concern in this subject and that this interest predominantly concentrated on passages of text highlighting the superiority of the Bruce claim. Given that these readers were offering their responses *ca* 1450x1550, with the Bruce/Stewart interpretation of history fully formed, it is perhaps not surprising to see this reflected in the MS evidence. However, what is curious is that not all the reader activity is simply 'pro-Bruce'. The late-medieval reader activity will demonstrate that for some individuals, at least, the Great Cause remained a topic to be engaged with and, even more significantly, debated.

Gesta Annalia II's description of William Wallace's rise in 1297 – 'the same year, William Wallace lifted up his head from his den – as it were – and slew the English sheriff of Lanark' – , success at Stirling and failure at Falkirk was, of course, copied and accentuated by Bower and the unknown author of *Pluscarden*. Whilst Bower, following Fordun, emphasized the contribution of the divided loyalty of the Scottish nobility towards Wallace's defeat in 1298, he inserted a tale into *Scotichronicon* (bk.XI c.34) describing Wallace's attempt to persuade Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick and the future king, to desert the English side and fight with the Scots. In this way Bower sought to explain Fordun's awkward reference to Bruce's role at Falkirk: 'But it is commonly said that Robert of Bruce – who was afterwards king of Scotland, but then fought on the side of England – was the means of bringing about this victory'.¹⁵ *Pluscarden*'s account of Wallace, although extensively rewritten from *Scotichronicon*, elaborated on the questionable loyalty of the Scottish nobility to Wallace with,

So the death of the guileless lamb was devised by those envious haters
of the happiness of mankind; and hard upon his death there followed

¹⁵ Chron. Fordun, vol. II, 323. As Professor Watt argued, '[Bower] faced up to the awkward tradition as he found it in Fordun and explained it away by introducing a traditional tale which offered an explanation of how as a result of this battle Bruce recognized his true calling to resist Edward; and it offers another example of the splendid influence of Wallace, even at his hour of defeat' (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 242).

struggles, the shipwreck of the clergy of Scotland, the ruin of the people, the downfall of the kingdom and the destruction of the state.¹⁶

Evidently the account of Wallace in the MSS should be a rich source in the investigation of late-medieval reader interest. Eight readers have been identified in highlighting passages of text pertaining to Wallace and/or the divided loyalty of the nobility at this time. Although the activity of **R**⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**²⁴, **R**²⁵, **R**²⁶, **R**³² and **R**³³ is relatively sparse, **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH* offers considerable interest in these subjects. **R**²³ draws attention to the MS's physical description of Wallace (a subject also noted by **R**³² in *PluscardenC*), the appointment of Wallace as guardian following the battle of Stirling Bridge (also highlighted by **R**⁷ in *CouparAngusH*), the battle at Falkirk (also noted by **R**³³ in *PluscardenC*), the capture of Wallace and, finally, the divided loyalty of the Scottish nobility (which **R**²⁴ in *CouparAngusF* also signals interest in). Although this does leave a large body of readers who seemingly demonstrate no interest in Wallace, it will be argued that the late-medieval reader activity provides another dimension to the Wallace 'myth'; these readers of the MSS were aware of and sought to highlight Wallace's legendary status.

The role and influence of the Bruce family, in the period 1292-1320, features prominently in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. Twelve late-medieval readers were attracted to the events of this era in their MS. Although the activity of some readers is very occasional - **R**⁹ in *FordunG* simply notes the earl of Gloucester's death at Bannockburn on fo.200v (Annals.CXXXI) -, several others illustrate significant concern in this material. **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH*, for example, highlights MS references to the meeting between Bruce and Comyn in 1304, the death of Edward I in 1307, Bruce's victory at Inverurie in 1308, the significant role of James the Steward in these years, Robert I's defeat of the men of Argyll in 1308, the recapturing of Scottish castles by Bruce and his supporters between 1310-14, the death of Edward Bruce in 1318 and the actions of Thomas Randolph in 1318. Therefore, like his extensive concern in Wallace, this reader was very interested in

¹⁶ Chron. *Pluscard.*, vol. II, 27.

noting some significant Bruce achievements in this period. However, as will be discussed, it is interesting that **R**²³ also displayed concern in the dramatic (according to *Gesta Annalia* II) Scottish victory at Roslin in 1303 for credit in this case, as the Fordun and *Scotichronicon* MSS make clear, belonged to John Comyn and Simon Fraser. Indeed, **R**⁷ in *CouparAngusH* and **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB* also demonstrated a concern in this encounter and the late-medieval interest, and disinterest, in the Comyn family will feature in the forthcoming discussion. **R**³⁰, like **R**²³, exhibits a wider interest in these years by drawing attention to the battle of Bannockburn and Edward Bruce's affairs in Ireland. Moreover, another reader of *PluscardenB*, **R**²⁶, indicates interest in the period 1292-1320 by noting Edward II's accession, Edward Bruce's arrival in Ireland, Thomas Randolph's harrying tactics in northern England in 1318 and the Soules conspiracy of 1320.

In addition, even greater interest in this is registered by **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*. As well as targeting MS references to the Ayr parliament of 1315, James Douglas' actions in 1315 and the invasion of an English force at Donibristle in 1317, **R**¹⁹ has used twenty pointer symbols in the MS to highlight passages relevant to Bannockburn. Even for this reader, who offers an unusually high level of activity in the MSS (only comparable to the responses of **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH*, **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA* and **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD*), this is a striking degree of interest in one battle. Furthermore, with **R**⁷, **R**⁹, **R**²⁴, **R**³⁰, **R**³² and **R**³³ also targeting Bannockburn in their MS, a clear level of wider reader interest is apparent. However, for what is apparently such a pivotal encounter in the narrative of the Wars of Independence, this is a rather select group of readers and this point will be emphasised in the analysis that follows.

Nevertheless, with **R**¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconC* and *ScotichroniconR* and **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA* also offering occasional reader responses to the MSS accounts of 1292-1320, there is a collectively significant late-medieval interest in this material. Although one should not be necessarily surprised by this finding, with for example the importance of these events possibly seared into the readers' memories through an acquaintance with Barbour's *Bruce* (1376), there are some notable features of this reader activity. For instance, how does the interest of some readers in James the

Steward and Marjorie Bruce, surely prompted by the contemporary relevance of the Stewart royal family, square with the fact that the citation of Robert Stewart's birth in 1315 was ignored by all but two (**R**¹⁹ and **R**²³) of the late-medieval readers? Similarly, while there appears to be unexpected late-medieval interest in the English invasion of Donibristle in 1317 (and the subsequent heroic actions of William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld), there is very little concern demonstrated in the killing of Comyn by Bruce in 1306. These issues, and others, will be examined in the discussion of this period and the late-medieval reader activity possibly indicates that, traditionally, too much emphasis has been placed on particular events in these years.

The fifth subject of interest in this chapter is the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton (1328), in which the English recognized, temporarily, the legitimacy of Scottish claims of independence. *Gesta Annalia* II's succinct summary of this event - 'the aforesaid kings there came to an understanding together about an indissoluble peace...a true peace, which should go on without end between them and between their respective successors...' -¹⁷ was supplemented by Bower with Edward III's formal act of resignation:

And if there is any right which we or our ancestors in times past have sought in the kingdom of Scotland in any way, this we by this letter renounce and discharge to the said king of Scotland, his heirs and successors.¹⁸

Bower's source for Edward III's resignation letter, which was probably not known to the author of *Gesta Annalia* II, has not been traced.¹⁹ *Pluscarden* follows Bower by including, in a slightly rewritten form, Edward's renunciation of his claim to sovereignty. Six late-medieval readers of the MSS signal interest in the Treaty, or letter, of 1328. **R**¹², responsible for the notable red underscoring in *Fordun*I, offers

¹⁷ Chron. Fordun, vol. II, 344-345.

¹⁸ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol VII, 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

considerable interest in the text of the Treaty on fo.156r (Annals.CXLI). In addition, both **R**¹³ (Matthew Parker) and **R**¹⁶ in *Scotichronicon*C draw attention to the Treaty/letter, and the very prominent readers **R**²³, **R**²⁵ and **R**³⁰ also demonstrate concern in this subject. When one considers the traditional importance of this event in the narrative of the Scottish nation, one should perhaps expect this level of reader interaction (if not more). However, the extant MS evidence illustrates conclusively that some late-medieval readers pinpointed the significance of this event in their reading of the nation's history. Furthermore, by broadening the discussion to include the reader interest in the homage performed by Scottish kings to their English counterparts, it will be argued that the late-medieval reader activity, added *ca* 1450x1550, shows that the subject of English overlordship remained an issue of substance in this period. In a similar way to the reader activity concerning Scottish origins, therefore, it could be that interest in the subject of homage/overlordship, or freedom generally, heightened in times when Anglo-Scottish conflict threatened.

To turn to the sixth topic under consideration in this chapter, the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives record how the death of Robert Bruce in June 1329 was followed by the demise of James Douglas in 1330 whilst carrying the king's heart on crusade in Granada and the appointment of Thomas Randolph as guardian of the realm prior to his own death in July 1332. This calamitous sequence of events left Scotland vulnerable to attack from both Edward III and the 'Disinherited', and in a few short years Scotland had moved from having its independence recognized, under duress, by a new English king to the nadir of losing its most effective leaders and experienced military commanders. One expects to find a degree of late-medieval interest in the careers of Bruce, Randolph and Douglas and, indeed, the death and heroism of Robert Bruce is noted by **R**¹³, **R**¹⁷, **R**²³ and **R**²⁶. **R**²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B draws attention to the MS tale of how even an English herald, in response to a prompt by Edward III, replied that Robert Bruce was the 'most daring and mightiest in warlike deeds', much to the annoyance of his master. Nevertheless, as already stated, although the wider career of Bruce does figure prominently in the activity of several readers, it is perhaps surprising that so few have chosen to highlight the occasion of his death. This is even odder when

one considers the reader activity pertaining to Douglas and Randolph. It will be shown that while there is some reader interest in Douglas, it is much more concentrated on Randolph, illustrated clearly by R²⁶ applying three pointer symbols to one chapter in *Pluscarden*B entitled ‘The earl of Murray is elected guardian – other events at this time’. In fact, using primarily the evidence of R²⁶ and R¹⁷ in *Scotichronicon*C and *Scotichronicon*R, it will be argued that to some readers Thomas Randolph’s brief guardianship was regarded as the paradigm of justice and a model for others, possibly in their own lifetimes, to follow.

The final subject of this chapter concerns the *Gesta Annalia* II, *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden* accounts of the conflicts of the 1330s, most notably Dupplin (1332) and Halidon Hill (1333). Six late-medieval readers (R¹³, R²³, R²⁵, R²⁶, R³³ and R³⁴) display an interest in these battles, and when one considers that only seven readers noted their MS description of Bannockburn (albeit one reader, R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B, in great depth), then this evidence could be revealing. Moreover, it will be shown that for one reader at least, R³⁴ in *Pluscarden*D, Dupplin represented a classic example of Scottish over-confidence in the build-up to a conflict. It is conceivable that this reader had in mind experiences of his own era when he considered Dupplin in *Pluscarden*D and the possible contemporary conflicts of the period *ca* 1450x1550 will also be explored in the forthcoming analysis. In addition, R³⁴, R²³ in *CouparAngus*H, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A and R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B all demonstrated concerted interest in the MSS portrayals of the siege warfare of the 1330s. Is it possible that the interest of these readers stems from their own experiences of late-medieval siege warfare? Whilst one cannot prove this assertion, the most notable instances of prolonged sieges in early-sixteenth century Scotland will also be outlined.

Taken collectively, therefore, the *Gesta Annalia* II material, and its additions in *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden*, is rich in late-medieval reader activity and a productive source for investigation. We shall begin with the reign of Alexander III.

The sense of Alexander III’s reign as a ‘golden age’ in Scottish history was clearly fixed by the late-medieval era, as is seen in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives, which perpetuated this image of the king, upholding him as the

archetypal monarch.²⁰ It is illuminating to trace, therefore, the further development of Alexander's 'golden age' through the activity of the late-medieval readers of these MSS. R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* demonstrates interest in the early history of Alexander III and he seems keen to highlight events that portray the king in a good light.²¹ Between fos.126v and 130v this reader includes three pointers to target the events of the marriage of Alexander and Margaret in 1251, the dismissal of corrupt counsellors of Alexander III shortly after his marriage and the death of King Hakon following the battle of Largs in 1263. On fo.126v (VII.16) of *PluscardenB*, in between the columns of text, R²⁶ directs a pointer at the line '*novum tantum etatis sue annorum, ad majoris*'. The context illustrates Alexander III's marriage to Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III:

*Praeterea vero, in dicta civitate Eboracensi, rex Henricus praefatus regem Alexandrum, novum tantum etatis sue annorum, ad majoris dileccionis et familiaritatis ostencionem, singulo militari decoravit*²²

R²⁶ then adds a symbol in between the columns of text on fo.126v (VII.17) to target the line '*Remoti enim errant quia, quotquot*', within a passage detailing the dismissal of advisers of the young king because they acted contrary to the 'common weal'. The context is as follows:

Remoti enim errant quia, quotquot errant consilarii, tot errant reges vel reguli, qui redditus regni et omnia jura regalia ad eorum usus

²⁰ Reid, 'Historiography of a Myth'. See also Grant, 'Aspects of National Consciousness', 79-81.

²¹ Thus, although this *Pluscarden* material was originally derived from *Gesta Annalia* I, and not *Gesta Annalia* II, it is considered in this discussion; it demonstrates reader interest in the successes of Alexander III.

²² In translation: 'Furthermore, the aforesaid king Henry, to show the greater love and intimate friendship, girded King Alexander, while only nine years old, with the belt of knighthood at the city of York [and thereafter brought about and concluded the marriage between the aforesaid King Alexander and his eldest daughter, named Margaret, on St Stephen's Day]'.

p.306 (Annals.LXVII) of *FordunD* this reader directed a black pointer sign at the line '[remanentib]us, laeti remeaverunt. Eodem anno xiiii'. A 'nota' is also evident above the symbol. The line in context is revealing:

*Quibus peractis, Francigenae, variis onerati muneribus, exceptis
paucis cum regina remanentibus, laeti remeaverunt. Eodem anno xiiii
Kalendas Aprilis, obiit bone memorie idem Alexander, illustris rex
Scotorum, apud Kyngorne, et honorifice sepultus in Dunfermlyn.*²⁷

A further pointer, directed at a 'nota' on this occasion, is apparent on p.307 (Annals.LXVII) of *FordunD*. R⁵ has placed the 'nota' beside the line '*duce et aurigo, et, quod infelicius est, nulla*'. The translation, in context, illustrates that R⁵ is directly drawing attention to the 'golden age' of Alexander's reign, as described in the MS, and the despondency in Scotland that followed his demise:

And all the time he lived upon earth security reigned in steadfastness
of peace and quiet, and gleeful freedom. O Scotland, truly unhappy,
when bereft of so great a leader and pilot; while – greater unhappiness
still! – he left no lawful offspring to succeed him.²⁸

Moreover, R²¹ in *CouparAngusC* gives the impression of another late-medieval reader drawing attention to the concept of Alexander's 'golden age'. R²¹ was clearly intent on highlighting the perceived good relationship that existed between Alexander and his Scottish subjects. This reader added a black pointer symbol in between the columns of text on page 266 and directed it upwards with a line drawn from the index finger of the sign to underscore the words '*rege suo*'. The context is as follows:

²⁷ In translation: 'When these were over, the French, except a few who abode with the queen, hied back in gladness, laden with various gifts. The same year, on the 19th of March, this Alexander of godly memory, the illustrious king of Scotland, died at Kinghorn, and was buried in state at Dunfermline'.

²⁸ '*Et cuncta ejus tempora, quibus vixit in terra, errant sub firma pace et tranquilla, et jocunda libertate securo. O! vere infelix Scotia, cum tali et tanto caruisti duce et aurigo, et, quod infelicius est, nulla ab eo prole relicta ad succedendum legitima*'.

*Unde ubique rex securo agmine constipates gavisus est de populo, et
populus multipliciter exultaverunt de rege suo*²⁹

This relates to the efficient government of Alexander III and his progress through the kingdom in the administering of justice. It is worth considering that R²¹ may have in mind James III (1460-88) here. James became infamous for basing himself in Edinburgh (now established as the capital) and demanding that the government, justice and administration of the realm be conducted from this central position.³⁰ Therefore, by stressing the exemplary relationship between Alexander III and his people portrayed in *CouparAngusC*, this reader could be deliberately offering a contrast to his own contemporary kingship of James III.

It is clear, therefore, that some late-medieval readers were interested in the MSS descriptions of the achievements of Alexander's reign and the despondency that followed his death. However, one must be careful not to overstate this enthusiasm. In addition to the number of readers not displaying any concern in this material, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, an extremely prominent reader, offers only two short marginal comments. When one considers the level of this reader's interaction with the MS, and his underscoring that is prevalent throughout *PluscardenA*, this must be regarded as a limited response by R²⁵ to the events of Alexander's reign. Thus, while the late-medieval reader activity shows an awareness of the 'golden age' of Alexander's reign, it is perhaps more muted than expected.

To turn to the Great Cause, the legal quest to determine the rightful claimant to the Scottish throne,³¹ John Balliol's superior right to be king would be subject,

²⁹ In translation: 'So everywhere the king, attended by a stout troop, rejoiced in his people, and the people exulted in their king many times over'.

³⁰ N. Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 269-298. As Macdougall argues, James' reputation declined still further in the century after his death and 'By the end of the sixteenth century king James was widely portrayed as a recluse who could not or would not govern' (Macdougall, *James III*, 269).

³¹ As Professor Duncan has recently argued, 'We should distinguish between two distinct processes: the establishment of Edward I's overlordship, a political process, and the judicial establishment of the right heir to the Scottish throne; both arose out of a vacancy in the kingship of Scotland but only

like King Robert's usurpation of the throne in 1306, to the Brucian propaganda machine and the effective rewriting of history. It is interesting to trace the response of the late-medieval readers to the events of 1291-1292. What aspects, if any, of the Great Cause, did they deem worthy of comment? Can one argue, by analysing the reader activity in all the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives, that they highlight certain arguments over others? Given the recognised legitimacy of the judgement of the court at the time,³² do our late-medieval readers comply with this or do they draw attention, in the MSS, to arguments favouring a pro-Bruce line?

To begin with, R⁷ in *CouparAngusH* notes the dispute between the families after the death of Alexander III by adding '*Conflictus inter Bruys et Balliol*' to the left-margin of fo.145v (VIII.2). Furthermore, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* demonstrates an interest, through the use of underscoring and a bracket on fo.152r (VIII.10), in the events at Norham in 1289. This reader underscores the words '*Edwardus veniens apud Norame, fecit convenire omnes magnates*' on fo.152r and also brackets the following passage: '*anno domini m cc lxxxix rex Anglie Edwardus veniens apud Norame, fecit convenire omnes magnates et custodes regni Scocie, cum prelati, et eosdem dulci eloquio allactabat, exhortando ut concordarent*'.³³ In addition, on

the second of these may reasonably be called 'the Great Cause' (A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842-1292: Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), 221). Also see G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 39-53.

³² As Duncan notes, with the notable exception of the Bruce family, Edward's decision was generally accepted at the time: 'The Scots gained enormously, in the next twelve years, from the substance of the judgement for Balliol, for it left them as united as they had any hope of being. Not once in their war of words with Edward I did they suggest that his judgement for John, or John's right to be king, was flawed' (Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*, 309). A similar view has been expressed by F. Watson who, in reference to Balliol's troubles in 1295, argues that: 'An independent Scotland was totally dependent on the continuance of Balliol's kingship; any alternative was unthinkable, both in terms of legality and because of the continuing danger of civil war. It did not matter that at least one important component of the community of the realm, the Bruce family, maintained the opposite view. The majority, including those, such as James the Steward and Earl Donald of Mar, who had supported Bruce's claim to the throne during the Great Cause, regarded the question of the succession as permanently settled' (F. Watson, 'The Enigmatic Lion: Scotland, Kingship and National Identity in the Wars of Independence', in D. Broun, R. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity. The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through The Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), 18-37, at 22).

³³ In translation: 'Edward King of England came to Norham in the year 1289, and had all the magnates and wardens of the kingdom assembled, together with the prelates, and cajoled them with sweet words, urging them to agree [unanimously upon a king, and make peace among themselves]'.

fo.152v (VIII.11) of *Pluscarden*A R²⁵ shows concern in Robert Wishart's response to Edward I's claims of suzerainty over Scotland, which in fact took place in 1291. R²⁵ uses a bracket in the left-margin to target the following extract, and he emphasises his interest by underscoring the words '*Gilde, quod regnum Scotorum fuit inter cetera regna terrarum nobile, forte, potens*': '*de libris et cronicis Anglorum extirpsi et signanter de libris Gilde, quod regnum Scotorum fuit inter cetera regna terrarum nobile, forte, potens; cujus regni nobiles et incole, naciones quae sequuntur vi et virtute expugnatus*'.³⁴ R²⁵ then underscores the words '*quarens ab eo voluit in capite tenere, tanquam*' on fo.153r (VIII.12).³⁵ This reader also adds a bracket to the left-margin of fo.153r clearly displaying a general interest in the same extract:

*Preparet: quod ita conclusum est finaliter. Super qo puncto, vocare fecit Robertum de Broys seniore, querens ab eo si dictum regnum ab eo voluit in capite tenere, tanquam a suo domino superiore; et quod, hoc faciens, ipsum regem ipsius regni constitueret. Cui Robertus de Broys humiliter et mature respondens*³⁶

In fact, several of these readers highlight this passage that describes how Robert Bruce the elder, the Competitor, was offered the kingdom of Scotland by Edward I prior to the Great Cause. The issue at stake here is that the Competitor is presented in very favourable terms and is shown to place great value upon the validity of his hereditary right to rule Scotland; without recognition of this, according to the narratives, Robert Bruce would not accept the offer of the throne. Whatever the dubious historical veracity of this claim, it remains intriguing that four late-

³⁴ In translation: '[I have] made extracts from the English books and chronicles, and it tells us in the book of Gildas that the kingdom of Scotland was once noble, strong and powerful among the other kingdoms of the earth'.

³⁵ This relates to Edward I asking Robert Bruce the elder 'whether he would hold the said throne from him'.

³⁶ In translation: 'and such was the conclusion finally arrived at. Thereupon he sent for the elder Robert Bruce, and asked him whether he would hold the said throne from him in chief, as his overlord; and if he did so, he would appoint him king of that kingdom. But Robert Bruce answered him respectfully and quickly, saying...'

medieval readers have pinpointed this section of text. On fo.250r (XI.11) of *Scotichronicon*B R¹⁹ targets the word '*deliberatis*', with the subsequent words in the passage also underscored: '*deliberatis, vocari fecit Robertum de Broys seniore querens si predictum regnum*'. In context:

*Istis sic deliberatis, vocari fecit Robertum de Broys seniore querens
si predictum regnum vellet de eo in capite tenere, et si sic ipsum
regem faceret et constitueret eiusdem*³⁷

Thus this reader displays interest in Edward I summoning Robert Bruce and asking him if he would hold the kingdom of Scotland as his vassal.³⁸ R²³ in *CouparAngus*H also illustrates concern in this theme by using a red pointer in the left-margin of fo.146v (VIII.5) to highlight the text '*Istis sic deliberatis vocari fecit Robertum de Broys seniore*'. Another late-medieval reader, in the *Pluscarden* canon, also registers interest in this event. R³⁴ in *Pluscarden*D includes a pointer in the left-margin of fo.118v (VIII.12) to target the line '*cui Robertus de Broys humiliter et mature*'. Clearly R³⁴ is concerned with the Competitor's respectful and speedy response, but what did it entail? The translation illustrates the moral ground supposedly adopted by the elderly Bruce patriarch:

But Robert Bruce answered him respectfully and quickly, saying 'If I can get the aforesaid kingdom by hereditary right, well and good; if not, I desire not to reign over that kingdom, even if I could do so by might. But to bring under the yoke the aforesaid kingdom, which all the kings, my predecessors, from the beginning have held in freedom,

³⁷ In translation: 'When these things had thus been considered, he summoned the elder Robert de Bruce and asked him if he would hold the aforesaid Kingdom of him in chief, in which he would make and constitute him king thereof'.

³⁸ This reader demonstrates further interest in Bruce family history by placing a pointer in between the columns of text on fo.250v (XI.13) and beside the line '*nomine Robertum qui genuit Robertum comitem*'. Thus, the interest is in the genealogy of the Bruces, with the family descending from Isabella and Robert Bruce, to a son called Robert, who fathered Robert earl of Carrick, who in turn fathered King Robert.

and have with such toil and trouble defended and kept until now from
all thraldom or colour of vassalage, that I wholly refuse.³⁹

R³⁰ in *PluscardenB* exhibits even more concern in the debate surrounding the relative merits of the Bruce/Balliol cases. Between fos.141v and 143r this reader has included five pointer symbols flagging his interest in the arguments concerning the succession of kings. On fo.141v (VIII.7) **R**³⁰ adds a pointer in between the columns of text and directed towards the line '*pro regula et prepossessione maxima*'.⁴⁰ Thus **R**³⁰ is intrigued by the succession of kings and the chief proposition of the rules of succession. This is clear from the full translation of the line and surrounding text on fo.141v:

The custom established in the case of the Kings of Scotland, and not in the case of their subjects, is to be followed. The custom with regard to the succession in the case of the kings is different from that in the case of their subjects. For we hold this as a rule and chief proposition, that custom descends not ascends, which must be understood to mean that the lower ought to be judged by the higher and not contrariwise.

We gain an even clearer appreciation of the interest of this reader with his next addition to *PluscardenB* on fo.141v (VIII.7). In this case **R**³⁰ includes a symbol in the left-margin and targets the words '*filio secundogenito*', which are also underscored. The context of this interest is instructive:

³⁹ It should be noted that in *Pluscarden*, following the *Scotichronicon* account, the narrative continues by stating that Balliol, when faced with the same offer, agreed to the English king's request: 'The latter [Balliol], after a short consultation upon the aforesaid king's request, speedily complied with it, and, so as to hold the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland of him and his successors, he secretly promised to take the oath of allegiance and fealty to him thereupon, as is customary' (Chron. *Pluscard.*, vol. II, 100-101). In this brief example, therefore, we gain a good snapshot of the diverse treatments of the Bruce family and Balliol in the chronicle histories.

⁴⁰ The full context of this line is as follows: '*Sed alia et alia est consuetudo in successionibus regum et suorum subditorum. Nam hoc habemus pro regula et prepossessione maxima, quod consuetudo descendit et non ascendit: hoc est intelligendum quod consuetudine superioris inferioris judicari debent, et non econtra*'. A bracket is also apparent around '*Nam hoc*' and a comment is evident in between the columns of text (directly above the pointer), '*Regula*'.

*Sed, ubi agitur de pluribus personis gradu distinctis, primogenitura non obstante, qui gradu propinquior est statim praeferetur in successione: sicut patet de filio secundogenito, qui in successione patris praeferetur liberis primogeniti fratris defuncti patre vivente*⁴¹

This late-medieval reader's interest in the debate involving nearness by degree, in the case of a second son, is revealing. It is noteworthy that **R**³⁰ has chosen to highlight a passage that stresses the superiority of nearness by degree over primogeniture; as we shall see shortly, a reader in *PluscardenD* does likewise. However, **R**³⁰'s next offering appears to highlight a conclusion contrary to not only Balliol's claim to the kingship but also Bruce's! On fo.142r (VIII.7) **R**³⁰ includes a symbol in the left-margin and targets the line '*Ticio enim defuncto sine legitimo herede*'.⁴² The interest of this reader in the heirs of Titius becomes transparent with the translation of the full passage:

They also found a case expressly excluding Robert Bruce and likewise John Balliol: For on the death of Titius without lawful heir-male, the succession to the fief does not belong to the paternal granduncle of this Titius nor to issue descending from him, as carefully stated under the said heading *Successionis in feodem*, chapter first. But David earl of Huntingdon, the ancestor of the said Robert and John, by descent from whom these claim the said throne, was the paternal granduncle of King Alexander last deceased, and was the brother of the illustrious King William, the grandfather of the said Alexander; and thus the succession to this fief ought not to belong to the issue descending from the said earl David, but shall revert to the overlord of that fief.

⁴¹ In translation: 'But when it is a question of several persons of various degrees, the nearer in degree of relationship straightway has precedence in the succession, notwithstanding primogeniture, as we see in the case of a second son, who, in the succession to the father, has precedence over the children of a firstborn brother deceased while the father was living'.

⁴² In context: '*Ticio enim defuncto sine legitimo herede masculo, hujus feodi successie non pertinet ad ejusdem Ticii patrum magnum, nec ad prolem ex eo descendendum, ut in dicto titulo successionis in feodem covetur, capitulo primo*'.

R³⁰ includes another pointer in between the columns of text on fo.142r (VIII.8) and aims it at the line '*observari deberet. Non tamen invenerunt*'.⁴³ The context of the line is illuminating, with R³⁰ seemingly intrigued by whether common law precedents concerning fiefdoms had higher authority than the customs of the country in question:

*Item invenerunt quod tunc demum in feodis ad leges communes recurritur, per quam consuetudo regni non invenitur, ut in eodem libro, titulo De cognitione feodi, capitulo primo, in fine. Item invenerunt quod in feodis consuetudo quae in maioribus observatur, in minoribus eciam observari deberet.*⁴⁴

This reader continues his interest in the significance concerning the customs of a country with his next entry on fo.142v (VIII.8). R³⁰ adds a symbol to the left-margin and targets the line '*regni observatur. Nam consuetudo*', within the following passage:

*Quod est verum, nisi, in loco de que agitur, aliud de consuetudine regni observetur; nam consuetudo approbata in loco sue praefertur omni lege.*⁴⁵

Lastly, R³⁰ includes a sign in the left-margin of fo.143r (VIII.9) and targets the line '*reportaret, nuncquam postea posit redire*', with a marginal bracket also apparent from '*nuncquam*' to '*redire*'. As the fuller extract illustrates, this reader is once more noting the claims of Robert Bruce the elder in the Great Cause and highlighting a passage stipulating that Bruce, if unsuccessful in gaining the whole

⁴³ '*Non tamen*' also has a bracket surrounding it, possibly by R³⁰.

⁴⁴ In translation: 'They also found that recourse is to be found, as laid down in the same book, heading *De Cognitione feodi*, chapter first, at the end. They also found that in fiefs the custom which is in force in the greater ought also to be in force in the less'.

⁴⁵ In translation: 'This is true unless the custom of the country in the place in question prescribes something else; for established custom, in its own place, comes before all law'.

kingdom through being nearer in degree, still had the right to 'afterwards go back and claim his share':

*Item cum quaerebatur ab eo, si dominus Robertus de Broys in petitione sua, qua totum petit regnum, eo quod propinquior sit in gradu, contrarium iudicium reportaret, nuncquam postea posit redire ad petendum, racione...*⁴⁶

PluscardenD also contains late-medieval reader interest in the Bruce claim during the Great Cause. Like the reader in *PluscardenB*, **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* is keen to highlight the judicial case concerning nearness in degree and he draws attention to a biblical reference on fo.117v (VIII.10) by directing a symbol, from the left-margin, at the line '*sicut per iudicium, dominum manifestum est*'. In context:

*Eritque hoc filius Israel factum pro lege perpetua, sicut praecepit Dominus Moysi. Et sic omnes majores et periciores tocius ordinis dixerunt proximiozem gradum modis omnibus esse praeferendum, sicut per iudicium, Domini manifestum est*⁴⁷

Thus, in a sense, this reader appears to invoke the highest authority, the Lord's judgement, to stress the virtues of a claim based upon nearness in degree.

R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* also shows interest in the history of the Great Cause and he signals this on fo.245r (XI) of the MS by placing a pointer beside the heading for c.12 in the list of *tabuli*: '*Ut plenius sciatur de jure Brois et Balliol sequitur compendiosa computacio regum Scocie*'.⁴⁸ This reader continues his interest on fo.246v (XI.3) by using two pointer symbols to target firstly the Balliol

⁴⁶ In translation: 'Also, when he was asked whether, if Sir Robert Bruce should have an unfavourable judgement upon his claim, in which he claims the whole kingdom, as being the nearer in degree, he could afterwards go back and claim his share, on the grounds stated above...'

⁴⁷ In translation: 'And this shall be made a law for even unto the children of Israel, as the Lord commanded Moses. Thus all the greatest and most skilful of the whole order said that the nearer in degree is by all means to take precedence, as is manifest from the Lord's judgement'.

⁴⁸ In translation: 'So that the rights of Bruce and Balliol may be more fully understood, a brief account of the kings of Scotland follows'.

claim and then the Bruce claim. The first symbol, in the left-margin, singles out the line '*seniore sorore filie comitis de Hontyngtona*'⁴⁹ as worthy of consideration, while the second sign, in between the columns of text, is directed at the word '*fuit*' within the line '*dicti comitis David fuit, et femineus succedere*'. The context of the latter pointer involves Bruce the Competitor, in his position as grandson of earl David, arguing that 'someone in the female line ought not to succeed as long as a male is to be found, nor ought a great-grandson to be placed before a grandson'. Lastly, in the left-margin of fo.247v (XI.6) this reader has directed a pointer at the line '*linea descendenti vel collaterali. Sed*'. This is another fascinating piece of reader activity and it echoes the interest of other readers. The line relates to the view attributed to Master Giles Lamberti, dean of St Martin at Tours, whereby in the Kingdom of France primogeniture does not give precedence to anyone over others in succession, except in the case of there being several of the same degree of relationship – brothers, sons etc. – all 'descending in the same line or collaterally'. However, Master Giles continues by stating that when several individuals and different degrees of relationship are involved then the person nearest in degree has immediate precedence in succession.⁵⁰

Clearly, therefore, some late-medieval readers demonstrated significant interest in the Great Cause. However, it is worth noting that it is a select group of individuals, the most prominent readers that will figure in chapter eight in the 'Analysis of Individual Readers' Interests', that demonstrate most concern in this material. Nevertheless, on the evidence that presents itself, the late-medieval reader interest was generally concerned with passages of text that highlighted the Bruce claim to the throne. However, and this is an important observation, the reader activity was not exclusively favourable to the Bruces. For readers such as **R**³⁰ and **R**¹⁹, therefore, it seems a level of debate existed over the merits of each claimant and their activity demonstrates that some late-medieval readers were not willing to simply gloss over the passages extolling the very real virtues of Balliol's claim. In

⁴⁹ In translation: '[Dervorguilla] the elder sister of the daughter of the earl of Huntingdon'.

⁵⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 17.

the context of the time, with the Bruce perspective of the Great Cause evolving into the 'official line' in the intervening centuries, this is perhaps a surprising conclusion.

The trials and tribulations of King John between 1292-96 are a well-recorded episode in Scottish history and it is unsurprising to find several of the late-medieval readers of the MSS interested in John's fate.⁵¹ Edward I's 'sack' of Berwick on 30 March 1296 was followed a month later by the Scottish defeat to the earl of Warenne at Dunbar. Edward then proceeded to subdue and take possession of strongholds such as Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling,⁵² Perth, Forfar, Aberdeen and Elgin, before forcing King John to surrender his rights and humiliatingly resign his kingdom. Edward I thus appeared to be in control of his troublesome northern neighbour and the Wars of Independence, the Scottish struggle to assert her liberty, had begun and would occupy a central position in British history for the next hundred years. A defining feature of the Wars involves the individuals, both Scottish and English, who would attain legendary status as a result of their actions and their feats of courage or leadership greatly enliven the chronicle histories. From a Scottish perspective, however, there are few individuals to rival William Wallace's position in history. The feats of Wallace, from his early origins and military accomplishments to his defeat at Falkirk and execution seven years later, have entered the realm of mythology in the centuries since his death. Whilst one should be cautious of overstating his achievements during his lifetime, his historical legacy has frequently been invoked as a model for others, of all political hues, to follow.⁵³

⁵¹ See chapter eight, 'Analysis of Individual Readers' Interests' and the activity of R³⁰ in particular.

⁵² R²³ in *CouparAngusH* signals his interest in this very event by targeting the following passage with a red/brown pointer symbol in the left-margin on fo.149r: '*Progreiens de Dunbar rex Edwardus traditis sibi castris de Dunbar et Edinburgh et Stivelyng...*'.

⁵³ G. Morton, *William Wallace: Man and Myth* (Sutton Publishing, 2004), esp. 1-52. See also E.J. Cowan, 'The Wallace Factor in Scottish History', in R. Jackson and S. Wood (eds), *Images of Scotland*, in *The Journal of Scottish Education, Occasional Paper, No.1* (Dundee, The Northern College, 1997) 5-17; E.J. Cowan, 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration of Arbroath', in D. Broun, R. Finlay and M. Lynch (eds), *Image and Identity: the making and remaking of Scotland through the*

The chronicles of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives were instrumental in recounting, and embellishing, the life of Wallace. In addition to Wallace's own successes, a key feature of these chronicle histories involved the 'perfidiousness of the established aristocracy'⁵⁴ which directly contributed to Wallace's failure at Falkirk and ultimately resulted in his betrayal by Sir John Menteith in 1305. We will return to the divided loyalty of the Scottish nobility shortly. In his recent survey of the Wars Michael Brown aptly summarises the treatment of Wallace in the narrative histories:

While contemporary English chronicles regard him as a brigand raised unnaturally to knighthood and gentility, turned from a raven to a swan as one put it, later medieval Scottish narratives stressed his heroic qualities, declared his knightly pedigree and developed his role as Bruce's precursor. But for these writers and their successors, Bruce, not Wallace, was the principal defender of Scottish freedoms.⁵⁵

In addition to Bruce's successes between 1306-29, and the succession of his family line, the composition, and influence, of John Barbour's *Bruce* in 1376 played a significant part in the elevation of Bruce's status in the late-medieval chronicles.⁵⁶ However, as already stated, the late-medieval readers of the MSS under discussion, offering their reader responses *ca* 1450x1550, appeared to be as interested in Wallace as Bruce. Of course, these readers may have been influenced by the popularity of Blind Hary's epic poem *Wallace*, composed in the 1470s. This work was first printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 and the increased interest in Wallace dates from the early-sixteenth century, with the number of editions of Hary's work in the subsequent centuries demonstrating the continued vitality of

ages (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1998), 38-68; and A. Fisher, *William Wallace* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1986).

⁵⁴ Morton, *Wallace*, 21.

⁵⁵ M. Brown, *The Wars of Scotland 1214-1371* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 188.

⁵⁶ John Barbour, *The Bruce*, (ed) A.A.M. Duncan (Canongate, Edinburgh, 1997).

Wallace's legend.⁵⁷ Graeme Morton considers that most translators and editors of Hary's poem have concentrated on six stories as the basis of the Wallace legend: the physical size of Wallace; the events at Lanark; the victory at Stirling Bridge; the subsequent defeat at Falkirk; and, lastly, Wallace's betrayal and execution. It is interesting to trace the late-medieval reader responses to these subjects. Indeed, how far these readers simply ignored the references to Wallace, deeming it unnecessary to register any comment or mark, can also be regarded as noteworthy.

There is evidence, albeit of a rather spasmodic nature, of reader interest in all the themes highlighted by Morton, across several MSS. R³² in *PluscardenC* offered obvious interest in the physical description of Wallace by using a brown pointer symbol in the left-margin of fo.177v (VIII.25) to note the line '*Eodem anno inclitus ille atheleta, Willelmus Wallace*'. In context:

*Eodem anno inclitus ille atheleta, Willelmus Wallace, Anglorum
terror, filius nobilis militis ejusdem nominis, in Scociam surrexit: qui
procerus valde erat in corpore, fortissimos virorum, vultu jocundus et
hilaris, et omnibus amicos favorabilis ac inimicis terribilis apparens,
in donis liberalis, in judiciis aequissimus...*⁵⁸

R³²'s pointer on fo.177v (VIII.25) was accompanied by his comment '*Nota de Willelmus Walez*' in the left-margin. Bower's depiction of Wallace, copied later into *Pluscarden*, stressed the fearsome appearance of Wallace and the terrible impression he must have imposed on opponents. R²³ highlights a similar passage in *CouparAngusH* by adding a reddy-brown pointer to the right-margin of fo.148r (VIII.4). This symbol is directed at the text (preceded by a paragraph break): '*Anno igitur domini m cc xcvii ille nobilis atheleta Willelmus Wales dux sine custos in*

⁵⁷ Morton, *Wallace*, 34-51.

⁵⁸ In translation: 'The same year that renowned champion William Wallace, the terror of the English, the son of a noble knight of the same name, rose in Scotland. He was very tall of stature, of great bodily strength, pleasant and merry of countenance, of kindly seeming to all his friends but terrible to his foes, bounteous in gifts, most righteous in judgement'.

principio...'.⁵⁹ These readers may have been familiar with Blind Hary's own description of Wallace, first written in the 1470s, and certainly in print after 1508:

*Nyne quartaris large he was in lenth indeed,
Thryd part lenth in schuldrys braid was he,
Rycht sembly, strang, and lusty for to se;
Hys lymmys gret, with stalwart paiss and sound,
Hys browys hard, his armes gret and round.*

However, only two late-medieval readers, R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* and R⁷ in *CouparAngusH*, highlight Wallace's killing of sheriff Heselrig in Lanark. On fo.258r (XI.28) of *ScotichroniconB*, R¹⁹ included a pointer symbol in the left-margin and directed it at the line '*vicecomitem de Lanark Anglicum*'. In context: '*Hic quasi in principio milicie sue vicecomitem de Lanark Anglicum virum strenuum armis et potentem in villa de Lanark interfecit*'.⁶⁰ Moreover, R⁷ in *CouparAngusH* added the comment '*Quod Walles interfecit vicecomitem de Lanark*' to the left-margin of fo.150v (VIII.9). Other significant late-medieval interest in Wallace is demonstrated in both *CouparAngusH* and *PluscardenB*. R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* expresses interest in Wallace's decision to expel English clergy from Scotland by directing a pointer from the left-margin of fo.149r (VIII.22) towards the line '*executor sentencie ecclesiastice contra*'. In context: '*Willelmus enim Wallas fuit executor sentencie ecclesiastice contra deprivatas Anglie, et eosdem omnino vi de regno expulsi*'. On fo.151v (VIII.27) this reader also targets a line concerning Wallace's preparations for battle '*predictus Willelmus Wallas quod in qualibet*'. The context is also instructive in this case: '*Statuit eciam predictus Willelmus Wallas quod in qualibet domino patibulum erigeretur, ut omnes ordinati ad bellum...*'. Similarly, R²³ in *CouparAngusH* displays interest in

⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that a late-sixteenth century reader of *CouparAngusP*, almost certainly Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, has added the comment '*deyscriptione off William Wallace*' in the right-margin of fo.187r. In fact, this reader demonstrates a healthy interest in many aspects of the Wars of Independence throughout *CouparAngusP*.

⁶⁰ In translation: 'When Wallace was a young knight, he killed the sheriff of Lanark, an Englishmen who was dextrous and powerful in the use of arms, in the town of Lanark'.

the appointment of Wallace as guardian after the battle of Stirling Bridge. He uses a pointer symbol in the left-margin of fo.150v (VIII.9) to highlight the line '*Electus est Willelmus Wales custos Scocie*'. In addition, R⁷ is also active at this juncture in *CouparAngusH*, adding the comment '*Walles electus custos Scocie*'. R²³ then continues by noting a line, with a symbol in the left-margin of fo.152v (VIII.11), concerning the build up to the battle of Falkirk in 1298 ('*Anno gracie m cc xcvi rex Anglie male*'). A further pointer, in the right-margin of the same folio, targets a line detailing the retreat of Wallace and his men following the battle ('*Willelmo igitur Wales cum sine*'). R³³ in *PluscardenC* also signals interest in the battle of Falkirk by simply adding '*Conflictus Falkyrk*' to the left-margin of fo.211r (IX.1), beside the opening line of the chapter '*Post bellum perditum apud Variam Capellam rex Anglie...*'. Furthermore, R²³ also illustrates concern in a reference to Wallace on fo.153r (VIII.11).

Wallace's refusal to swear fealty to Edward I in 1303 is noted by R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*. This reader underscores the following text on fo.187r (IX.2): "*Unum verbum*", inquit, "*cunctis opibus preponendum in adolescencia didici: Ut sepias verum, libertas optima rerum*' *que Beata est*'. The interest therefore lies in Wallace's statement that ' "One saying", says he, "have I learnt in my youth must be put before all things: "Know truly, freedom is the best of boons", and it is a blessed one"'. Similarly, R²⁶ demonstrates an interest in the submission of most leading Scots, excluding Wallace of course, to the English in 1304. On fo.175r (IX.2) of *PluscardenB* this reader uses a pointer, in between the columns of text, to target the line '*Scocie, preter Willelmum Wallas, nobilem*' within the context:

*Eodem vero anno, postquam tota communitatis Scocie ad pacem Regis Anglie est recepta, Johannes Cumyn, tunc custos superior, et omnes magnates Scocie, preter Willelmum Wallas, nobilem ducem, cum suis faventibus et sequacibus, rex predictus ad suum pacem et obedienciam paullatim reduxit...*⁶¹

⁶¹ In translation: 'The same year, after the whole people of Scotland had made its submission to the king of England, John Cumyn, then head warden, and all the magnates of Scotland, except that

R²⁶ also includes the comment, in viscous brown ink, '*Nota Wallace*' at the top of this folio. This reader then adds a pointer to the left-margin of fo.177r (IX.6) of *PluscardenB* to note the line '*anno Domini m ccc v, iii ydus Februarii*'. In context: '*Acta errant hec anno Domini m ccc v, iii ydus Februarii. Eodem tempore nobilis Wilelmus Wallas per dominum Johannem de Menteth apud Glasguw...*'.⁶² This theme is picked up by R²³ in *CouparAngusH* who demonstrates an interest in the betrayal of Wallace by Sir John Menteith by including a symbol in the right-margin of fo.157r (VIII.15) beside '*Hoc eodem anno nobilis Willelmus Wallace per dominum Johannem de Menteth*'.

As already discussed, a significant theme inherent in the MSS of Fordun, Bower, and their derivatives involves the supposed treachery of some of the Scottish nobility during the Wars and especially during Wallace's guardianship. In these narratives, the defeat of Wallace at Falkirk was partly blamed on the divided loyalties of the Scottish nobility and the open treachery of families like the Comyns, alleged to have led their forces from the battlefield, thus abandoning Wallace and the remainder of the Scottish army. Indeed, as G. Morton states, Fordun (meaning *Gesta Annalia* II) went even further than this assertion: 'Spice was added to this narrative by Fordun accusing Bruce of hastening the defeat at Falkirk by attacking the Scottish army with his troops'.⁶³ Although Bower, writing in the 1440s, was less severe on Bruce, he was equally scathing on the behaviour of a section of the Scottish nobility and their lack of support for Wallace:

So while Scotland by the shrewdness of the guardian was making a surprising, in fact a successful recovery, since every man remained safely on his own property and cultivated the land in the usual way

noble leader, William Wallace, and his partisans and followers, were little by little brought by the aforesaid king to make their submission and swear allegiance to him...'

⁶² In translation: 'This took place in the year 1305 on the 10th of February. About this time the noble William Wallace was, through deceit and treachery, taken prisoner by Sir John Menteith at Glasgow'.

⁶³ Morton, *Wallace*, 21-22.

and very often triumphed over his enemies, the magnates and powerful men of the kingdom, intoxicated by a stream of envy, seditiously entered a secret plot against the guardian under the guise of expressions of virgin-innocence but with their tails tied together.

What stubborn follies of fools! ⁶⁴

Intriguingly, Bower's statements on the Scottish nobility did not pass the attention of R²³ in *CouparAngusH* and R²⁴ in *CouparAngusF*. R²³, who appears to have held a healthy interest in many aspects of Wallace's life, included a pointer symbol in the right-margin of fo.152v (VIII.11), denoting interest in the line '*Et est notandum quod*'. This marks the start of the following (translated) passage and it stands as one of the most famous expressions on the questionable loyalty of the Scottish leaders:

And it should be noted that we rarely if ever read that Scots were overcome by the English except as a result of jealousy among their leaders or by guile or deceit on the part of nations going over to the other side.

R²⁴ also draws attention to this theme in *CouparAngusF*. On fo.CXLIIv (XIX.10), in a chapter entitled '*Magnates contra Walles*', R²⁴ applied a brown pointer in the left-margin to target the line '*O emula invidia! Cur in tantum dominaris in Scocia? Scotorum, proth dolor, na[tura est odire non solum aliene sed et proprie patriate felicitate]*'. The translation reveals this reader's interest in the lack of unity amongst the Scots during the guardianship of Wallace:

Why is covetous envy so much in control in Scotland? How sad that it is natural for Scots to detest not only the happiness of other people, but also the happiness of their own countrymen.

The legendary career of William Wallace was clearly deemed worthy of comment by several of the late-medieval readers. The MS evidence illustrates evident late-

⁶⁴ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 93.

medieval interest in Wallace and further proof, in the aftermath of Harry's Wallace in the 1470s, of the development of the Wallace legend by the late-fifteenth – and early sixteenth- century. Indeed, this level of interest among the educated readers of these MSS is perhaps unsurprising, for we know that by the mid-sixteenth century the Scottish peasantry were clearly familiar (in the vernacular) with the tales of Wallace:

The *Complaynt of Scotland*, compiled in 1548 and published the next year, recorded shepherds telling tales of Wallace and Bruce. The vernacular language of the *Complaynt* and of Harry was much more accessible than the Latin chronicles of Fordun, Bower and Lanercost...⁶⁵

Although Wallace was not prepared to sacrifice his principles in the struggle against Edward I, fighting to protect the liberty of Scotland in the name of King John, the stance adopted by the Bruce family between 1296-1306 has always been clouded in controversy. Nonetheless, as we have already seen, the Bruces were remarkably effective at portraying a different image of the family history, papering over the cracks in their consistency in the struggle for independence. The influence of this propaganda drive is readily apparent in the mid-fifteenth century *Liber Pluscardensis*, which offers a revised portrayal of the killing of John Comyn in 1306 compared to Fordun's earlier account.⁶⁶

However, although the favourable MS references to Bruce the Competitor were noted earlier, two readers have also marked the more negative depiction of his son, also Robert Bruce, who inherited the lordship of Annandale in 1292 and the Bruce claims on the kingship in the same year.⁶⁷ In the aftermath of the battle of Dunbar, this Robert Bruce was reported to have approached Edward I and proposed

⁶⁵ Morton, *Wallace*, 40.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Pluscard.*, vol. II, 175-176.

⁶⁷ Although his father, the Competitor, did not die until 1295, he resigned his claim to the Scottish kingship to his son at the conclusion of the Great Cause, thus technically keeping alive his family's rights to the throne.

that he be granted, in recompense for his support, the kingdom of Scotland. As Walter Bower described, the king of England was famously heard to reply ‘Have we nothing else to do but win kingdoms for you?’.⁶⁸ On fo.256v (XI.25) of *Scotichronicon*B R¹⁹ has targeted the following line with a pointer in between the columns of text: ‘*Robertus de Brois senior patens*’. As indicated by the full extract, this directly concerns the approach made by Robert Bruce in the wake of Dunbar:

*Adepta igitur de Scotis victoria apud Dunbar, ad regem Anglie
accessit Robertus de Brois senior petens ab eo ut quod sibi iamdudum
promiserat queand regni adepcionem fideliter adimpleret*⁶⁹

This interest is replicated in *CouparAngus*H where R²³ adds a pointer to the right-margin of fo.149r (VIII.7) to note ‘*Adepta igitur de Scotis victoria apud Dunbar, ad regem Anglie*’. The reputation of the sixth Robert Bruce has always suffered in comparison to his father, the Competitor, and his own son, the future Robert I. It is curious to record that the unflattering portrait of Robert I’s father may not have gone unnoticed by some late-medieval Scottish readers of these MSS.

It is well known that, in contrast to Bruce and Wallace, Balliol and the Comyn family are generally depicted unfavourably in the narrative of the Scottish nation presented by the late-medieval chronicles. However, the depiction of the Comyns was not always consistent; for example, John Comyn’s significant role at the battle of Roslin (1303) was not ‘written out’ of the narratives of the Scottish nation, with *Gesta Annalia* II, *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden* describing his importance in this encounter. John Comyn, and Roslin, will be discussed shortly. Nevertheless, the traditionally negative portrayal of these families has continued to the present day with Scots recognising Balliol as ‘Toom Tabard’, meekly

⁶⁸ ‘That old master of guile with no little indignation answered him thus in French: “*N’avons-nous pas autres chose à gagner vos royaumes?*” (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 75).

⁶⁹ In translation: ‘After victory had been achieved over the Scots at Dunbar, Robert de Bruce the elder approached the king of England and begged him to fulfil faithfully what he had previously promised him as regards his getting the kingdom’.

capitulating his crown to Edward I, and the Comyns as treacherous opponents to both Wallace in 1298 at Falkirk and Bruce in 1306.⁷⁰ The MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives were partly responsible for the emergence and cultivation of this Scottish tradition. Furthermore, John Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace* helped cement the portrait of Bruce and Wallace as heroes and Balliol and the Comyns as villains.⁷¹ As Alan Young has argued,

The Comyns were usually portrayed as overmighty subjects posing a threat to the Scottish kingdom and Alexander III's kingship. As rivals to both Robert Bruce and William Wallace, the Comyns were also seen as endangering the achievements of both heroes. John Balliol was also judged as a rival to Bruce and condemned as a weak, ineffectual leader opening Scotland to English hegemony.⁷²

In fact, a deliberate attempt was made to gloss over Balliol's kingship during the reign of Robert I.⁷³ As already noted, medieval Scottish history was recorded from a Bruce, rather than Balliol, perspective and the erroneous, unflattering picture of the Comyn family (before as well as during the Wars of Independence), fits snugly into this trend. Nonetheless, we gain an insight into the development of this myth through the late-medieval readership of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. These readers clearly accepted the portraits of Balliol and the Comyns that they were offered, for they chose to concentrate on passages of the text that glorified the exploits of Wallace, Bruce and other notable Scottish leaders. They were evidently aware of the supposed villainy of the Comyns and thus the legend

⁷⁰ A. Young, *Robert the Bruce's Rivals: The Comyns, 1212-1314* (East Linton, 1997), 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷³ As N.H. Reid has asserted 'A striking factor in Robert I's reference to his predecessors is the complete absence of any reference to King John, his immediate predecessor. In one or two acts, in which John's forfeited estates were regranted, he is referred to simply as John Balliol. Nowhere in the *Acta* is there any hint that there had been a king in the two decades following the death of Alexander III (N.H. Reid, 'Crown and Community under Robert I', in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), 203-222, at 204.

gained a late-medieval audience to further perpetuate it. Indeed, **R**⁵ in *FordunD* chose to highlight the treacherous exploits of Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, and his accomplices in 1257, which culminated in the kidnapping of the young Alexander III. On page 298 (Annals.LII) of *FordunD* **R**⁵ added a large, neatly drawn red pointer sign to the left-margin to target the opening lines of the Annal: *'De anno multis et arduis querelis Walterus comes de Menteth et eius complices coram rege et suis consiliariis...'*⁷⁴ This is clearly a negative point to draw attention to. Similarly, **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH* used a red pointer in the left-margin of fo.135v (VII.8) to highlight Walter Comyn's seizure of Alexander III in 1257 and a further symbol on the same folio to note the death of Comyn the following year. Nonetheless, reader interest does exist in more positive portrayals of the family, for example in the battle of Roslin in February 1303, when a Scottish force commanded by John Comyn and Simon Fraser won a significant victory over the English. It is, of course, acknowledged that the curiosity may lie with the successful defeat of an English force, rather than John Comyn's personal role in the event. Three late-medieval readers highlight the recording of Roslin in the MSS. **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB*, a MS that does not refer to John Comyn, included a pointer in between the columns of text of fo.174v (IX.1) to pinpoint the line *'toto non errant ferme x millia. Et notandum'*. The context of this line indicates **R**³⁰'s interest in this notable Scottish victory:

*Et notandum quod Anglici errant in qualibet acie x millia armatorum;
Scoti vero in toto non erant ferme x millia. Et notandum est quod, de
cuncta armorum valitudine et bellica strenuitate omnibus
consideratis in cronicis precedentibus, non legitur evenisse ut tanti*

⁷⁴ In translation: 'In the year Walter, Earl of Menteith, and his accomplices, were more than once summoned before the king and his councillors...'. The passage continues by stating that 'But as they durst not await their trial according to the statutes of the kingdom, they took counsel together, and, with one accord, seized the king, by night, while he was asleep in bed at Kinross, and, before dawn, carried him off with them to Strivilyn...'.

*per tantas tribus vicibus bellatim in uno die, sine refrigerio
interveniente, turmatim sunt devicti.*⁷⁵

The nature of the encounter at Roslin, with the English defeated three times in one day, is also of concern to R²³ in *CouparAngusH*. This reader utilises a red pointer symbol in the left-margin of fo.154r (VIII.12) to target the chapter title '*De conflictu de Roslyn ubi turmatim Anglici uno die ter victi sunt*'.⁷⁶ R⁷, also in *CouparAngusH*, adds the comment '*De conflictus de Roslyn*' to the right-margin of fo.154r (VIII.12). R²³ also highlighted the agreement, as recounted by the Scottish chroniclers, made between Robert Bruce, the future king, and John the Red Comyn in 1304, with the covenant stating that if Bruce became king then John Comyn would receive all of Bruce's lands and vice versa.⁷⁷ On fo.155v (VIII.13) of *CouparAngusH* R²³ employs a red pointer in the right-margin to target the line '*Hic enim Robertus de Broys comes de Carrik*', spotlighting the start of the passage detailing the meeting, near Stirling, between Bruce and Comyn in 1304. Intriguingly, archbishop Matthew Parker (R¹³) may have also been aware of the Comyn family during his readership of *ScotichroniconC*.⁷⁸ However, the chronicles assert that John Comyn broke his oath and revealed Bruce's plan to Edward I; thus Bruce was accorded his justification for killing Comyn in Greyfriars' church at Dumfries in February 1306. Surprisingly, this significant event was highlighted by

⁷⁵ In translation: 'It should be noted that the English were ten thousand men-at-arms strong in each line, while the Scots were hardly ten thousand strong altogether; and it should also be remarked that, on thoroughly weighing every gallant feat of arms and dashing exploit in battle in former chronicles, we do not find that it ever happened that so many were defeated in detail by so few three times in one day, without any interval of refreshment'.

⁷⁶ In translation: 'The battle of Roslin, where the forces of the English were defeated three times in one day'.

⁷⁷ The death of Bruce's father on 21st April 1304 now meant that he was lord of Annandale, earl of Carrick and part owner of Garioch (Young, *The Comyns*, 196-7).

⁷⁸ Parker's interest occurs on fo.237r (XI.27) of *ScotichroniconC* where he adds the date '1297' to the right-margin and underscores the text '*villam de Karleolo obsessit*'. Both additions are in Parker's distinctive red chalk. John Comyn's involvement, as earl of Buchan, is illustrated by the following translation of the passage in question: 'John Comyn, earl of Buchan...burnt the monasteries of Lanercost and Hexham, he besieged the town of Carlisle, but withdrew without completing the business in 1297'. One can only speculate as to Parker's interest in Carlisle but, in

only one late-medieval reader of the MSS. In *PluscardenC* R³³ has added a comment (subsequently clipped but with the words '*Cumyng apud occiditur*' apparent) to the left-margin of fo.214v (IX.6). The chapter is entitled '*Sequitur de occisione Johannis Cumyn*'. It seems possible, therefore, that even in the late-medieval era Bruce's sacrilegious act in 1306 was deemed too sensitive to record interest in, perhaps because it was difficult to actually justify.

Evidently, therefore, the late-medieval readership of the MSS continued to be interested in the depictions of Wallace, Bruce, Balliol and the Comyns. In fact, as outlined, the narrative of the conflict between 1306-1320, and particularly the role of the Bruce family, proved attractive to twelve late-medieval readers. As will be discussed, R²³ in *CouparAngusH* and R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* appear particularly interested in aspects of this material.

R³³ in *PluscardenC* signalled interest in Bruce's defeat at Methven in June 1306 with the comment '*Bellum apud Meffen*' in the right-margin of fo.216r (IX.8), thus continuing his pattern of noting battles in the Wars of Independence. Moreover, on fo.158v (IX.3) of *CouparAngusH* R²³ applied a black pointer in the left-margin to draw one's eyes to the MS description of Edward I's death in 1307. The line targeted by the pointer is '*constituerunt. Qui anno domini m ccc vii in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Lanercost*'. The translation, in context, reveals R²³'s interest:

In 1307 while he was moving on the eve of St John the Baptist from Lanercost (where he was afflicted with illness on his expedition to humble Robert our king and, as he planned, to subjugate the kingdom of Scotland once and for all) to Holm Cultram for its pure air to recover his health, he died wretchedly without a sign of penitence at Burgh-by-Sands as he lay on his wagon on the day before the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr.

the process of his reading and marking-up of the text, he would certainly have gained knowledge of the Comyn family history.

Furthermore, on fo.159r (IX.3) of *CouparAngusH* this reader adds a red pointer to the right-margin beside the line '*predixit et presentibus absencia annunciare promeruit. Nota hic quod rex Edwardus*'. The red paragraph break before '*Nota*', also included by R²³, illustrates that Edward I is the object of his concern and, in this example, the MS reference to the English king being descended from the Devil. Indeed, this is reinforced by the inclusion, just above the pointer in the right-margin, of the following cursive late-medieval comment by R⁷, the reader responsible for numerous comments in both *FordunE* and *CouparAngusH*: '*Edwardus linealiter a diabolo propagatus est*'.

On fo.159v (IX.4) of *CouparAngusH* R²³ then adds a vibrant red pointer to the right-margin to signal his interest in the passage beginning '*Novo rege Anglie creato*'. This is noteworthy for this reader has chosen to draw attention to the new English king, Edward II, and his initial statement of intent against Robert Bruce. The line in context is as follows: '*Novo rege Anglie creato, tirones et satrape sui de subjeccione regis Roberti nova vota emittunt pavoni*'.⁷⁹ A similar interest is displayed by R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* who uses a pointer in the right-margin of fo.201r (XII.19) to target the line '*illustres actus regis Roberti, perpendensque*'. The translation, in context, demonstrates the simmering anger felt by Edward II after his accession in 1307:

But the new King Edward, ablaze with strident anger on hearing of the illustrious deeds of King Robert, and weighing up the innumerable evils and infinite losses brought upon him and his men by the same king, prepared new wars to punish the said acts.

Furthermore, on fo.287r (XII.21) of *PluscardenB* R²⁶ aimed a pointer, from between the columns of text, at '*eis*', starting the passage '*eis propositum suum in eo esse ut omnem terram Scoticanam suo perpetue imperio...*'. Thus the interest lies in Edward II wishing to 'root out the Scots who opposed him and to remove their memory from the land'.

⁷⁹ In translation: 'When the new king of England had been appointed, the esquires and those who had been recently knighted swore new oaths to a peacock about suppressing King Robert'.

R²³ in *CouparAngusH* also displays curiosity in the aftermath of Bruce's victory at Inverurie in 1308, and the subsequent 'herschip of Buchan'. R²³ includes a black pointer symbol in the right-margin of fo.160r (IX.4) of *CouparAngusH*. This symbol denotes interest in the line '*notandum quod sicut a principio sue guerre*'. As the translation states, the context involves the fluctuating fortunes of Robert Bruce in warfare: 'And it should be observed that just as Robert had been unlucky in the results of his campaigns from the beginning of his war until the day of this skirmish, so no one more fortunate could be found in all his battles thereafter'.

In addition, the significant role played by James the Steward was plainly recognised by R²³ in *CouparAngusH* for he employed a red pointer in the right-margin of fo.160r (IX.4) to mark the MS reference to the Steward's death in 1309. R²³'s interest focuses on the start of this passage: '*Anno sequenti xvii kl' Augusti obiit dominus Jacobus Senescallus Scocie, pater Walterum*' ['In the following year on 16 July Sir James the Steward of Scotland, father of Walter...']. R²³'s concern in this case was surely a consequence of wishing to draw attention to an ancestor of the Stewart royal family and, indeed, one who played a significant role in the first War of Independence.

The military tactics adopted by Robert Bruce also appear to have held a certain fascination for R²³. Indeed, between fos.160r-161v of *CouparAngusH* R²³ has selected a number of famous events during 1308-1314 for further scrutiny. On fo.160r (IX.4) R²³ uses a pointer in the right-margin, which was begun in red ink and then finished in black,⁸⁰ to target the line '*Eodem anno infra octavas Assumpcionis medione rex Robertus Ergadiensis*'. Thus R²³ highlighted Robert I's defeat of the men of Argyll in 1308, 'in the week following the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady'. R²³ continues his concern in military affairs by noting the manner in which King Robert entered England twice in 1311, capturing and destroying many fortifications in the process. On fo.160r (IX.4) a red symbol in the

⁸⁰ Thus, as outlined in chapter two, we gain a further insight into the methodology of this reader. It is possible that on this occasion on fo.160r R²³ changed his mind whilst drawing the symbol, hence the different colours applied.

left-margin draws attention to '*Anno domini m ccc xi rex Robertus hostibus omni*'.

In context:

*Anno domini m ccc xi rex Robertus, hostibus omni loco quo venerat in
fugam converses atque captis municionibus et ad terram prostrates,
bis Angliam intravit, ipsam devastando, predas innumeras abducendo,
et ingentem stragem igne et ferro inferendo.*⁸¹

R²³ also exhibits a keen interest in the recapturing of certain Scottish castles by Robert Bruce and his supporters between 1310-14. On fo.160r (IX.4) of *CouparAngusH* R²³ uses a red pointer in the left-margin to note Robert's capture of Dumbarton castle, described in the MS as '*Circa idem tempus rex nam Robertus multum corde fluctuas circa recuperacionem castra siu de Dumbreton...*'. The retaking of the town of Perth, in January 1312, also features in the attention of this reader as he signifies by highlighting the line '*Anno domini m ccc xii capto est villa de Perth*' with a red pointer in the right-margin of fo.161r (IX.5). Furthermore, a red pointer in the right-margin of fo.161r (IX.5) illustrates concern in the capture of Roxburgh and Edinburgh castles in 1313. The clear object of interest is the line '*capintur castrum de Bertha, Roxburgh et Edinburgh*'. Moreover, on fo.161r (IX.5) of this MS R²³ notes how Robert Bruce succeeded in subjecting all the castles on the Isle of Man to his control in May 1313. A red pointer in the right-margin of this folio targets the passage '*Eodem anno rex insulam Mannie intravit, eius castra cepit terram cum insulanis eius sue dicioni victorioso subiciens*'.⁸² Therefore, through the addition of four pointer symbols in *CouparAngusH*, R²³ portrays an obvious engagement with the capture of particular strongholds by Bruce and leaders like Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray.

⁸¹ In translation: 'In 1311 King Robert, after routing the enemy in every place he came to and capturing their fortifications and razing them to the ground, twice entered England, laying it waste, removing an enormous amount of booty, and bringing immense havoc by fire and sword'.

⁸² In translation: 'In the same year the king landed on the Isle of Man and captured its castles, victoriously subjecting the land and its islanders to his rule'.

As stated at the start of the chapter, the battle of Bannockburn (23-24 June 1314) also features in the attention of seven of the late-medieval readers and perhaps this is a hardly unexpected scenario given the significance attached to the encounter in the *Scotichronicon* narrative of the Wars of Independence.⁸³ Nonetheless, as will be argued, one should be cautious of over-emphasising the late-medieval reader interest in this battle.

The direct build-up to the battle involved Edward Bruce's siege of Stirling Castle, still garrisoned by the English under the command of Sir Philip Mowbray, and the opportunity provided for Edward II to march north to relieve his beleaguered commander. Two late-medieval readers have drawn attention to this stand-off between Edward Bruce and Mowbray. On fo.180r (IX.12) of *PluscardenB* R³⁰ has added a pointer in the right-margin to highlight the line '*detentus Londonensi. Notandum est quod*', with the last three words also underscored, although possibly not by this reader. In context:

*Item pro ipso liberatus est episcopus de Glasguw, vir venerabilis et magne senectutis, in carceribus similiter per tirannum detentus Londensi. Notandum est quod bellum hoc captum fuit inter Edwardum de Broys, fratrem regis, et Philipum de Mowbray, capitaneum de Stirling ex parte regis Anglie...*⁸⁴

R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* displays concern in the same passage. The pointer in between the columns of text on fo.286v (XII.20) is interested in the line '*Edwardum de Broys, fratrem regis, et Philipum*', thus highlighting the origins of the conflict involving Edward Bruce and Philip Mowbray which 'in accordance

⁸³ For instance, the illustrator in *ScotichroniconC*, Bower's working copy, chose to feature the events at Bannockburn as one of his drawings in the MS. However, less attention is paid to Bannockburn in *Gesta Annalia* II, especially if one compares it to the account of the Battle of Roslin.

⁸⁴ In translation: 'For him [John of Brittany], too, was exchanged the bishop of Glasgow, a venerable man of great age, who had been in like manner kept in prison in London by the tyrant. Note that this war began between Edward Bruce, the king's brother, and Philip Mowbray, commander at Stirling on behalf of the king of England...'.

with notice he had given a year earlier, Philip had promised to hand over to the Scots if he was not relieved by the English by a certain appointed date'. This reader appears to be spellbound by the events at Bannockburn for he uses twenty pointer symbols to draw attention to sections of text concerning the battle. On fo.287r (XII.20) a sign in the left-margin draws the eye to the line '*suum regem Scotorum contempsit*', therefore noting *Scotichronicon*'s argument that one reason that the English lost the battle of Bannockburn was that Edward II 'despised his peer the king of Scots'. The next three additions by R¹⁹ to fo.287v (XII.20) concern a story involving the monastery of Glastonbury and a prophetic tale on the moral right of a Scottish victory at Bannockburn.⁸⁵ This reader is also intrigued by the strategic site of the battleground, or its hinterland, for on fo.287r (XII.20) he aims a symbol from in between the columns of text at '*situator inter Britanniam et Scociam*', illustrating that the bridge over the Forth at Stirling is a fundamental border between Britain and Scotia. R¹⁹ follows up his interest in this theme by, on the same folio, targeting the line beginning '*Continet*' concerning a verse inscribed on the seal of the burgh of Stirling: '*Continet hoc in se pontem castrum Strivelense. Hic armis Bruti, hic stant Scoti cruce toti*'.⁸⁶

The content of verses on Bannockburn by Bernard, abbot of Arbroath (1310-28) and Robert I's chancellor (1308-28), also prove to hold an attraction for this reader. On fo.287r (XII.21) he places a symbol beneath the columns of text to target the line '*sicut metrificavit tunc tempore*', concerning the massively inflated size of the English force at Bannockburn: 'there came also three hundred thousand cavalry and about forty thousand foot soldiers'. However, R¹⁹ also notes what happened to this English force by using a pointer in the left-margin of fo.287v (XII.21) to highlight the line '*ad patriam miseri vix tunc rediere secenti*', preceded by '*Et tamen ex tanto populo validoque superbo*'. In translation: 'And yet out of so

⁸⁵ All three pointers are in the left-margin of this folio. The first is directed at '*monasterium*', beginning the prophetic tale, whilst the second is highlighting a marginal comment concerning the prophecy witnessed at Glastonbury. The third symbol notes the line '*committendo interesse, et pro parte Scotorum*', relating to the knights involved in the story and their vow to provide help to the Scots.

⁸⁶ In translation: 'This contains in itself the bridge and castle of Stirling. Here stand the British, saved by their arms; here the Scots, saved by the cross'.

large a number of healthy and proud people scarcely six hundred wretches then returned home'. Moreover, R¹⁹ notes the supplies brought north by the English king in 1314. A symbol in the left-margin of fo.287v (XII.21) targets a marginal bracket (by the same hand) running from '*et omnem precosiam*' down to '*omnibus eciam instumentis*'. The full passage, in translation, is as follows:

...and every kind of precious furnishings he took from the king's treasury. He himself [Edward II] set out with his attendants, his vehicles and wagons, carts and horsemen, slingers and archers, crossbowmen and men-at-arms, with their ingenious pieces of equipment for besieging castles...

Robert I's reconnaissance of the English force, coupled to his battle tactic of digging pits laden with sharp stakes, is the next subject of interest for R¹⁹. On fo.287v (XII.21) he directs a symbol, from between the columns of text, at '*Quos cum rex Scocie explorari fecisset, [faveasque fieri infixis subidus ocutis est...]*'. R¹⁹ follows this by adding a sign on the same folio, again between the columns of text, to single out the line '*cum sanctis Scocie patrie pro gentis honore*', concerning how 'saints of the Scottish fatherland will fight today for the honour of the people with Christ the Lord in the van'. R¹⁹ also displays a healthy regard for the sanctity of the Scots prior to battle. He employs a symbol in the left-margin of fo.288r (XII.21) to highlight '*Mauricus abbas de Insula Missarum*', the abbot who notably heard the king's confession and celebrated mass for the Scottish force, but also 'put forward a short and effective statement on freedom and the defence of their right'. Furthermore, R¹⁹ notes the reference in *Scotichronicon* to the uplifting effect of Maurice's speech on the morale of the Scots by using a sign in the left-margin of fo.288r (XII.21) to highlight '*repletos autumares. Nudipes ergo*'. The Scottish prayers prior to battle were also a source of interest for R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*. He adds a pointer in the left-margin of fo.288r (XII.21) at the line '*precedit; et ante procintum belli omnes*'. In context:

*Nudipes ergo ecclesiastics indutus, dictus abbas cruceferarius
tamquam campidoctor preedit; et ante procinctum belli omnes genua
flectere et Deum suppliciter exorare docuit.*⁸⁷

R¹⁹ continues his substantial interest in Bannockburn by noting a line from a poem by an English Carmelite friar, called Baston, who was at Bannockburn and captured by the Scots.⁸⁸ On fo.288v (XII.23) a pointer, in between the columns of text, targets the friar's line on his view of the aftermath of the battle '*est dolor immensus, augente dolore dolorem*' ['Great is the grief, grief enhancing grief']. The last example of reader activity by R¹⁹ pertinent to Bannockburn also occurs on fo.288v (XII.23). The interest here lies in a citation concerning de Clare earl of Gloucester in Baston's poem, with a symbol in between the columns of text noting '*Clare comes, venerande fomes, Glovernice cultor*'.⁸⁹

The interest of this late-medieval reader in Bannockburn is clearly vast in its scope and range. It is not repeated in the other reader activity analysed. However, five further late-medieval readers portray a discernible concern in the battle of 1314. In *PluscardenC* R³² includes a brown symbol in the left margin of fo.219v (IX.12), thus noting the line '*usque ad apud locum qui Bannockburn dicitur perveniens, tentoria sua*'. In context:

*Quorum catervis sic gloriose circumvalletus, et in gloria humane
potencie sic confisus, usque ad apud locum qui Bannockburn dicitur
perveniens, tentoria sua fixit. Cui rex Robertus, cum paucis respectu*

⁸⁷ In translation: 'Barefooted and wearing his canonicals, the said abbot went before them wearing a crucifix like a commander, and before the battle was engaged he told them all to kneel and pray to God as supplicants'.

⁸⁸ The author of this poem informs us that his name was Baston in the last verse of his work, a fact that R¹⁹ has recognised by including a symbol in the left-margin of fo.289r (XII.23) to target the beginning of the verse '*"Suum Carmelita Baston" cognamine dictus*' ['I am a Carmelite, surnamed Baston']. The last verse, in translation, is as follows: 'I am a Carmelite, surnamed Baston. I grieve that I am to be left to outlive such a carnage. If I have sinned by omitting what ought to be recounted, let the gap be filled by others whose pronouncements are free from bias'.

⁸⁹ In translation: 'Earl of Clare, revered kindler of courage, landholder of Gloucester'.

*multitudinis ejus, in Domino confidens et in Deum virtutem faciens, ac
beatum Andream apostolum...*⁹⁰

R³² also includes the comment '*Nota de Banokburn contra rege Anglie per Robertum Bruys regum Scocie*' in the left-margin of fo.219v of *PluscardenC*. Furthermore, another reader of this MS, R³³, also draws attention to the battle by including the comment '*Bannokburn bellum contra Edwardum de Carnarvan*' in the right-margin of fo.219r (IX.12). R⁷ in *CouparAngusH* simply adds the comment '*Bellum de Bannokburn*' to the right-margin of fo.161r (IX.6).

To R⁹ in *FordunG*, however, the theme worth drawing attention to was the death of the earl of Gloucester and many other English nobles in the battle. This reader, responsible for nine other distinct symbols in the MS, includes a black pointer in the left-margin of fo.200v (Annals.cxxxi). The sign is directed at the line '*ubi comes Glovernie ac alii nobiles quamplures sunt interfecti, quamplures*'. In context:

*In die natalis beati Johannis Baptiste, anno Domini m ccc xiiii, ubi comes Glovernie ac alii nobiles quamplures sunt interfecti, quamplures acquis dimersi et foveis trucidati, quamplures diversi status sub diverso mortis genere extincti, multi etiam et quamplures nobiles capti, quorum redemptione non solum regina et alii captivi de Scocia a carceribus sunt liberati, sed etiam ipsi Scoti omnes et singuli vehementer ditati.*⁹¹

⁹⁰ The translation in context: 'Accordingly, surrounded by this proud host and trusting in the glory of man's might, he got as far as a place called Bannockburn, and pitched his tents. But, trusting in the Lord and making God his strength, and asking the blessed apostle Andrew and Saint John the Baptist to help him to deliver the wretched people of Scotland from undue bondage, King Robert, with an army small in comparison with the multitude of the said king of England, fought a deadly battle with him...'

⁹¹ In translation: 'on the blessed John the Baptists' day, in the year 1314, and fought against him, and put him and his to flight, through the help of Him to whom it belongeth to give the victory. There, the Earl of Gloucester and a great many other nobles were killed; a great many were drowned in the waters, and slaughtered in pitfalls; a great many, of divers ranks, were cut off by divers kinds of deaths; and many – a great many – nobles were taken, for whose ransom not only were the queen and other Scottish prisoners released from their dungeons, but even the Scots themselves were, all and sundry, enriched very much'.

Similarly, **R**²⁴ in *CouparAngusF*, a reader responsible for only three pointer symbols in this MS, chose to highlight the reference on fo.CXLIXv to the exchange, made after Bannockburn was fought, involving the release of John of Brittany from Scottish custody for the freedom of the Queen and Robert Wishart. The symbol in the left-margin of fo.CXLIXv (XXIV.2) is directed at the line '[videlicet pro eo] libere reddita est regina cum venerando antistite Roberto Glasguensi'.

Nevertheless, despite the significant attention of **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* and the interest of six other readers, this still leaves twenty-seven of the identified late-medieval readers who do not express an interest in this battle. To the majority of the late-medieval readers under consideration, therefore, Bannockburn was not an event worthy of special consideration in the narrative of the Wars of Independence. Could it be, therefore, that whilst some late-medieval readers realised the significance of this Scottish victory of 1314, others recognised it as simply another Anglo-Scottish encounter which, although producing an epic Scottish victory, did not end the Wars as such? Indeed, for **R**³³ in *PluscardenC* this would certainly seem to be the case, for though he draws attention to Bannockburn, he also comments upon the battles of Falkirk, Methven, Dupplin, Halidon Hill, Culblean and Otterburn. For this reader it was simply another stage in the Anglo-Scottish conflict of these centuries. Thus, perhaps the reader activity illustrates that although we have traditionally, following works like *Scotichronicon*, *Pluscarden* and especially Barbour's *Bruce*, ascribed a great deal of significance to Bannockburn, the late-medieval readers were content to view it as another great Scottish victory but perhaps not a turning point in the narrative of the Scottish nation.

In addition to Edward Bruce's role in the prelude to Bannockburn, other features of his career held attraction for some late-medieval readers of the MSS. **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* chose, rather curiously, to highlight a certain passage on fo.149 (IX.10). In the left-margin a 'nota' has been positioned and this is targeted by a pointer applied by **R**³⁴. The line of interest for the 'nota', and thus the symbol, is 'Eodem anno Donaldis de Insulis cum magna multitudine tam insulanorum'.

This relates to the uprising by Donald of the Isles in 1310⁹² which was subdued by Edward Bruce: 'The same year Donald of the Isles, with a great multitude of Islanders, Galloway men and Englishmen, advanced as far as the river Dee, a brave show, thinking to utterly overwhelm the king's forces; and he was there defeated by Sir Edward Bruce'.

R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B focused on a separate aspect of Edward's life by using two pointers to draw attention to the parliament that his brother held at Ayr in 1315. At this parliament Robert Bruce submitted a tailzie for the succession to the kingdom, naming Edward as his chosen heir. R¹⁹ notes the objective of this parliament by locating a pointer in the left-margin of fo.289v (XII.24), singling out the line '*statuit apud Are ubi certam talliam pro*'. The next pointer provides a clearer indication of interest. On fo.290r (XII.24) of *Scotichronicon*B R¹⁹ uses a symbol in the left-margin to target a line starting with '*nobilis*'. The full context is illuminating:

*...nobilis vir dominus Edwardus de Broyes dicti domini regis
germanus, tamquam vir strenuus et in actibus bellicis pro defensione
juris et libertatis regni Scocie quamplurime expertus et heredes sui
masculi de corpore suo legitime procreandi, ipsi domino regi in regno
ipso succedant.*⁹³

R¹⁹ thus offers an interest in the decision in 1315 that should Robert I die without a male heir then his brother Edward Bruce, and his male heirs, would succeed him. However, this reader's concern may lie more with aspects of kingly succession than with Edward Bruce *per se*. R¹⁹ adds two pointers to fo.290v (XII.24) of *Scotichronicon*B, continuing the same chapter on the tailzie of 1315, noting two further elements of the succession. One symbol is directed at the line '*dicta*

⁹² In actual fact, the 'Donald' mentioned in 1310 is usually taken to be a mistake for a Galwegian lord rather than a Donald of the Isles.

⁹³ In translation: '...the noble man Sir Edward de Bruce, brother of the said lord king, as an energetic man abundantly experienced in deeds of war for the defence of the right and liberty of the realm of Scotland, and his male heirs such as may be lawfully generated from his body, are to succeed the lord king in his realm'.

Marjoria matrimonialiter fuerit', concerning the view that if Edward Bruce's line failed then the succession should pass to Marjorie, Robert Bruce's daughter, who was also to be married.⁹⁴ R¹⁹'s interest in Marjorie, the mother of Robert II, appears to be another case of a reader, like R²³'s earlier interest in James the Steward in *CouparAngusH*, noting an important MS reference for the Stewart royal dynasty. The next pointer by R¹⁹ on fo.219v of *ScotichroniconB* targets the line '*Thomas Ranulphi comes Moravie ipsius*', within the context:

*Item ordinaverunt quod si predictus dominus rex decedat relicto herede masculo minore vel dictus Edwardus germanus suus in casu de ipso loquente simili modo decedat, nobilis vir dominus Thomas Ranulphi comes Moravie ipsius heredis et regni custodiam habebit, quousque communitati regni vel majori parti visum fuerit ipsum heredem ad dicti sui regni regimen posse sufficere.*⁹⁵

In one chapter of *ScotichroniconB*, therefore, R¹⁹ displays interest in several scenarios concerning the Scottish succession, should Robert I die without issue, from Edward Bruce to Marjorie and, finally, to Thomas Randolph assuming the guardianship of the realm in the event of a minor succeeding to the throne.

Moreover, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* considered Edward Bruce's arrival in Ireland to be a noteworthy matter for he added a symbol to the left-margin of fo.180v (IX.14), highlighting the line '*Anno Domini m ccc xv Edwardus de*'. In context:

⁹⁴ R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* also demonstrates interest in Marjorie's marriage to Walter Stewart. On fo.154r (VIII.15) this reader has underscored the following passage: '*uxorem duxit; de qua genuit unicam filiam, nomine Margoriam, quae nupsit Waltero senescallo Scocie de qua idem Walterus genuit*' ['and of her begat an only daughter named Marjory, who married Walter the Stewart of Scotland']. A pointer symbol, in the right-margin of fo.154r, is also directed at the word 'Scocie' in this passage.

⁹⁵ In translation: 'Likewise they ordained that if the said lord king should die leaving a male heir as a minor, or the said Edward his brother dies in the same manner as a self-evident case, the noble man Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray will have the guardianship of the heir himself and of the kingdom, until it seems to the community of the realm or the greater part of it that the heir can satisfactorily rule his said realm'. Randolph would of course fulfil his guardianship responsibilities, as laid down in the tailzie of 1315, between 1329-1332 on behalf of the minor David II.

*Anno Domini m ccc xv Edwardus de Broys, frater
regis, intrans in Hiberniam manu potenti, electus est
in regem unanimi consensus inhabitancium tocius
Hibernie...*⁹⁶

Another late-medieval reader, R²³, draws attention to the citation of Edward Bruce's death in *CouparAngusH*. On fo.164v (IX.8) a vibrant red pointer in the right-margin denotes interest in the line '*Post mortem vero Edwardi Broys fratris Roberti regis Hibernie*'. Edward Bruce's death is also commented upon by R³³ in the right-margin of fo.226r (IX.19) in *PluscardenC*. Moreover, R³⁰ in *PluscardenB* signals his curiosity in Edward Bruce by applying a pointer symbol to the left-margin of fo.183v (IX.18). The symbol is accompanied by a cursive comment, by the same hand, which helps to date this reader to the late-medieval period. The symbol is directed at the line '*hac parte, Edwardum de Broys, comitem*', with the accompanying comment stating that '*Edwardus Bruys frater Roberti Bruys electus regni Hibernie*'. The text at this juncture concerns the so-called Irish Remonstrance of 1317, the letter sent by the Irish princes to Pope John XXII (1316-34), airing their grievances against the actions of the English towards them. R³⁰'s interest, emphasised by his comment, is clearly centred on Edward Bruce's role in aiding the Irish against the English:

*Et ut nostrum propositum celeries congruencies perimplere et
perficere valeamus in hac parte, Edwardum de Broys, comitem de
Carrik, illustrem regis Scocie illustris Roberti de Broys fratrem
germanum, de nobilibus eciam regni nostri ortum habentum, in
nostrum auxilium invocamus et juvamen...*⁹⁷

⁹⁶ In translation: 'In the year 1315 Edward Bruce, the king's brother, entered Ireland with the strong hand, and was elected king by unanimous consent of the inhabitants of the whole of Ireland...'

⁹⁷ In translation: 'And in order to achieve our aim more swiftly and more fitly in this manner, we call to our help and assistance the illustrious Edward de Bruce earl of Carrick, the brother of the Lord Robert by the grace of God the most illustrious king of Scots, and sprung from our noblest ancestors'. G.W.S. Barrow has recently proposed that Edward Bruce and Robert I were, in fact, relatives of the Ua Neill (see G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, Fourth Edition (Edinburgh University Press, 2005), at 430 n.26).

Two other late-medieval readers demonstrate clear concern in the content of the Irish Remonstrance. In *PluscardenA* **R**²⁵ adds a bracket to the right-margin of fo.196r (IX.17) signalling interest in the following passage from the Remonstrance:

*In curia enim iste leges regis Anglie in Hibernia inviolabiliter observantur, viz. quod omni homini non Hibernicum licet super quaque indifferantur accione convenire Hibernicum: sed nullus Hibernicus, exceptis.*⁹⁸

R²⁵ also adds a comment to the right-margin of fo.196r – ‘*Leges Hibernie date pre rege Anglie que sunt indifferantur*’. Further underscoring occurs on fo.196v (IX.18) of *PluscardenA* with **R**²⁵ highlighting the following lines: ‘*Dogmatizant eciam hereticam provitatem, non solum clerici, ymmo seculars et religiosi, dicentes quod non magis peccat interfeciens Hibernicum quam canem vel Brutum; nec propter hoc, si occidens*’.⁹⁹ Similarly, on fo.197v (IX.18) **R**²⁵ has underlined ‘*quod, preter reges minoris Scocie, qui omnes de majori Scocia sanguinem originalem sumpserunt, linguam*’.¹⁰⁰ In addition, **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* singles out sections of the Remonstrance for closer attention. On fo.291r (XII.26) of this MS **R**¹⁹ adds a pointer in between the columns of text and targets the line in the Remonstrance ‘*civitate Hispanie in ripa Hiberi fluminis*’, relating to the citation of Micelius of Spain and Cantabria, a Spanish city standing on the bank of the river Ebro. **R**¹⁹ then uses a symbol, again in between the columns of text on the same folio, to highlight how there have been one hundred and thirty-six kings of Ireland up to King Loegaire: ‘*centum triginta sex usque Legarium regem, a quo*’. Furthermore, in the same chapter of *ScotichroniconB*, fo.291v (XII.26), this reader notes the reference

⁹⁸ In translation: ‘In the court of the king of England in Ireland these laws are rigidly observed, namely that every man who is not an Irishman is permitted to bring to court any Irishman whatsoever on any matter without distinction’.

⁹⁹ This refers to how not only laymen and secular clergy but also regular clergy make the heretical assertion that it is no more a sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other brute creature.

to the death of St Thomas of Canterbury by aiming a symbol, from the left-margin, at the line '*quo et fortassis per quem Sanctus Thomas*'. Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, a pointer in between the columns of text on fo.293r (XII.31) draws attention to the line '*eorum importabile servitutis jugum recuperandi*'. This interest in the 'unbearable yoke of slavery' suffered by the Irish at the hands of the English is intriguing. The full (translated) context of this line is as follows:

For such is their arrogance and excessive lust for power over us and [our] due and natural desire to shake off the unbearable yoke of slavery to them [and] to recover our inheritance wickedly seized by them contrary to law, that as there never was hitherto so there cannot in future be sincere harmony between us and them, nor can it be established in this life.

The Irish Remonstrance, of course, can be regarded as another piece of Bruce propaganda, in this case alerting the pope to the support extended to Edward Bruce by the victimised Irish. As such, therefore, the Remonstrance can be considered as a further development of the Brucian rewriting of history, which the forthcoming Declaration of Arbroath (1320) would resemble in content and objective.

As we have seen, therefore, to some late-medieval readers the role played by Edward Bruce in the Wars of Independence was clearly considered noteworthy, especially with regard to his Irish affairs. These readers may have been influenced by Barbour's *Bruce*, for in this work Edward Bruce's exploits in Ireland were recorded comprehensively.¹⁰¹

Indeed, similar interest is apparent in the actions of Robert Bruce's chief lieutenants, James Douglas and Thomas Randolph. These nobles were at the forefront of Scottish resistance during the first War of Independence and their exploits, as recorded in the MSS, were highlighted by several readers. In *PluscardenD*, for example, R³⁴ directed a pointer, on fo.151r (IX.14), from between

¹⁰⁰ In translation: 'Know that apart from the kings of Lesser Scotia who have all traced their ancestral origin to our Greater Scotia, retaining our language [and habits to some extent, one hundred and ninety-seven kings of our blood have reigned in the whole island of Ireland]'.
¹⁰¹ Barbour, *Bruce*, 520-561.

the columns of text, at the line '*custodem marchiarum, cum maximo dedocore repulsus*'. The concern, as the following passage indicates, relates to the manner in which Douglas, as warden of the marches, successfully rebuffed an English invasion in 1315 whilst the Bruces were in Ireland:

*Qui rex Anglie, sic intrando per legions vicissim, per Jacobum de Douglas, tunc custodem marchiarum, cum maximo dedocore repulses est, ac devictis omnibus, occisis, captis et fugatis.*¹⁰²

In addition, **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* highlights the same reference to James Douglas on fo.290v (XII.25). In the left-margin a pointer sign is directed at the line '*Jacobi de Douglace custodem*', relating how Douglas repulsed the English invasion force of 1315. Indeed, a further pointer by this reader on fo.290v (XII.25) emphasises his interest in Douglas' actions in 1315 for he employs the sign to target the line '*Anglie videlicet Edmundum de Kailow Vasconum*'. As the translation, in context, illustrates, Douglas killed some notable English commanders during his defence of the kingdom in 1315:

The warden so behaved and defended himself that in three fierce battles he killed with his own hands three notable English captains, namely the Gascon Edmund de Caillou, who was captain of Berwick, and Robert Neville, both of them knights and another. And so, praise be to God, the kingdom sustained little damage throughout the land that year in the absence of the king of Scotland.

In fact, this late-medieval reader demonstrates a great deal of curiosity in the remainder of this chapter in *ScotichroniconB*, which details the landing of an English force at Donibristle in May 1317 and the subsequent response from the sheriff of Fife and the redoubtable William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld. **R**¹⁹

¹⁰² In translation: 'But, while he was thus entering column by column, he was driven back most ingloriously by James Douglas, then warden of the marches, and they were all defeated, slain, captured, or put to flight'.

included four pointer signs on fo.290v (XII.25) of *Scotichronicon*B, all in between the columns of text, to signal his interest in these events. His first pointer is used to pinpoint the line '*Forth terram pecierunt apud Donibressil*', effectively illustrating how the English, in an attempt to evade Douglas in the south, instead invaded by sea via the Firth of Forth, and made for Donibristle. R¹⁹'s next symbol on this folio targets the line '*cum turma quingentorum armatorum. Sed*', noting how the English force were met, rather lamely, by the sheriff of Fife with an armed force of five hundred men. The context is as follows: '*Quibus supervenit vicecomes de Fife cum turma quingentorum armatorum. Sed percipiens Anglos inconsternate in invasis retrocessit*'.¹⁰³ R¹⁹'s third pointer symbol on fo.290v (XII.25) of *Scotichronicon*B concentrates on the next passage in the chapter by targeting the line '*Eodem tempore Willelmus de Sanctoclaro episcopus*'. As the following translation illustrates, R¹⁹ has moved from highlighting the rather negative portrayal of the sheriff of Fife to noting the favourable description of William Sinclair:

At the same time William de Sinclair, the bishop of Dunkeld, who was staying at his manor of Auchtertool, heard that the English had landed at Donibristle. He armed himself as quickly as possible, and mounting a fine steed, hurried fearlessly with sixty of his men who were experienced in battle to the place mentioned.

R¹⁹ continues his interest in this affair by using his last pointer on this folio to draw attention to an exchange of views between the sheriff and Sinclair, in which the former is depicted as a coward whilst Sinclair is presented as a true leader of the Scottish resistance. R¹⁹'s pointer clearly notes the line '*fugiendum censuimus. Certe inquit episcopus*', with the following context being instructive:

Qui statim vicecomiti et suo quingenteno cetui obviavit eique dixit:
"Cur tam festinanter revertis et adversaries nostris non occuritis?"
'Quia', inquit vicecomes, 'plures nobis sunt Angli et multo forciores;

¹⁰³ In translation: 'The sheriff of Fife came upon them with a troop of five hundred armed men. But when he perceived that the English were raging freely among the country people, he turned the horses round and decided on flight, abandoning altogether those who had been attacked'.

*et cum quibus pugnare nequimus, ideo fugiendum censuimus'. 'Certe',
inquit episcopus, 'dignum foret dominum regem calcaria vestra
deaurata a talis precindi demandare. Sequamini me, et in nomine
Domini in eis ulti erimus.'*¹⁰⁴

Further reader interest in this encounter of 1317, involving an English force, Sinclair and the sheriff of Fife, is evident in *CouparAngusH*. R²³ utilises a vibrant red pointer in the left-margin of fo.165r (IX.9) to pinpoint the line '*Auditus igitur rumoribus de probitatis fama*', demonstrating his interest in how the English, upon hearing reports of the status of Douglas, bypassed his domain and headed instead for Donibristle. Similarly, in *ScotichroniconC*, R¹⁷ included a black conical pointer in the right-margin of fo.266r (XII.25), directed at either '*posuerunt*' or '*Donibressil*', the last two words of successive lines in the MS: '*posuerunt se ad mare; et applicantes in aquam de Forth terram pecierunt apud Donibressil*'. Once more, therefore, the concern lies with the arrival of the English in 1317 and how they 'took to the sea' and 'steering into the Firth of Forth, they made for land at Donibristle'.

This interest in the invasion of Fife in 1317, a seemingly minor event in the narrative of the Wars of Independence, is unexpected. Although R¹⁹ is evidently interested in many aspects of the Wars, the further activity of R¹⁷ and R²³ demonstrates that this episode held a wider appeal among the late-medieval readers of the MSS. The interest may be linked to local knowledge of Fife, or indeed Donibristle, although it is more likely that these readers are highlighting the heroic response of William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld. While historians are familiar with the role played by leading churchmen like Wishart and Lamberton in the first War of Independence, does this interest in the invasion of Fife in 1317 suggest that some late-medieval readers thought of William Sinclair in the same light? In fact, R²³'s

¹⁰⁴ In translation: 'He met the sheriff and his force of five hundred right away, and said to him: 'Why do you turn back so hurriedly instead of facing our enemies?' 'Because', said the sheriff, 'the English outnumber us and are much stronger; and we decided that since we cannot fight them we should retreat from them'. 'It would certainly be proper', said the bishop, 'for the lord king to order your gilded spurs to be cut from your heels. Follow me, and we shall take revenge on them in the name of the Lord'.

interest might be linked directly to the citation of Sinclair and Dunkeld. *CouparAngusH* (and possibly *FordunE* as well), comprising fos.114-188 of the volume, was produced at Dunkeld by Richard Striveling 1497x1515. Is there a connection between this reader's interest in Sinclair and the production of the MS at Dunkeld? Admittedly, R²³ possesses a healthy interest in many matters pertaining to the Wars and his concern in Sinclair is replicated in many other matters relevant to these years. Nonetheless, it is possible that his reader activity at this juncture was partly a response to the knowledge, which could be gleaned from the comment at the end of c.14 of bk.X on fo.136v, that the MS was written at Dunkeld at the turn of the century.

In fact, the incursion into Fife in 1317 generated more interest among the late-medieval readers than the citation of the birth of Robert Stewart. Stewart's birth in 1315¹⁰⁵ aroused interest in only two late-medieval readers of the *Scotichronicon* canon of MSS. In *ScotichroniconB* R¹⁹ places a symbol in the left-margin of fo.291r (XII.25), drawing attention to the line '*natus est Robertus Stewart filius Walteri*'. In context: '*Anno sequenti et domini m ccc xv natus est Robertus Stewart filius Walteri, nepos regis et rex futurus*'.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, in *CouparAngusH* R²³ applies a red pointer to the left-margin of fo.165r (IX.9) to note the line '*Anno domini m ccc xv natus est Robertus Stewart*'. The lack of reader interest in Robert Stewart is surprising when these readers, ca 1450x1550, were active in the reigns of his Stewart successors. Indeed, on the MS evidence available, the role of Robert Stewart in the Wars is not highlighted by the late-medieval readers as being worthy of special comment.

Indeed, more significant late-medieval reader interest is apparent in the MSS treatment of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray. Randolph, the guardian of the realm

¹⁰⁵ The editors of *Scotichronicon* point out that Bower's date of 1315 is erroneous: '...the date must be wrong as stated here; Robert Stewart's mother, Marjorie, was probably married soon after 27 Apr. 1315, so that he could have been born before the end of '1315' i.e. before 24 Mar. 1315/16; but no exact date is known, and '1316' is the best date now given for his birth' [Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VI, 465].

¹⁰⁶ In translation: 'In the following year, 1315, Robert Stewart was born, son of Walter, grandson of the king and a future king himself'.

between 1329-1332, featured prominently in the Anglo-Scottish conflict and some readers were clearly attracted to the recording of his feats in the MSS. For instance, on fo.183v (IX.19) of *PluscardenB* R²⁶ included a symbol in between the columns of text to signal interest in the line '*destruxit partes boriales Anglie; et*'. As the following extract indicates, this reader is highlighting Randolph's harrying, and destructive, tactics in the north of England in 1318:

*Anno Domini m ccc xviii Thomas Ranulphi, comes Moravie, destruxit partes boriales Anglie; et eodem anno, v kcal. Aprilis, capta est villa Berwici per Scotos, que per xx annos ab ante fuit in minibus Anglorum.*¹⁰⁷

This passage was also of interest to R²³ in *CouparAngusH* who uses a black pointer on fo.165r (IX.9), in the right-margin, to note '*Randolphi comes Moravie destruxit*'. Furthermore, this reader continues his interest in Randolph's actions in northern England by adding a red pointer to the left-margin of fo.165v (IX.10) to single out the line '*Anno domini m ccc xix comes Moravie combussit secundo*'. The concern therefore relates to Randolph's penetration into England, as far as Wetherby, in 1319.¹⁰⁸ As will shortly be discussed, Randolph's tenure as guardian, and his application of justice, was also of interest to several late-medieval readers.

It is an intriguing observation that one late-medieval reader, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB*, has chosen to draw attention to the MS description of the so-called Soules conspiracy of 1320. This shadowy plot, which in the chronicles is said to have been led by Agnes Comyn, countess of Strathearn, and her nephew William Soules, involved several men who had recently allowed their seals to be attached to

¹⁰⁷ In translation: In the year 1318 Thomas Randolph earl of Murray wasted the northern parts of England; and the same year, on the 28th of March, the town of Berwick was taken by the Scots, after having been for twenty years previously in the hands of the English'.

¹⁰⁸ '*Anno domini m ccc xix comes Moravie combussit secundo partes boreales Anglie usque Wedirby*' ['In the year 1319 the earl of Moray burned the northern parts of England as far as Wetherby for the second time'].

the Declaration of Arbroath.¹⁰⁹ The plot was reported to Bruce by earl Patrick of Dunbar and Murdoch Menteith, and convictions were passed against the conspirators at a parliament at Scone in August 1320.¹¹⁰ R²⁶, on fo.184r (IX.20) of *PluscardenB*, adds a symbol in between the columns of text to highlight the line ‘*Augusti, tenuit apud Sconam parliamentum*’. The translation, in context, illustrates R²⁶’s interest in this mysterious conspiracy:

In the year 1320, at the beginning of the month of August, King Robert of Scotland held his parliament at Scone, where the countess of Strathern and the lord of Soulis were found guilty of the crime of high treason.¹¹¹

The Soules conspiracy occurred, of course, in the wake of the formulation of the Declaration of Arbroath. The extent of the late-medieval reader interest, and perhaps as significantly the disinterest, in the text of the Declaration will be considered in chapter seven.

To turn to the fifth main subject of concern in this chapter, the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton (1328), the magnitude of this event in the narrative of the Scottish nation was not overlooked by the late-medieval readers of the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. R¹² in *FordunI* displays, through extensive red underscoring, a great deal of concern with the annals detailing the Wars of Independence. As already discussed, these underscorings are not random but represent a systematic approach.¹¹² On fo.156r (Annals.CXLI) of *FordunI* R¹² has underlined a significant chunk of text and, as the selected extract illustrates, he is

¹⁰⁹ M. Penman, ‘A fell coniuration agayn Robert the douchty king: the Soules conspiracy of 1318-20’, *Innes Review*, 50 (1999), 25-57; also see Brown, *The Wars of Scotland*, 219.

¹¹⁰ De Soules and the Countess of Strathearn were imprisoned, whilst Gilbert Malherbe of Stirlingshire, John Logie and Richard Brown were executed. Also executed was Sir David Brechin, who had failed to inform Bruce of the plot.

¹¹¹ ‘*Anno Domini m ccc xx Robertus rex Scocie, in principio mensis Augusti, tenuit apud Sconam parliamentum suum, ubi comitissa de Strathearn et dominus de Soulis, convicti de crimine lese majestatis, et confessi contra regem conspirando, sentenciam perpetui carceris acceperunt*’.

¹¹² See above, chapter two, 21.

clearly signalling his interest in the 1328 peace and the conditions agreed between England and Scotland:

Discrimina, reges predicti super pace indissolubili adinvicem sunt concordati, prestitis super hoc juramentis majorum et digniorum utriusque regni, in animas utriusque Regis jurantium ad observandum omnia et singula fideliter, perpetuis temporibus inconcusse duraturis, quae in suis instrumentis, hinc inde super forma pacis confectis, sub certis articulis plenius continetur [quarum literatum tenorem reperies circa finem aliarum cronicarum superius scriptarum]¹¹³. Et ut pax vera esset inter eos et suos successors sine fine permansura. [Et idem rex Edwardus etiam inter cetera omnia jura quod habuit vel habere potuit vel in regno Scocie, regi Scocie resignavit, ut alia cronica testatur; pro quod resignationem concessit ei pecuniam suprascriptam.]¹¹⁴ Rex Scocie, mera et spontanea voluntate, pro damnis, per ipsum regi et regno Anglorum illatis, dedit eidem et concessit xxx millia marcarum in pecunia numerata, dictusque rex Anglie suam sororem, nominee Johannam, David, filio Regis Roberti ac heredi, pro majori securitate pacis et amoris Constantia firmiter nutrienda, tradidit in uxorem¹¹⁵

¹¹³ The text in this bracket, apparent only in *FordunD* and *FordunI*, ‘appears to refer to the contents of the lost exemplar of these two MSS, which must have contained at least one other chronicle (now unknown) copied before Fordun’s work and including a main text of the 1328 treaty; such a text is not included among the collections of texts included in both these MSS further on’ (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 186-6).

¹¹⁴ The text in this bracket is apparent only in *FordunI*, not *FordunD*, and the scribe is asserting that he knows of the act of resignation ‘in some other chronicle’ (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 186).

¹¹⁵ In translation: ‘the aforesaid kings there came to an understanding together about an indissoluble peace; and the chiefs and worthies of either kingdom tendered their oaths thereto, which were to last unshaken for all time, swearing upon the soul of each king faithfully to keep all and sundry things, as they are more fully contained under certain articles of the instruments thereof, drawn up on either side as to the form of the peace. And, that it might be a true peace, which should go on without end between them and between their respective successors, the king of Scotland, of his own free and unbiased will, gave and granted 30,000 merks in cash to the king of England, for the losses he himself had brought upon the latter and his kingdom; and the said king of England gave his sister, named Joan, to King Robert’s son and heir, David, to wife, for the greater security of peace, and the steady fostering of the constancy of love’.

Bower's working copy of *Scotichronicon*, *ScotichroniconC*, also contains reader activity pertaining to the 1328 Treaty. Indeed, two readers indicate curiosity in Edward III's renunciation of all possible rights to the kingdom of Scotland. On fo.276v (XIII.12) of *ScotichroniconC* R¹³, Archbishop Matthew Parker, has added a red chalk bracket to the left-margin, thus encompassing the passage from 'esset' to 'Scocie' in this chapter. Moreover, another late-medieval reader, R¹⁶, has also included a light-brown pointer in the left-margin of this folio, directed at the same passage of text that Parker deems noteworthy.¹¹⁶ It is worth considering this passage, and the subsequent translation, in full:

Esset non solum inter eos sed eciam perpetue inter suos successors et regna, rex Anglie Edwardus de Wyndesore pro se et successoribus suis regibus Anglie resignavit omni juri et clameo veris vel pretensis quo habuit vel habere poterit in vel ad regnum Scocie

[And so that the peace might be a true one, not only between them but also perpetually between their successors and kingdoms, Edward de Windsor king of England resigned all right and claim, true or false, which he had or could have in or to the kingdom of Scotland]

R¹⁶ in *ScotichroniconC* continues his interest in the 1328 peace on fo.286r (XIII.12).¹¹⁷ On this folio he aims a pointer sign at the opening lines of the chapter, thus considering the start of Edward III's letter to be worthy of comment: '*Universis presentes literas inspecturis Edwardus Dei gracia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et dominus Aquitanie salutem in Domino semptiternam. Cum nos*

¹¹⁶ It is important to highlight that this does not necessarily mean that R¹⁶ is post-Parker; there is no way of ascertaining that definitively. On fo.100v R¹⁶ includes a very similar pointer sign to the one apparent on fo.276v and it is a similar distance from the main text. However, in the case of fo.100v, R¹⁶'s symbol is not accompanied by any reader activity by Parker. Thus it is perfectly plausible that R¹⁶ added his symbol first to fo.276v before Parker then, probably in the mid-sixteenth century, utilised the distance between R¹⁶'s pointer and the text to include his own red bracket.

¹¹⁷ It should be noted that R¹⁶'s purpose might be to draw attention, for future copyists of *ScotichroniconC*, to the introduction of the letter (on fo.276v) and then the letter itself, which is out of order on fo.286r. The pointer symbols would therefore act as a guide for future scribes to insert the material in the correct order in their MS. However, given that R¹⁶'s additions are apparent elsewhere, his activity will be treated as that of an interested reader rather than a possible textual editor.

nonnullique predecessors..'. The tone of Edward's letter can be grasped from the following short abridgement:

To all who will inspect this letter Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland and lord of Aquitaine, offers everlasting greeting in the Lord. Whereas we and some of our predecessors as kings of England have tried to secure rights of rule, lordship or superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, as a result of which abominably dangerous wars have been provoked and have long disturbed the kingdoms of England and Scotland....It shall be entire, free and at peace, without any kind of subjection, servitude, claim or demand...

This letter is also of evident interest to R²³ in *CouparAngusH*. On fo.169r (IX.11) this reader adds a vibrant red pointer to the left-margin and targets the lines '*Et si quod jus nos vel antecessores nostri in regno Scocie retroactis temporibus*'. Once more, therefore, a late-medieval reader has flagged an obvious interest in Edward's renunciation of his rights to Scotland:

And if there is any right which we or our ancestors in times past have sought in the kingdom of Scotland in any way, this we by this letter renounce and discharge to the said king of Scotland, his heirs and successors

The corpus of *Pluscarden* MSS also contain extensive reader activity highlighting this theme. Through the use of underscoring, brackets and *notas* R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* demonstrates clear interest in the negotiations leading to the 1328 Treaty, the marriage agreement between David Bruce and Edward III's sister Joan, and Edward III's resignation of 'all right and claim, pretended or true' to the throne of Scotland. On fo.200v (IX.22) of *PluscardenA* this reader has underscored the following passage, thus noting the attempts by ambassadors of both countries to treat for a permanent peace:

*pro perpetua pace tractantes ad invicem concordati sunt, et firmiter
per omnes barones, clerum et proceres, et omnes alias quibus
tangebatur perpetuis temporibus duratorum*¹¹⁸

On the same folio (200v) R²⁵ then targets this extract, concerning the marriage between David and Joan, by placing a bracket in the left-margin:

*persolvebat. Et, ad finem quod hec pax magis amicabiliter et gracie
se continuaret, rex Anglie Johannem, ejus sororem, predicto regi
Scocie, filio sue primogenito David principi nubendam, tradidit: quae
de facto sibi nupta est anno Domini m ccc xxviii*¹¹⁹

Lastly, on fo.200v of *PluscardenA* this reader adds a *nota* beside the first word of a line, '*clamavit*'. In context:

*predictus rex Edwardus, pro se et successoribus suis imperpetuum,
quite clamavit predicto Roberto regi et successoribus suis, as
resignavit libere, plenarie, pacifice ac quite*¹²⁰

In addition, the cancellation, or quitclaim, of Edward III's claims to Scotland are also targeted by R³⁰ in *PluscardenB*. This reader demonstrates his concern with the renunciation of English rights in 1328 by placing a pointer in the left-margin of fo.186v (IX.23) and directed at '*exterius majore firmitate securum*'.¹²¹ A further

¹¹⁸ In translation: '[After these things ambassadors were again sent by the king of England to the king of Scotland at Edinburgh to conclude a lasting peace; and here, after the many hazards of war], they treated for a permanent peace and came to an arrangement which was to endure for all time and was ratified by all the barons, clergy and lords and all others whom it concerned'.

¹¹⁹ In translation: 'Moreover, to the end that this peace might continue in so much the more friendliness and graciousness, the king of England handed over his sister Joan to the aforesaid King of Scotland for his eldest son Prince David to marry; and she was actually married to him in the year 1328 [at Berwick, the girl's mother being present]'.

¹²⁰ In translation: 'the aforesaid Edward king of England, for himself and his successors for ever, quitclaimed to the aforesaid king Robert and his successors, and freely, fully, peacefully and quietly resigned for ever all right and claim, pretended or true, which he or his predecessors in time past had, or claimed to have, to the throne of Scotland, whether justly or unjustly'.

¹²¹ The next words ('*volumus et concedimus per presentes, pro nobis*') are underscored, although possibly not by this reader, and thus these may be the real object of concern. The relevant translated

pointer symbol by this reader, beneath the columns of text on the same folio, continues this interest in the quitclaim of 1328. This sign is aimed at the line '*remittimus penitus et omnino. Et, si quae*'. In context:

*Omnes eciam obligaciones et convenciones vel pacta, initas vel initas
cum nostris predecessibus qualitercumque vel quibuscumque ac
eciam temporibus, super subjeccione dicti regni seu incolarum ejus,
per quoscumque reges Anglie, sive incolas, clericos vel laicos, ipsius
regni Scocie, pro nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris remittimus
penitus et omnino*¹²²

There can be little question therefore that the description of the 1328 Treaty in the MSS is a theme that interested several late-medieval readers. Indeed, this reader activity could fall within a wider pattern concerning the changing relationships between the Scottish and English kingships. The MSS evidence also illustrates late-medieval interest in examples of homage between the Scottish and English kings. This was, of course, always a thorny issue in the medieval age and the Scottish kings were generally careful to perform homage only for the lands that they held in England and not for their actual kingdom of Scotland (perhaps best typified by the homage that Alexander III performed in 1278 to Edward I).¹²³

Indeed, R¹² in *Fordun*I demonstrates clear interest in the 1189 Quitclaim of Canterbury, which cancelled the harsh terms of the Treaty of Falaise (1174) following William the Lion's capture at Alnwick that year.¹²⁴ The Quitclaim would hold enormous appeal to any Scottish reader focussing on the nature of the relationship between the Scottish and English crowns, especially one in which

passage is: 'do desire and grant by these presents, for Ourselves and our heirs and successors...that the kingdom of Scotland...should remain for ever wholly, freely and unburdened in the hands of that great Prince Sir Robert Bruce'.

¹²² In translation: 'Moreover We, for Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, altogether and utterly cancel all bonds, covenants and agreements howsoever and whatsoever and at whatsoever time entered into with Our predecessors by any king, inhabitant, cleric, or layman of that kingdom of Scotland, as to the vassalage of the said kingdom or its inhabitants'.

¹²³ E.L.G. Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328* (Oxford, 1965).

¹²⁴ An event recognised by R⁷ in *CouparAngus*II by adding the comment '*Captum regis Willelmi per Anglos sine*' to the right-margin of fo.118r (VI.9).

Scotland gained previously lost rights and possessions. **R**¹² signals his evident concern in the Quitclaim by underscoring, on fo.124v, much of chapter xx of the Annals.¹²⁵ Furthermore, the underscoring is also apparent on the next folio (125r), which continues the same chapter. The flavour of **R**¹²'s interest is obvious from the following underscoring:

Regi Scottorum, reddidisse castella sua de Berwic et Roxburgh, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, tanquam ejus jure hereditario, ab eo et heredibus dicti regni in perpetuum possidenda. Preterea asquietavimus ei omnes consuetudines et pactiones, quas bone memorie pater noster Henricus, rex Anglie

[King of Scots, given back his castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, with all their pertinents, as his by right of inheritance, and to be held for ever by him and his heirs in the said kingdom. Furthermore, we have remitted unto him all customs and bargains which our father Henry, king of England, of happy memory]

Further underscoring by **R**¹² on fo.125r confirms his substantial interest in the Quitclaim of Canterbury.¹²⁶ **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH* also highlights the Quitclaim

¹²⁵ The Annal is entitled 'King William released from fealty to England' and this reader has underlined much of the chapter from the first word '*Igitur*' to '*abeo*'.

¹²⁶ The following substantial extracts are all underscored in red ink on fo.125r: '*et plenarie, quod rex Scottorum Malcolmus, frater ejus, antecessoribus nostris fecit pro terries suis in Anglia, quod de jure facere debuerunt. Et nos faciemus ei et successoribus suis, quicquid antecessores nostri de jure facere debuerunt. Scilicet in conductu veniendo ad curiam, et redeundo a curia, et morando in curia, in procurationibus, et dignitatibus, et honoribus, et in omnibus libertatibus ejusdem de jure debito ex antiquitate, secundum quod recognoscetur a quatuor proceribus ex nostris, ab ipso Willelmo*' [what his brother Malcolm, king of Scots, did unto Our ancestors, as he was bound by law to do. And we shall do unto him and his successors, whatever Our ancestors were bound by law to do: to wit, in safe-conduct in coming to court, and returning from court, and, while tarrying at court, in procurations, and dignities, and honours, and all the privileges of the same, due, by law, from old time (according as it shall be ascertained by four of our lords, elected by the said [King] William)]; '*Willelmus Bastard conquestor dicti regni Anglie, et heredes sui dictum regnum Anglie optinuerunt. Si autem fines regni Scocie vel marchias aliquis hominum nostrorum, postquam Willelmus rex Scocie a patre nostro captus fuit, usurpaverit, ac injuste retinuerit absque judicio, volumes, quod integer restituantor, et in statum pristinum reducantur, quo errant ante ejus captionem. Preterea de terries suis, quos habet in Anglia, seu*' [William the Bastard, the conqueror of the said kingdom of England, and his heirs, obtained the said kingdom of England. But if any of Our men, after William, king of Scotland, was taken by Our father, has seized the borders or marches of the kingdom of Scotland, and has unlawfully retained them without a judgement, We will that they be wholly

of 1189 with a red pointer sign on fo.120v (VI.12). Moreover, the prominent reader **R**²⁶ in *PluscardenB* uses three pointer symbols on fos.109r-109v (VI.33-34) to note the 10 000 merks payment involved in the Quitclaim, the MS description of the start of the Quitclaim and how 'the prelates of the whole kingdom of Scotland gladly divided among themselves the aforesaid sum of ten thousand merks, and paid it off entirely, at no small cost, at the terms fixed by the king of England'.

Other late-medieval readers of the MSS draw attention to particular episodes in the relationship between the Anglo-Scottish kingship. **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, for instance, adds a comment to the left-margin of fo.143v (VII.29): '*Homagium Sanctum per regem Alexandri Scocie de Penreth ab aliis possessionibus in Anglia et rex Anglie deflicto restitutis comitas de Huntyngton*', remarking upon the homage performed by Alexander II for his English lands and the return of the earldom of Huntingdon to the Scottish crown.¹²⁷ More extensive reader activity

restored, and brought back to the former state in which they were before his capture. Furthermore, touching his lands, which he has in England...]; '*sicut Malcolmus rex frater ejus possidebat, et de jure hereditario possidere debuerat, nisi predictus rex Malcolmus aliquid de dictis terries alicui infeodavit. Ita tamen, quod, si qua postea infeodata fuit, ipsorum feodorum servitia ad eum ad heredes suas pertineant. Et si quid pater noster predicto Malcolmus vel Willelmo predicto donaverat, ratum habemus, et pro nobis et heredibus nostris confirmamus imperpetuum, atque firmum habere volumus. Reddimus etiam eidem Willelmo regi Scocie, legantias hominum suorum, et omnes cartas quas dictus pater noster de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si alique alie forte per oblivionem retente aut de cetero invente fuerint, eas penitus viribus carere precipimus. Ipse vero Willelmus homo legius noster devenit pro omnibus terries suis in Angliam, de quibus antecessores sui legishomines antecessores nostrorum fuerunt, et nobis fidelitatem juravit. Teste meipso anno Domini MCXC et regni nostri anno primo.*' [wherewith his brother king Malcolm held them, and was entitled to hold them by right of inheritance; unless the aforesaid king Malcolm has fued any of the said lands to any one: Provided, however, that if any land was afterwards fued, the services of these feus belong to him and his heirs. And whatever Our father gave to the aforesaid William, we hold it valid, and for Us and Our heirs confirm it for ever, and will hold it fast. We also give back to the same William, king of Scotland, the allegiance of his men, and all the charters which Our said father had of him, by reason of his capture. And if any others are by chance kept back through forgetfulness, or shall hereafter be found, We command that they be of none effect whatsoever. But this William has become Our liegeman for all his lands in England (for which his ancestors were the liegemen of Our ancestors), and has sworn fealty unto us. Witness myself, in the year of Our Lord one thousand one hundred and ninety, and the first of our reign.].

¹²⁷ **R**¹² in *FordunI* is also concerned with the relationship between Alexander II and his southern counterparts. For example, on fo.128r (Annals.xxvi) this reader has underscored '*Londonias media Dominica xL^e ad Latere Jerusalem, viii idus Martii anno etatis xiiii, cum pueris regni nobilibus*'. The translation, in context, is as follows: 'And, for the knitting of a stronger bond of love, Alexander, the son of the king of Scotland, was sent with the greatest pomp and state, by his father, to the king of England, by whom he, together with some noble and high born boys of the kingdom,

pertaining to this theme is evident in *PluscardenD*, with **R**³⁴ clearly intrigued by King William's bond with his southern counterparts. On fo.95v (VI.42) this reader has placed a pointer in the left-margin aimed at the comment '*et de pacis confederaciones de regibus apud Northam*'. This pointer is therefore attracting attention to the agreement reached at Norham in 1210 between William the Lion and King John. The translation of the opening lines of the chapter state:

In the year 1210 it was agreed between the kings that the king of Scotland should resign into the hands of the king of England, purely and simply, all his lands, possessions and domains whatsoever, which he had from old time held within that kingdom, freely, entirely and fully of the kings of England; and that the said king of England should give back the said lands to the Scots king's eldest son, Alexander, to be held of him and by doing homage.¹²⁸

R³⁴ adds another symbol beneath the columns of text on fo.129v (VIII.36) of *PluscardenD*. This chapter relates Edward I's reply to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301, with the English king setting out his case for England's supposed ancient superiority and lordship over Scotland. This matter, and the Scottish response to Edward I's arguments, dominate bk.VIII of *Pluscarden* between chapters 30 to 62. **R**³⁴'s pointer is specifically addressing the line '*Item idem Willelmus Scocie, ad mandatum Regis Anglie, venit ad Northumbriam ad ejus parliamentum*'. The translation, in context, is as follows:

Also the said William of Scotland, by command of the king of England, came to Northampton to his parliament, and brought with him all the prelates of the kingdom of Scotland; and again another

was girded with the sword of knighthood, in London, on the middle Sunday of Lent – that is, "The Latere, Jerusalem" – the 8th of March, in the fourteenth year of his age. Then the king of England sent him away with gifts, and he went back to his father about Easter'. **R**²³ in *CouparAngusII* also notes, on fo.130v (VII.4), the meeting at York in May 1220 between Alexander II and Henry III of England.

¹²⁸ In *FordunI* **R**¹² underscores '*cum rege Scocie*' on fo.128r (Annals.XXVII), thus illustrating his readership of the passage concerning King John coming to Norham to have a meeting 'with the King of Scotland', William the Lion.

time he came to Normandy by his command. Again, this same William of Scotland, after the decease of the aforesaid King Henry, came to Canterbury, to Richard king of England, son and heir of the said King Henry, and did homage to him. And, when Richard went the way of all flesh, the aforesaid William did homage to John king of the English...

It is apparent that this reader, through the inclusion of a pointer at this juncture, is intent on drawing attention to the occasions when, according to the English in 1301, William the Lion had performed homage to the English kingship. Indeed, this topic seems to hold great fascination for this reader for he includes another pointer sign beneath the columns of text on fo.135v (VIII.48). This is a rather unusual form of reader activity because **R**³⁴, in this case, targets the book number ('*Octavus*') that follows the chapter title: '*Sequitur ad huc de eodem, cum incidentibus. CXLVIII. Octavus liber*'. There can be no doubt that this reader is deliberately highlighting '*Octavus*'. Does this mean that this reader regards Bk. VIII, generally, to be worthy of closer study? As already stated, this book concentrates largely on the theme of English claims, and Scottish counters, to historic lordship over Scotland. It seems plausible, therefore, that this is a system of shorthand by this reader. Instead of peppering the whole chapter with pointer symbols, which can be rather elaborately drawn by this hand, he adds at this place on fo.135v, one symbol to denote the significance of the entire book, either to himself or for the attention of other readers of the MS. Whilst this remains conjecture, the MSS evidence unquestionably indicates that for some late-medieval readers the subject of homage, and inter-monarchical relationships, was of interest and certainly noteworthy.

At a higher level, however, the significance attached to English claims of overlordship in this period appeared to be diminishing, for both sides. Professor Duncan has shown that while claims to overlordship were apparent in the late-medieval era (for example, the homage promised by James III's brother to Edward IV in 1482 if the former acquired the kingdom of Scotland), 'no attempt was made by Henry IV or V to exert homage from their prisoner, James I, nor was the topic

mentioned in the treaty for his release in 1424'.¹²⁹ However, the MS evidence indicates that for some readers of the narrative of the Scottish nation this subject remained important and certainly worthy of consideration. In fact, one can comprehend how readers of these MSS, in the late-medieval period, could have desired drawing attention to passages of text that stressed a pro-Scottish line regarding homage or emphasised the Scottish achievement of 1328 in gaining recognition, albeit temporarily, of their independent sovereign status. Indeed, it is entirely possible that these readers were offering their MS responses at points when Scotland's sovereignty was under threat from English aggression. The period *ca* 1450x1550, when these readers were collectively active, contained some notable episodes of English menace. For example, in June 1482 Alexander duke of Albany, James III's brother, and Richard duke of Gloucester led a large force over the border on behalf of Edward IV.¹³⁰ Although the incursion of 1482 did not achieve the objectives of the English king, it did destabilise the position of James III and heighten the Scottish concerns surrounding English invasion. Moreover, if the 'Flodden Wall' was indeed built around Edinburgh following the battle in September 1513, this would suggest that fear over invasion was very much a live issue in early-sixteenth century Scotland. In addition, as chapter three on 'Scottish Origins' demonstrated, the 'Rough Wooing' of the 1540s was accompanied by a propaganda drive, both Scottish and English, circulating the claims and counter claims of English overlordship over Scotland. It seems fair to argue, therefore, that the late-medieval readers of the MSS may have been aware of one, or some, of these events, thus increasing their interest in the MS's account of historical examples of homage or overlordship in the narrative of the Scottish nation. In fact, as Marcus Merriman has highlighted, we know of one Scottish merchant at this time who, in order to counter the English claims, researched the history of Scottish homage. As Merriman states:

¹²⁹ Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, 332.

¹³⁰ Macdougall, *James III*, 152-5.

Another Scot to become embroiled in the origins of the kingdoms was William Lamb, who settled down at his leisure during 1548-50 to refute the English claims concerning Brutus's first settlement and subsequent Scottish homages.¹³¹

Lamb was attempting, through the publication of his '*Resonyng*',¹³² to rebuff both Henry VIII's *Declaration* and Protector Somerset's *Epistle* of February 1548, and thus 'demonstrate that English claims to suzerainty over Scotland were quite baseless, the histories quoted false and the failure to mention the Treaty of Northampton dishonest'.¹³³ The activity of some of the late-medieval readers, therefore, provides further evidence of the interest, perhaps dateable to the early-sixteenth century, in the historiography of Scottish acts of homage to their English counterparts.

The final subject of interest in this chapter concerns the reputation of Bruce, Douglas and Randolph, and the continuation of the war in the 1330s. The status of Robert Bruce as the champion of Scottish liberty was well formulated even before 1329, so it is unsurprising to find some late-medieval readers recording the date and occasion of his death. In *Coupar Angus*H, for example, R²³ adds a black pointer symbol to the left-margin of fo.169r (IX.12), directed at '*Anno igitur domini m ccc xxix vii idus junii obiit memorie Robertus de Broys rex Scottorum*'. He then follows this with another black symbol in the left-margin of fo.169v (IX.12) noting the line '*in medio chori debito cum honore. De quo*'. This reader is thus effectively registering the burial of Robert Bruce: 'The king was buried in the monastery at Dunfermline in the middle of the choir with due honour'. Similarly, Archbishop Parker (R¹³) underscores in red chalk '*Robertus de Bruys rex*' on fo.276v (XIII.14) of *Scotichronicon*C. This reference to Bruce occurs within the passage '*Anno igitur domini m ccc xxix vii idus junii obiit pie memorie Robertus de Brois rex Scotorum*'

¹³¹ M. Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1551* (Tuckwell Press, 2000), 45.

¹³² R. J. Lyall, *William Lamb: Ane Resonyng of one Scottis and Inglis merchand betwixt Rowand and Lionis* (Aberdeen, 1988).

¹³³ Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, 286.

invetissimus apud Cardross'. Indeed, another reader of *Scotichronicon*C illustrates concern in the passing of Robert Bruce. The real interest of R¹⁷, however, may be the citation of Thomas Randolph in this passage. On fo.279r (XIII.17) a distinctive conical black pointer is aimed at the opening of the chapter:

*Mortuo, ut premisimus, et sepulture tradito rege magnifico Roberto,
sicut prius constitutum erat in tallia, curia regni regiminis versa est in
dominum Thomam Ranulphi comite Moravie, qui ad hoc gardianus
Scocie habebantur*¹³⁴

Furthermore, the legendary reputation of Robert Bruce is highlighted by R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B. On fo.187r (IX.24) of this MS this reader employs a pointer sign in the right-margin to note interest in the line '*Nota quod quidam herraldus regis Anglie*'. Intriguingly, R²⁶ is drawing attention to the story of Edward III publicly asking a herald, at a festival, who he considered to be the most chivalrous and honourable individual, 'the most admirable in knightly gallantry and in warlike deeds'. While some onlookers stated the Emperor Henry or Sir Giles d'Argent, the herald's reply took many by surprise and infuriated the English king:

The herald said openly before everybody that the most peerless and gallant, the most daring and mightiest in warlike deeds, was that invincible prince, King Robert Bruce; and this he openly supported and made good by many arguments, and he offered to defend his opinion with his body.

The interest in the careers of James Douglas and Thomas Randolph has already been commented upon and the reader responses in the MSS aptly illustrate the importance attached to the leadership qualities of these prominent Scottish nobles. R³⁴ in *Pluscarden*D adds a pointer in between the columns of text on fo.157v (IX.26) to draw attention to the line '*finivit, dictus Jacobus de Douglas ut*'. This

¹³⁴ In translation: 'As we have said already, once the magnificent King Robert was dead and buried, as had previously been arranged in a tailzie, the responsibility for the government of the kingdom fell on Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, who was regarded as guardian of Scotland for this purpose'.

chapter is entitled 'James Douglas carries the king's heart to the Holy Land' and this reader is clearly concerned with the passage: 'the said James Douglas took upon him the government of the kingdom, as had been ordained by a resolution in parliament'. However, there is much greater reader activity pertaining to Randolph's period as guardian and death in 1332. R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* adds a pointer in between the columns of text of fo.290v (XII.24), thus targeting the line '*Thomas Ranulphi comes Moravie ipsius*' describing how Randolph would assume the guardianship of the realm in the event of a minor succeeding to the throne. The succession to the throne clearly fascinated this reader for, as already outlined, on fos.290r-290v (XII.24) of *ScotichroniconB* R¹⁹ used four pointer signs to draw attention to the parliament at Ayr in 1315, highlighting how if Robert Bruce died the throne would pass to Edward Bruce, then to Marjorie Bruce if Edward died without issue and finally to Thomas Randolph in the event of a minor succeeding to the throne.

R²³ in *CouparAngusH* included a black pointer sign in the left-margin of fo.170r (IX.13) to target the date '*m ccc xxxii*'. The subject concerns the death of Randolph in that year: 'He left Scotland plunged into grief, and was buried at Dunfermline in 1332'. Similarly, R³³ in *PluscardenC* highlights the death of Randolph by adding '*Dicta Ranulphe*' to the right-margin of fo.233r (IX.26), beside the text '*Dictus vero Thomas Ranulphi obit anno Domini m ccc xxxii kalendas Augusti xiii*'.¹³⁵ R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* is also concerned with marking the passing of Randolph. On fo.212v (XIII.18) a conical pointer has been placed in between the columns of text and aimed at '*stimulis*' in the following passage: '*Propter quod, invidre stimulis agitati, sic procuraverunt, quod per quondam Angligenam religiosum fratrem apud aulum suam de Wemis festive convivantem impacionaverunt*'.¹³⁶ The allegation concerning the poisoning of Randolph also seemed to interest Archbishop Parker in his reading of *ScotichroniconC*. On

¹³⁵ The previous line ('*principis in nostro wlgari vompositam transeat, ubi ad longum reperiet*') is underscored in the MS but it seems that R³³'s comment was added first before a later hand then applied the underlining.

¹³⁶ In translation: 'On this account, stirred by feelings of jealousy, they arranged for a certain English friar to poison him as he was celebrating a feast in his hall at Wemyss'.

fo.281r (XIII.21) he underscored the text '*quidam frater Anglicus religione corruptus dicto*' and '*sibi venenum in vino propinaret*'. It should be stressed, however, that Parker's interest may lie with the 'certain English friar' who was 'corrupt in his faith', rather than in his actual poisonous actions towards Randolph.

R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* appears keen to highlight Randolph's leadership after 1329 and he also concentrates on text that relates to Randolph's mastery of law and order during his guardianship. R²⁶ included three pointer symbols in one chapter of *PluscardenB* entitled 'The earl of Murray is elected guardian – Other events at this time'. This reader uses two pointers to demonstrate Randolph's leadership skills. On fo.187v (IX.25) R²⁶ adds a symbol in between the columns of text and directed at the line '*Nunciatum est interim predicto custodi*'. As the following translation, in context, illustrates, R²⁶ is targeting an extract portraying Randolph to be a man of action when faced by immediate danger:

Meanwhile tidings reached the aforesaid guardian that the king of England was trying to make his way into Scotland with a numerous army; so he at once set off messengers in every direction, gathered together the forces of the kingdom, and prepared to march against him.

In a similar manner, this reader includes another symbol in between the columns of text on fo.188r (IX.25). The object of interest is the line '*verumptamen revertamini domina vestro, et*' and thus R²⁶ is evidently intrigued by the following story, concerning Randolph's speech to messengers of the English king:

Nevertheless, return to your lord and tell him that though we arrived here suddenly and without preparation, and he set about invading us after long and mature deliberation and previous thought, tell him that to-morrow at the hour of hearing causes, we will not await his coming, but will meet him halfway, God and Saint Andrew granting it...But when the king heard this he was greatly troubled, and penetrated no further into Scotland for the time...

The last symbol by R²⁶ relating to this chapter is perhaps even more interesting. On fo.187v (IX.25) this reader has used the symbol, in the left-margin, to focus attention on the line '*Quo tempore accidit quod quidam agricola*'. This is very curious as R²⁶ is targeting the start of a tale that depicts Randolph as a strong man of justice:

Accordingly at this time it happened that a miserly husbandman, for the sake of gain, hid his own ploughshare and complained to the sheriff of having been robbed. The sheriff made it good to him in money; but the trick was afterwards found out and he was hanged. So this guardian gave many remarkable judgements and ruled the kingdom most nobly in his time.

This judicial interest in Randolph is mirrored by R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR*. On fo.212r (XIII.17) R¹⁷ includes a pointer in the right-margin and its target is either the chapter title ('*Quomodo Thomas Ranulphi custos Scocie effectus est, et justiciam undique executus est*')¹³⁷ or the opening lines of the chapter: '*Mortuo ut premisimus, et sepulture tradito rege magnifico Roberto, sicut prius constitutum erat in tallia, cura regni regiminis versa est in dominum Thomam Ranulphi comite Moravie, qui ad hoc gardianus Scocie habebatur...*'.¹³⁸ In either case, interest in Randolph's administration is evident. It is also illuminating that the reader responsible for offering extremely similar conical pointer symbols in *ScotichroniconC* and *ScotichroniconR* should highlight the same passage of text. Is this further evidence that only one hand is responsible for these additions? Furthermore, as will be discussed shortly, the conical pointer signs apparent in *ScotichroniconD* also draw attention to events of lawlessness and the mechanics of justice. A distinctive pattern of interest is noticeable here.

¹³⁷ In translation: 'How Thomas Randolph was made guardian of Scotland, and he executed justice everywhere'.

¹³⁸ In translation: 'As we have said already, once the magnificent king Robert was dead and buried, as had previously been arranged in a tailzie, the responsibility for the government of the kingdom fell on Sir Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, who was regarded as guardian of Scotland for this purpose'.

R¹⁷'s interest in Randolph is clear from his next addition to *Scotichronicon*R. In the left-margin of fo.212v (XIII.17) a pointer is directed at a *nota* beside the passage:

*Consequentor justiciariam suum usque Invernes continuavit, ubi delatum est judici quondam a casu in curia justicie inventum nuper de Romana curia revertentem, qui pro interfeccione sacerdotis arrestatus, et de effusione sanguinis regalis liegii accusatus...*¹³⁹

R¹⁷'s next entry is also related to the administration of justice. Between the columns of text on fo.212v (XIII.18) this reader aims a symbol at the line starting with 'curiam': '*curiam bestiarum, debuitque unaqueque seipsam proclamare de culpis suis coram leone*'. R¹⁷ is therefore signalling interest in a fable, concerning moral judgement and the practice of justice, involving the lion's 'court of the beasts'.¹⁴⁰ Bower's incorporation of this (untraced) fable was intended to offer a contrast between the worthy justice practiced by Randolph and the perceived immoral judges in Bower's own day, as represented by the corrupt lion's court. Given the nature of R¹⁷'s wider concern with issues of justice¹⁴¹ and Randolph's exercise of law and order, it seems possible that the motivation for the symbol on

¹³⁹ In translation: 'Subsequently he continued his justiciar's tour to Inverness, where it was brought before the judge that in a case in a court of justice a man had been found to have recently returned from the Roman court, who had been arrested for killing a priest, and accused of spilling the blood of one of the king's subjects...'.

¹⁴⁰ It is instructive to view the translated fable in full: 'An ass spoke: "Sir", he said, " I was following sometimes a wagon full of hay, and when a handful of hay had fallen from the wagon, I took it and ate it". The lion said to him: " You have gone badly astray, and acted against the law and loyalty. For you ought to have made restitution to the man who has had a loss; for anything which you have found and have not returned you have stolen". Therefore by order of the lion the ass was beaten to death. A wolf approached and said: 'Sir, I have sometimes prowled round flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, and sometimes I have snatched a tender lamb by the throat, and sometimes a plump calf when I could reach it, sometimes a sheep, sometimes a kid". Because the wolf had previously been in the habit of sending him presents from the fattest of these, the lion said to him: "My dear kinsman, give up weighing such matters; you have too stringent a conscience; it is natural for you to act in this way, and no one who acts as nature dictates is a sinner". Thus by a false judge the rapacious wolf was vindicated and the blameless ass was beaten. This is to say that Barrabas the robber was set free, while the innocent Christ was crucified'.

¹⁴¹ See chapter eight on the 'Analysis of Individual Readers' Interests'.

fo.212v relates to iniquities within the legal system during this reader's lifetime. It is clear that this reader is intrigued by matters pertaining to justice, but is his curiosity in these passages of text further fuelled by contemporary issues which he has in mind as he turns the folios of the MS? The conical symbols added to *Scotichronicon*D, almost certainly by the same reader, also indicate great interest in the themes of justice and models of leadership.¹⁴² It is clearly noteworthy that one reader, apparent in three MSS of the *Scotichronicon* corpus, has such a deep fascination in this subject.

The battle of Dupplin (1332) was, of course, a disaster for the Bruce party in Scotland. The depiction of the battle of Dupplin in the MSS held obvious interest for several late-medieval readers. R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B, a reader who displays concerted curiosity in the events of the 1330s, draws attention to the prelude to the battle, with Edward Balliol's return to England and his alliance with the Disinherited. On fo.188v (IX.27) of *Pluscarden*B, this reader employs a pointer in the left-margin to target the initial ('E'), and presumably opening lines, of this chapter: '*Edwardus vero de Balliolo, postquam Angliam sic intraveret, plures nobiles tam Scocie quam Anglie in Anglia reperit...*'.¹⁴³ Two further late-medieval readers, R¹³ in *Scotichronicon*C (Parker) and R³³ in *Pluscarden*C, draw attention to the citation of the battle by adding brief marginal comments. In *Scotichronicon*C Parker adds in black ink '*bellum de Duplyn*'¹⁴⁴ to the left-margin of fo.281r (XIII.21), while R³³'s interest in *Pluscarden*C is indicated by his comment '*Conflictus de Duppill*', in dark ink, in the left-margin of fo.233v. Furthermore, the

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ The translation in context: 'But after Edward Balliol had thus come to England, he found in England many nobles of both Scotland and England who said they had been wrongfully despoiled of their inheritance at the Black Parliament and at other times; and the chief of these were David earl of Athol, the Cumyns, the Talbots and the Mowbrays...'.

¹⁴⁴ Some doubt exists over whether this can be ascribed to Parker, for why did he not write this in red chalk (especially as he underscores sections of the same folio in red chalk)? It is possible, therefore, that this comment belongs to another reader. However, on the next folio (282v), Parker has added one of his curious 'H' signs in black ink. Thus it remains feasible that Parker, in a further perusal of the MS after initially offering underscoring in red chalk, has returned to these folios to add the comment and the symbol at that stage. Moreover, the comment ('*bellum de Duplyn*') is similar in style to one on fo.162v (VIII.29).

following sparse underscoring by R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* concerns members of the Bruce camp opposing Edward Balliol in 1332: '*de Menteth Roberto de Broys filio Regis inclito*'.¹⁴⁵ R²³ in *CouparAngusH* appears more concerned by the aftermath of the battle for on fo.172r (IX.14) he offers two black pointer signs in the right-margin, noting the departure of both David Bruce to France and James Ben, bishop of St Andrews, overseas in the year after Dupplin. The two lines of interest are as follows: '*bellum de Duplyn rex noster David de Broys*' and '*Eodem anno post bellum de Duplyn Jacobus Benedicti episcopus Sanctiandr*'.

The reader activity of R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* is more expansive. This reader notes the nobles lost at Dupplin by aiming a large pointer on fo.158v (IX.27), beneath the columns of text, at the marginal comment '*nobilium occisorum de bello de Duplyn*'. However, the other addition to fo.158v by this reader is more intriguing. He places another large pointer, beneath the left-column of text, thus targeting a *nota* directly beside the line '*aut in virtute sua confidere, in ruinam cadere*' ['and proudly to trust in one's own numbers and courage and break down']. R³⁴ has thus chosen to highlight a passage that stresses the over-confidence of Mar's army before Dupplin. This reader is deliberately drawing attention to a negative portrayal of the Bruce force and their inadequate preparations in facing Edward Balliol's smaller force. The context of the translated line is as follows:

And thus, sneering at the smallness of their numbers, when night came on they out of ignorant recklessness posted no night sentries, but gleefully made themselves merry with wine and bragged that they would without any difficulty devour the whole English force on the morrow, holding them cheap because of the smallness of their numbers. Thus, being without prudence and foresight, their disdainful pride was brought low by the small number of their adversaries, and thus, thinking they were wise, they were made fools of. For the wise say it is better to be humble and anxious and to use foresight and care than presumptuously and proudly to trust in one's own numbers and courage and break down...

¹⁴⁵ The translation in context: 'He was opposed by Thomas Randolph the younger, earl of Moray, Murdoch earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce son of the great king deceased, Alexander Fraser and many

The interest of this reader in the struggles of the Bruce camp to reassert themselves after Dupplin is evident in his next two additions to *PluscardenD*, one concerning the new guardianship of Sir Andrew Moray¹⁴⁶ and the other referring to the Scottish nobles executed in the immediate aftermath of the devastating battle at Halidon Hill. On fo.159v (IX.28) of *PluscardenD* a pointer has been added in between the columns of text. It is aimed at the penultimate line in the right column of text: '*nisi tantum qui in absconditis reservantur. Nomina vero*' ['save only with such as were kept in concealment. Now the names']. The context is as follows:

Next morning the king of England ordered them to kill all the prisoners; and this was accordingly done, save only with such as were kept in concealment. Now the names of the chief nobles who were slain on the side of David Bruce were these: James, John and Alan Stewart, sons of the noble Walter Stewart and brothers of Robert, afterwards king after David; Archibald Douglas, the aforesaid guardian of Scotland; Hugh earl of Ross; Kenneth earl of Sutherland; Alexander Bruce earl of Carrick; Andrew, Simon and James Fresale (Fraser) brothers; and countless other nobles...

Surprisingly, one can trace only one other late-medieval reader who has clearly noted the events at Halidon Hill, albeit obliquely. On fo.235r of *PluscardenC* R³³ has included '*Conflictus de Haledonhill*' in the right-margin. Archbishop Parker, R¹³ in *ScotichroniconC*, does however note the alliance of Edward III and Edward Balliol in the build-up to Halidon Hill. On fo.282v (XIII.25) of *ScotichroniconC*

others'.

¹⁴⁶ In between the columns of text on fo.159r (IX.28) a pointer is directed at the line '*Roxburgh confestim andivit, ac nimis praecipitanter*'. The translation in context: '...and at the same time the guardian of the kingdom of Scotland was Sir Andrew Murray le Riche, in the absence of the king who was still in France. Now the said guardian, hearing that Edward Balliol had approached the borders of Scotland, himself went in haste to Roxburgh Castle and, while pursuing the English too precipitately, as before, on the bridge of that place, was himself taken prisoner by the English...'. R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* is also interested in the career of Sir Andrew Moray. He adds the comment '*Murray le Riche*' to the left-margin of fo.189v (IX.28). The reference to Moray in the text at this stage corresponds to: '...the friends of King David, who was in his minority and not able to take his revenge, made him leave the kingdom to the rule and governance of Sir Andrew Murray le Riche and retire to France'.

Parker adds a curious black sign, resembling a squint uppercase H ('H'), beside the following passage: '*suos liegios, ruptis vinculis pacis et confederacionis, cum omnipotencia Wallie, Vasconie et Anglie, adjunctis sibi Scotis Eadwardo de Balliolo faventibus, qui plures errant, congregavit*'.¹⁴⁷ It is evident, therefore, that the late-medieval readers were more interested in the MSS account of Dupplin rather than Halidon Hill the following year.

R³⁴ continued his interest in events at Dupplin by placing a symbol in the left-margin of fo.160r (IX.28) of *PluscardenD*, targeting a *nota* beside the line '*castro, dominus comes Marchiarum ac dominus de Cetoun*'. This pointer is therefore noting the earl of March (i.e. earl of Dunbar) and Lord Seton, who after Dupplin had surrendered the town of Berwick to Edward III and thus saved the lives and property of the inhabitants of the town. Given the nature of his other additions, is this reader concentrating on these extracts to provide a synopsis of what he considers to be good and bad military leadership? Is he attracting attention to the contrast between sensible leadership, as illustrated by March and Seton when faced by insurmountable odds, and over-confident generalship, as demonstrated at Dupplin? Indeed, even more pertinently, is it possible that this reader's interest has a particular grounding in his contemporary era – does he have a specific event in mind?

It is entirely plausible, given the dating of these late-medieval additions to the MSS, that the reader interest in the battle of Dupplin could have reflected the experiences of individuals living through the disaster of Flodden in 1513. The Scottish losses at Flodden, possibly in the region of seven or eight thousand, wiped out practically an entire generation of Scottish nobility: in addition to the death of King James IV, the battle accounted for the deaths of nine earls (out of twenty-one), fourteen lords of Parliament (out of twenty-one), the Primate and Chancellor

¹⁴⁷ In translation: 'After breaking the bonds of peace and alliance, he assembled from all sides a very large army against his brother-in-law King David and his subjects, with the whole force of Wales, Gascony and England together with Scots who supported Edward de Balliolo, of whom there were many'.

of Scotland, Alexander Stewart and George Hepburn, Bishop of the Isles.¹⁴⁸ Although the English, under the command of Thomas Howard earl of Surrey, did not fully follow up their resounding victory, it is difficult to underestimate the effect of Flodden on the early-sixteenth century Scottish psyche. As N. Macdougall has written, 'A few hours later James IV and most of his commanders were dead, the prurpose, drive and unanimity which he had instilled in the political community were shattered, and Scottish national self-confidence was lost for the remainder of the century'.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the loss of Scottish confidence following Flodden was evident in July 1522 when the Scots, despite the Duke of Albany successfully raising a large army, refused to invade England. This was followed in 1523 by a further Scottish force under Albany reaching the border but declining to cross the Tweed. In fact, although Albany besieged Wark Castle he abandoned his attempts when Thomas Howard, the victor at Flodden, approached. All this was, of course, in sharp contrast to the confidence of James IV and his army before Flodden, and his notable success in taking Norham castle.¹⁵⁰ The memory of Flodden was still keenly felt in the 1520s.

Likewise, the reader interest in Dupplin may have been inspired by the aftermaths of Solway Moss (1542) and Pinkie (1547). In both cases, a large Scottish force was mustered, with James V raising a contingent of probably between 15,000 – 18,000 men for the incursion into England in November 1542¹⁵¹ and the Earl of Arran generating a force of approximately 20,000 men for the battle at Pinkie in September 1547, 'one of the largest Scottish hosts in history'.¹⁵² Furthermore, despite the numerical advantage that the Scots enjoyed, they would be heavily defeated in both 1542 and 1547, with damaging effects for the Scottish

¹⁴⁸ N. Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), 276. Also see, *inter alia*, G. Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars 1513-1550: A Military History* (Woodbridge, 1999) and R. Nicholson, *Scotland. The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 600-606.

¹⁴⁹ Macdougall, *James IV*, 309.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹⁵¹ Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, 78.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 234.

morale. Indeed, at Pinkie, although the Scots outnumbered their English opponents, a combination of 'bad leadership, lack of horse and a mauling from the English artillery and hagbutters', coupled to the lack of training among the Scottish infantry, contributed to a comprehensive military defeat.¹⁵³ The dejection following these defeats must have been palpable among the Scottish people and it is difficult to believe that a late-medieval reader of the 1540s would have been unaware, or unaffected, by this military reverse. The campaigns of 1542 and 1547, as well as 1513, may have been at the forefront of some reader's minds as they perused their MS, with the MS account of Dupplin catching their eye in its similarity to their contemporary experiences.

A further possible, although unprovable, inspiration for the reader interest in Dupplin involves the apparent overconfidence of the Bruce force at Dupplin. As noted, this appears to have been a concern of R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*. Once more, an awareness of particular military campaigns may have been the motivation for this late-medieval reader activity. It seems apparent that James' troops at Flodden, like those fighting in the name of David II at Dupplin nearly two centuries before, were in good spirits prior to the commencement of battle. Similarly, confidence can be detected in the Scottish camp prior to both Solway Moss and Pinkie, and it could be this sense of military hope, shortly to be replaced by despair, which lay behind some of the late-medieval interest in Dupplin. Indeed, Jamie Cameron proposed that the Solway Moss excursion may have been regarded as an 'adventure' for some members of the Scottish nobility, confident and eager to earn their spurs in military pursuit: 'It does not appear to have been a feudal host ready for a prolonged campaign; rather – to judge from the prisoners taken – it was in the nature of a 'notable exploit' or an adventure for the Scottish nobility after a long period during which there had been little opportunity for fighting anywhere other than in the Isles'.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the Scottish military commanders at Pinkie, led by

¹⁵³ D. Caldwell, 'The Battle of Pinkie', in N. Macdougall (ed), *Scotland and War AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991), 61-94, at 68.

¹⁵⁴ J. Cameron, *James V. The Personal Rule, 1528-1542* (Tuckwell Press, 1998), 319. Also see Merriman, *Rough Wooings*.

the Earl of Arran, have been accused of overconfidence in the build-up to the battle. As D.H. Caldwell states 'the decision to advance was apparently Arran's alone, taken against the advice of Angus and Huntly, and he has been much criticised for it. It has been suggested that he acted through overconfidence and a supposition that the English were in retreat'.¹⁵⁵ It is conceivable that the late-medieval readers of the MSS were aware of Pinkie, and the alleged arrogance demonstrated by Arran, and were thus struck by the description, and similarity, of the battle of Dupplin in their particular MS. Whilst the emphasis on the overconfidence of the Scots remains largely conjecture, the evidence certainly indicates that several late-medieval readers were interested in the military disaster of Dupplin and it would be natural for these readers to seek comparisons within their own eras.

Although, as Michael Brown has argued, Halidon Hill marked the 'greatest English victory for a generation',¹⁵⁶ the conflict see-sawed between 1333 and David II's return to Scotland in June 1341, with much depending on the increasingly fragile relationship between Balliol and Edward III, and, as the MSS record, the spirited actions of such Bruce stalwarts as Andrew Moray, William Douglas, John Randolph and Alexander Ramsay.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, the impact of

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁵⁶ Brown, *The Wars of Scotland*, 236.

¹⁵⁷ The escapades of these men did not escape the attention of the MSS late-medieval readers. For instance, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* added a pointer to the left-margin of fo.189v (IX.28) to single out the line '*Anno vero sequenti post capcionem de Perth*'. In context: '*Anno vero sequenti post capcionem de Perth, Thomas Ranulphi, comes Murravie, et Archibaldus de Douglas, frater mobilis Jacobi de Douglas, cum mille electis hominibus, in villa de Moffet secreto sunt collecti...*' ['The year after the taking of Perth, Thomas Randolph, the younger earl of Murray, and Archibald Douglas, brother of the noble James Douglas, with a thousand chosen men, assembled secretly in the town of Moffat']. Similarly, on fo.161v (IX.32) of *PluscardenD* R³⁴ notes a line, through a pointer in between the columns of text, referring to the actions of John Randolph and William Douglas: '*pergens, ut australes homines ad fidelitatem*'. The translation in context: 'While this guardian of Scotland, John Randolph earl of Murray, was on his way to Lothian, in order to bring over the men of the south to fealty to the king, there met him the noble William Douglas who had been released from captivity among the English'. John Randolph's career was also of interest to R²³ in *CouparAngusH* who directs a pointer, from the right-margin of fo.175r (VIII.17), at '*Inter hec a transmiris partibus et a rege Scotorum David Johannas*' ['In the meantime John Randolph earl of Moray returned home from overseas and from David King of Scotland...']. Another individual seemingly singled out for attention by R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* is Richard Schaw, for on fo.193v (IX.33) this reader

men like earl David of Strathbogie, a crucial factor in 'Disinherited' success until his death at Culblean in November 1335, is also described in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. In fact, R³³ in *PluscardenC* draws attention to this battle in 1335 by adding '*Conflictus de Kilblein*' in the left-margin of fo.241v (IX.34).

As so often in the narrative of Scottish history, an influential theme in the years 1333-1441, and beyond, involved the sieges conducted by both sides against specific strongholds, and the Bruce camp's gradual success in this field is one factor underlying their improved position by 1341. These sieges are well recorded in the MSS and, in turn, form a formidable body of evidence regarding the late-medieval readership of these works, with several readers particularly attracted to this subject.

R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* applied numerous pointer symbols to demonstrate his interest in the territorial conflicts of the 1330s. He appears to be most concerned with siege tactics and methods of warfare. On fo.160v (IX.30) of *PluscardenD* R³⁴ includes a pointer in between the columns of text to target the line '*incidentes, in aquis vehementibus submersi sunt. Nam*'. This concerns the siege of Lochleven Castle in 1335 by an English force under the command of Sir John Stirling. Attempting to flush out Alan de Vypont and James Lamkyn, who has garrisoned the castle, the English dammed up an outlet of water and hoped to flood the castle. However, as this reader's line of interest indicates, the plan backfired and the English themselves were submerged by the flood of water. Indeed, R²³ in *CouparAngusH* also considers this event noteworthy for he adds a black symbol to the right-margin of fo.174r (IX.16) to highlight the start of the story concerning Sir John Stirling: '*Anno domini m ccc xxx v dominus Johannes de Stivelyne*'.

R³⁴'s interest in methods of siege warfare, as described in *PluscardenD*, continues on fo.161r (IX.31). In this case a pointer, at the foot of the folio between

has used a symbol in the left-margin to target the line '*armis militaribus induta, cum quodam nobili*'. In context: '*ubi, multis ex utraque parte occisis, quaedam virago de Gillirland, armis militaribus induta, cum quodam nobili Scoto, nomine Ricardo de Schav, arma peregit*' [...said Count of Cuelderland at Boroughmuir near Edinburgh. Here many were slain on either side, and a certain warrior maiden of Guelderland, arrayed in knightly armour, had a bout with a noble Scot of the name of Richard Schaw'].

the columns of text, is aimed at the first word of the last line of text: '*armatis, aliud remedium nisi viriliter se defendere*'. This refers to the Brandons of Bute helping Robert Stewart at Dunoon in 1335, when Stewart was attacked by the English sheriff Alan Lyle. The Scots were unarmed but 'seeing there was nothing for it but to defend themselves manfully, posted themselves in a stony place and defended themselves by throwing stones with their hands'. It appears to be the circumstance and tactics of this encounter that have grasped the attention of R³⁴. Without straying too far into mere hypothesis, it seems possible to suggest that this reader's focus on '*armatis*', and the subsequent passage, could be intended to deliberately note how even a poorly armed force can be successful by employing the right tactics at the right time.

Certainly R³⁴'s next entry in *PluscardenD* consolidates the impression of his interest in siege tactics in Scotland during the 1330s. On fo.162v (IX.34) a symbol, at the foot of the folio, is aimed at the last line of text: '*ibidem intendens affirmare, ecce continuo literae a rege*'. Thus this reader is drawing attention to the letters ('*literae*') sent by the French king in 1335 to Sir Andrew Moray persuading him to postpone a siege of Cupar Castle in Fife. Furthermore, on fo.165r (IX.38) of *PluscardenD* R³⁴ employs another symbol to target the line '*collacavit; et seipsum cum duobus subtectis armatures indutis*' ['while he [Walter Curry] arranged that he himself should be with two men wearing concealed armour']. This chapter relates the siege of Stirling Castle by Robert Stewart and also the siege of Edinburgh Castle in 1341, conducted by William Douglas, William Bullock, Walter Curry, William Fraser and Joachim de Kinbuck. R³⁴'s precise interest would appear to lie in how Curry tricked the English garrison into allowing him and his men, wearing concealed armour, to enter into the Edinburgh stronghold. Similarly, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* is intrigued by the 1341 siege of Edinburgh Castle, as he demonstrates by targeting, via a pointer on fo.196v (IX.38), the line '*turriculis modicae resistenciae. Anno Domini*'.¹⁵⁸ Once more, therefore, these late-medieval

¹⁵⁸ In context: '*...et de subjeccione Anglorum liberatum: exceptis duntaxat Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwik, Jedword, Lowmaban, cum quibusdam minutis turriculis modicae resistenciae. Anno Domini m ccc xli castrum de Edinburgh per Willelmum Douglas et Willelmum Bullak*'. The translation in context: 'Thus, through the prowess of Andrew Murray and the energy and diligence of Robert

readers illustrate a concern with military tactics and especially relating to siege warfare.

However, to explore the methodology of **R³⁴** in *PluscardenD* a little further, it is helpful to retrace his readership of this MS to fos.163v-164r, where he offers reader activity pertaining to the siege of Dunbar Castle in 1337-8. This is a useful example to consider in more detail as other late-medieval readers also demonstrate their curiosity in this episode. Despite the efforts of the earl of Montagu and his men, the besiegers were famously rebutted by the actions of the Countess of Mar, Black Agnes Randolph, and local stalwarts such as Alexander Ramsay. **R³⁴** indicates his interest in this siege on fo.163v (IX.35) of *PluscardenD*. His pointer at the foot of the folio singles out the following line for attention: '*machinamenti tetigit murum castri exergebat [omnibus videntibus. Rex vero Anglie audiens eos ibidem...]*'. Therefore **R³⁴** is denoting interest in the siege engine ('*machinamenti*') which Earl Montagu wheels up to attack the defences of Dunbar Castle. **R³⁴** then adds a further pointer to fo.164r (IX.36), at the foot of the folio, beneath a *nota* and directed at the line '*Francie resuscita est; feliciter tamen pro regno Scocie*' ['France had been revived; and this was lucky for the kingdom of Scotland']. The translation, in context, is as follows:

And thus the earl escaped and Coupland was caught; and Black Agnes, standing on the wall, said to him mockingly, "Adieu, adieu my lord Montagu". After these things, lo! News came from the king of England that the deadly war between him and the king of France had been revived; and this was lucky for the kingdom of Scotland: for, if the king of England had gone on with that war which he had undertaken, he would doubtless have brought the whole kingdom of Scotland under his sway.

Thus **R³⁴** was aware, through his reader activity, of the outbreak of the Hundred Years War between England and France, and the manner in which this diverted

Stewart, the kingdom was in a little while, advanced in every excellence of justice and husbandry, and freed from the yoke of the English, except only Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh,

excessive English attention away from Scotland. Therefore, in addition to this reader's concentration on siege warfare, he would also appear to have comprehended the nature of the relationship between Scotland, England and France, and the general balance of power that affected these kingdoms.

Interest in the siege of Dunbar Castle and Black Agnes is evident in other MSS. R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* underscores '*Blac Annes of Dunbar*' on fo.210v (IX.35), whilst R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconR* directs a pointer from between the columns of text on fo.218v (XIII.39) at the line '*quedam alium comitem de Arundell duces exercitus regis Anglie*', referring to the earl of Arundel, one of the commanders of the king of England involved in the siege. However, it is R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* who offers perhaps the greatest interest in the siege of Dunbar Castle. On fo.195v (IX.36) of this MS R²⁶ includes a pointer in the left-margin to denote interest in the line '*Quinymmo vir nobilis et strenuous Alexander*'. The context of this line specifies that this reader's concern is with the actions of Alexander Ramsay in defeating this siege:

*Quinymmo vir nobilis et strenuous Alexander de Ramsay, quadam nocte obscura apud fortalicium de Bas se aventuras, refugium victualium, eis nescientibus galeis, ab eodem loco reduxit.*¹⁵⁹

Lochmaben and some little towers of moderate powers of resistance. In the year 1341 Edinburgh Castle was cleverly taken by William Douglas and William Bullock...'].

¹⁵⁹ In translation: 'So a noble and valiant man, Alexander Ramsay, ventured out to the stronghold of the Bass one dark night, unperceived by the galleys, and brought back a supply of provisions from that place'. Indeed, this reader demonstrates an interest in Alexander Ramsay's actions at other points in the MS. On fo.196r (IX.37) a symbol in the right-margin is used to highlight the line '*cursus complere nominatas*'. In context: '*Sed Douglas, ex ruptura propriae Lanciae in manu vulneratus, non potuit cursus complere nominates. Postea vero contra dominum Alexandrum de Ramsay, tunc famosissimum militem, xx apud Berwicum lacum et diem statuit*'. Although this reader may be interested in Sir William Douglas' encounter with Henry of Percy and Lancaster, it is more likely that Ramsay is the focus of his curiosity. Likewise, on fo.197r (IX.38) of *PluscardenB* a pointer in the right-margin is directed at '*deliberanda secessit. Hiis vero diebus*'. In context: '*...cujus castri custodiam commisit Willelmo de Douglas, fratri suo bastardo, et ad alia loca deliberanda secessit. Hiis vero diebus floruit nobilis miles Alexander de Ramsay, qui cum aliis sibi adhaerentibus, in partibus citra Forth multa acta notabilia exercuit pro parte regis David*'. Whilst the concern may lie once more with William Douglas, the placement of the pointer makes it more likely to be with Ramsay. In translation: 'So he entrusted the castle to the custody of William Douglas, his illegitimate brother, and went off to deliver other places. In this day flourished the noble knight Alexander Ramsay who, with others, his dependants, performed many brilliant exploits this side of the Forth on behalf of King David'. Moreover, in a similar manner, R²⁶ adds a pointer in the left-margin of fo.197v (IX.39) drawing attention to the line '*memoriam celebrabant. Eodem*

R²⁶ then signals his interest, like R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, in Black Agnes' reaction to the siege engine used against Dunbar Castle. On fo.195v (IX.36) a pointer has been employed, from between the columns of text, at the line '*reduxit. Quod videns Blac Annes, dicto*'. In context:

*et ad muros castri de Dunbar reduxit. Quod videns Blac Annes, dicto comiti Montagu: "Montagu, for all the power that thou may, or lang time by pas, I sal ger thi sow fery again her will."*¹⁶⁰

Furthermore, R²⁶ includes a final pointer on this folio, again in between the columns of text, directed at the line '*et captus est Coupland. Cui derisorie*'.¹⁶¹ The subject matter relates to either one of earl Montagu's men, Coupland, saving his lord from capture in the siege of Dunbar Castle but, in turn, becoming a prisoner himself, or the mocking reply of Black Agnes to earl Montagu's abortive attempt to storm the Castle. From the evidence surveyed in *PluscardenB*, it is readily apparent

anno'. In context: '*...de cujus adventu laetati sunt universi, exultantes gaudio magno valde, focus jocunditatis facientes, convivial cum gaudio in ejus memoriam celebrabant. Eoden anno, xxx die Marcii, dominus Alexander Ramsay cepit castrum de Roxburgh scalis de nocte latenter*'. Given that the pointer is aimed at a line containing a new sentence, it is more likely that R²⁶'s interest concerns the capture of Roxburgh Castle on the 30th March 1441, rather than the preceding sentence referring to the return of David II and Joan in the same year. It could be, of course, that this individual has an interest in Ramsay, Douglas and David II! What is clear, however, is that viewing this reader's additions collectively would suggest this individual had a healthy appetite for anecdotes concerning Sir Alexander Ramsay's illustrious career.

¹⁶⁰ In translation: '...had an engine constructed which in the vulgar tongue is called a sow, and brought it up to the walls of Dunbar Castle. But when Black Annes saw this, she said to the said earl, "Montagu, Montagu, for all the power that thou may, or long time by pass, I sal gar thy sow ferry again her will'.

¹⁶¹ In context: '*...et, per impetum quem in eum fecit, seipsum Coupland infra januas posternae praecipitavit, et concito clausa est janua per portam cadentem, quae Gallice port culis vocatur et sic evasit comes et captus est Coupland. Cui derisory dixit Blac Annes, super murum, existendo 'adeu, Adeu, Monsure Montagu...*' ['But when the earl began to pass in, one of his men, Coupland by name, suspecting foul play, suddenly drew back his lord the earl from the entrance. From the rush he made at him, however, Coupland himself went headlong inside the gates of the postern; and the gate was quickly closed by a falling door, which is called Portcullis in French'].

that R²⁶, like other late-medieval readers, has a keen curiosity in the siege tactics employed in the 1330s.¹⁶²

The interest held by several late-medieval readers in siege tactics was possibly a result of actual events within their own lifetimes. Given that much of the reader activity, certainly with regard to the *Pluscarden* MSS, is probably dateable to the early to mid-sixteenth century, there are various scenarios that could fit the picture. For example, in May 1523 Thomas Howard, the second earl of Surrey and third earl of Norfolk, led a force into Scotland and besieged several Scottish strongholds. Howard attempted to take Cessford Castle, held by Andrew Kerr the Warden of the Scottish Middle March, and then in September 1523 Howard and Lord Dacre followed up the seizure of Jedburgh by taking the castle of Ferniehurst.¹⁶³ Indeed, the Duke of Albany then countered by launching a siege of Wark Castle, commanded by Sir William Lyle. It is perfectly feasible that some of the late-medieval readers, such as R³⁴ in *PlscardenD* for example, had these events in mind as they leafed through their MS; they were intentionally drawing attention to passages that held a particular resonance to their own eras.

However, it has already been argued that the reader interest concerning the battle of Dupplin may relate more to the 1540s battles of Solway Moss and Pinkie, rather than the disaster at Flodden in 1513. Equally, one can suggest that the late-medieval interest in sieges could, in some cases, be a consequence of the particular reader living through the 'Rough Wooing' of the 1540s.¹⁶⁴ Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, conducted campaigns in Scotland in both 1544 and 1545. He took the port of Leith in early May 1544 and then moved against Edinburgh on 6 May. Although he found Edinburgh Castle well protected under the command of Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, and Sir George Home, Hertford burnt Edinburgh, Leith and

¹⁶² See chapter eight 'Analysis of Individual Readers' Interests'.

¹⁶³ Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars*, 143.

¹⁶⁴ The origin of the term 'Rough Wooing' can be traced to a comment by George Gordon, Earl of Huntley. He was captured at Pinkie in 1547 and his captors questioned him on his feelings towards the proposed royal wedding between the young Mary Queen of Scots and Henry VIII's son Edward. Huntley's response consisted of '*haud weil with the marriage: but I like not this wooing*' (Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars*, n.41, 158).

Haddington, prior to slaying many of the inhabitants of Dunbar. However, learning from the English attempts to establish garrisons in Scotland in the aftermath of the treaties of Greenwich, Hertford realised that it was difficult to protect English gains when they actually left Scotland. Thus, as Gervase Phillips has contended:

Hertford had now firmly resolved that the best military policy for England was the seizure and garrisoning of strategic positions within Scotland, creating a Pale which could be policed by his light cavalry. His preference for this strategy had emerged clearly in 1544.¹⁶⁵

In fact, the period 1543-1546 witnessed a number of sieges, and counter attacks, of Scottish strongholds, such as Dalkieth, Glasgow, Coldingham Priory, Caerlaverock, Lochmaben, Dumbarton and, perhaps most famously, at St Andrews.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, in July 1547 Langholm Castle, held by the Maxwell family but at this point garrisoned by the English, was attacked by the Earl of Arran. A French fleet, under the command of Leon Strazzi Prior of Capua, based itself off St Andrews and cannon-balled the castle into submission in under six hours.¹⁶⁷ Whilst noting the enormous developments in siege warfare over the centuries, principally the use of cannons, is it possible that readers like **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, who drew attention to siege affairs at Cocklaw, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Dunbar during the Wars of Independence, lived through the events of the 1540s and were struck by the MS references to earlier aspects of siege warfare?

Moreover, it is equally plausible that some readers could have experienced the wake of the Scottish defeat at Pinkie in 1547, thus gaining an awareness of Protector Somerset's continuation of Hertford's policy of garrisoning particular strongholds to secure the English position. For instance, Somerset initiated the construction of a fort at Eyemouth, Castlemilk was garrisoned, Langholm was recaptured, English troops were placed at Moffat on the River Annan, Lamington

¹⁶⁵ Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars*, 201.

¹⁶⁶ Caldwell, 'The Battle of Pinkie', 66.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

and Dumfries were taken by the English and by October 1547 the English had taken possession of the Johnstones' tower of Lochwood, followed by the tower of Cockpool a month later.¹⁶⁸ There was clearly no shortage, therefore, of contemporary examples of siege warfare, or garrison construction for that matter, that could trigger the memories of the late-medieval readers as they perused the MSS and possibly influence their interest in certain aspects of the text. Indeed, it is also worth considering Lady Home's surrender of Home Castle to the English in September 1547. It has already been noted that several of the late-medieval readers under discussion displayed a marked interest in the actions of Black Agnes whilst defending Dunbar Castle in 1337-8. It is possible that some of this concern surrounding Black Agnes derived from an awareness of the contemporary history of Lady Home. Although Lady Home surrendered her castle rather meekly, with her husband wounded in Edinburgh Castle and her son held captive by Somerset she arguably had few other options to consider, it is undeniable that Lady Home, like Black Agnes before her, was a redoubtable woman in possession of a very sharp tongue. As Gervase Phillips has stated:

The evicted Lady Home was accused of taking English money in return for the castle by some of her countrymen. Yet there can be little doubt of her courage or her wit. Turning on her accusers, most of whom had fled from Pinkie, she 'marvelled they thought we could keep the sobour barmkin of Home against [the English] army, when all the nobles of Scotland could not keep the field!¹⁶⁹

It is a tantalising concept that the interest of individuals in Black Agnes, such as R²³ in *CouparAngusH* and R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, may have been a consequence of their own, first-hand, knowledge of a similarly outspoken Scottish noblewoman. In the 1330s, however, it was the actions of women like Black Agnes and men in the mould of Sir Andrew Moray that prevented complete domination by Edward III and Edward Balliol, allowing the young David II to return to Scotland in 1341.

¹⁶⁸ Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars*, 201.

The analysis of reader activity pertaining to most of *Gesta Annalia II* (1285-1341) has revealed some notable observations. Clearly, with eighteen readers involved, substantial late-medieval interest in the events of these years was apparent, with individuals like **R**¹², **R**¹⁹, **R**²³, **R**²⁶, **R**³⁰ and **R**³⁴ paying particular attention to this period in their MS. Indeed, in some cases the analysis has illustrated the primary focus of a specific reader, with **R**¹² in *FordunI* evidently fascinated by examples of homage and **R**³³ specialising in noting the conflicts of the Wars of Independence in the margins of *PluscardenC*. However, the evidence also indicates some unexpected conclusions. For instance, given the date of this reader activity, ca 1450x1550, one would anticipate more reader interest in the role of James the Steward and Robert Stewart in the Wars of Independence, and perhaps greater concentration on Robert Bruce (and Bannockburn). The late-medieval readers, however, appear to have been as stimulated by Wallace (and Falkirk), and to a lesser extent Randolph (and the battle of Dupplin that followed his death). Furthermore, despite the abundance of reader activity in *Gesta Annalia II* and its derivatives, it is worth highlighting that William Gaderar (**R**³¹) offers practically no interest in this section of his MS. Gaderar, in possession of *PluscardenC* after 1543, clearly was not particularly interested, unlike William Lamb in 1548-50, in aspects of homage or overlordship. As already stated, Gaderar's interest was largely personal and centred on the history of the territory of Moray. Nevertheless, what does seem clear is that, in tandem with the reader activity in *Scottish Origins* and *St Margaret*, a strong patriotic streak is evident in the late-medieval interest in the *Gesta Annalia II* material, with several readers seemingly drawing comparisons with their own era.

At the outset, this chapter identified seven themes in *Gesta Annalia II* (1286-1341) and it has been shown that the late-medieval readers demonstrated clear interest in these topics. Nonetheless, within these subjects, although concern is expressed in themes such as the Great Cause, William Wallace, the role of the Bruce family and the territorial conflicts of the 1330s, it is the volume of that interest which is especially striking. The analysis of reader activity pertaining to

¹⁶⁹ Phillips, *The Anglo-Scots Wars*, 204.

Gesta Annalia II illustrates that, to some late-medieval readers, the actions of men like Bishop William Sinclair of Dunkeld and Thomas Randolph were every bit as fascinating as the exploits of Robert Wishart and Robert Bruce. Therefore, the extant reader activity concerning this material offers a new contribution to Scottish historical thinking, indicating on the one hand the depth of interest in the Wars of Independence that existed by the late-medieval period, whilst on the other reminding modern scholars to be cautious in imposing contemporary values upon the concerns of an earlier Scottish readership. This is best exemplified by stressing, as has been shown, that for some readers the battle of Roslin in 1303, with the involvement of John Comyn and Simon Fraser, held as much significance as the battle of Bannockburn, which after all only attracted the attention of seven late-medieval readers. One telling conclusion, therefore, is that the non-textual reader scribal activity categorically illustrates that some late-medieval readers, at least, were prepared to recognize the role played by the Comyns, as well as the Bruces, in the Wars of Independence.

David II's personal rule (1341-71) would be coloured by military defeat, English imprisonment and bickering relations with his nephew, the future Robert II. Indeed, David's own personal morality would also be questioned. These features of David's reign were recorded in the MSS and, as the next chapter demonstrates, his apparent failings as a monarch proved highly interesting to several late-medieval readers of these works.

CHAPTER VI

Late-Medieval Perceptions of the Personal Rule of David II 1341-1371

David II's long reign (1329-71) was truncated by his seven year exile in France, between 1334 and 1341,¹ and his eleven year imprisonment in England, following his capture at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346. Anglo-Scottish conflict continued in these years of course, with Edward III's 'Burnt Candelmas' of early 1356 encapsulating the devastation wrecked upon southern Scotland in this period.²

¹ The return of David II to Scotland in 1341 drew the attention of some readers of the MSS. For instance, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* has underscored the following on fo.204r (IX.28): '*ubi honorifice receptus est. In eodem regno per octo annos et ultra moram traxit*' ['he abode in that country eight years or more, and returned to the kingdom of Scotland with his wife']. The same reader then included a bracket on fo.231r (IX.39) of *PluscardenA* beside '*Francie reverentur, ut decuit, cum duabus bargiis optime armatis et munitis ad patriam suam transmisit*'.¹ In a similar manner, R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* noted the arrival of David and Joan at Inverbervie by highlighting the line '*Anglie sorore, apud Inverbervy incolumes et feliciter*', with a pointer at the foot of fo.165v (IX.39).

² The year 1356 also witnessed Edward Balliol's resignation of his royal title and rights to Edward III, marking the end in another chapter of the Wars of Independence. Two late-medieval readers, R²⁶ and R³⁴, signal interest in this event. R²⁶ added a symbol, in between the columns of text, on fo.200r (IX.42) of *PluscardenB*, thus denoting interest in the line '*locupleti, ad propria remearunt. Quo*'. In context: '*Et sic, de bonis Anglorum locupleti, ad propria remearunt. Quo facto, Edwardus de Balliolo coram rege Anglie, apud Roxburgh existente, in verbis quae secuntur prorumpens dixit...*'. The full translation of this passage illustrates R²⁶'s concern with Balliol's resignation in January 1356: 'and went home again, enriched with the wealth of the English. After this Edward Balliol broke out in the following words before the king of England, then at Roxburgh, and said, 'Most excellent prince, and most mighty above all mortals of the present day, I do here before all your chivalry, entirely, fully, altogether and absolutely resign, yield, give and relinquish to you all my right which I have, claim or hereafter have to the throne of Scotland'. Moreover, R³⁴ highlighted a section of the same *Pluscarden* chapter, (IX.42), in *PluscardenD*. On fo.167 (IX.42) of this MS R³⁴ included a large pointer, at the foot of the folio, directed upwards at the line '*instituendi habuerit; quod non potuit rex Anglie habere*' ['instituting another, which the king of England could not have']. The following translation, which sets the line in context, clearly indicates how R³⁴ seems intent on drawing attention to a passage criticising Balliol and his right to the Scottish throne: 'Upon this it should be remarked, first, that he [Balliol] had no right to it originally, as we have seen above, and, if he had any right he there publicly renounced and resigned that right, which, even though he had been the true king, he could by no means renounce or resign without the consent of the three estates, and that into the hands of him who instituting another, which the king of England could not have, as he had formerly entirely, purely and simply resigned and quitclaimed all his right, pretended or true, as was seen above; nor, even if he had been the true king, could he have resigned without the superior's consent'.

These features of David's reign were recorded, in varying degrees of detail, in *Gesta Annalia II*, *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden*. Moreover, the late-medieval chroniclers also concentrated on David II's release from English custody in 1357, the ransom payment of 100,000 merks sterling, David's request to the papacy to be granted a tenth of all Scottish ecclesiastical income, the murder of David's mistress Katherine Mortimer, the king's second marriage to Margaret Logie and his death in 1371.

However, whereas *Gesta Annalia II* only offers a brief sketch of the latter years of David's reign and skims over the period after 1363 completely, Bower dwells on these years and upholds the administration of David II as a model for others to follow (principally the youthful James II). In bk. XIV c.26 of *Scotichronicon*, a chapter that represents the work of Bower alone, we gain an insight into his views of David as a principled man of justice, in this case dealing with the aftermath of a threat to his power in 1363:

I am strongly of the opinion that the king is to be commended for this action when in his capacity as the legislator he was entitled and able to pursue law-breaking, and yet was moved by mercy and preferred to exercise forgiveness.³

Bower expanded upon this theme by stressing David's exemplary conduct in the final years of his life, after the divorce from Margaret Logie in 1369:

Afterwards King David reformed his kingdom with excellent laws, he punished rebels, he calmed his subjects with undisturbed peace, and he united to their fatherland by means of one legal contract Scots speaking different tongues, both the wild caterans and the domesticated men with skills. And [this was not achieved] without a great deal of enthusiasm and hard work.⁴

Bower's words, no doubt reflecting the recent experience of James I's highland expedition of 1428, were copied by the author of *Pluscarden* who also praised

³ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 327.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 359.

the government of David II and, for example, complimented the king on his prompt punishment of James de Lindsay, the accused murderer of Roger de Kirkpatrick in 1358: 'brought before King David; and he [Lindsay] was without delay condemned by a select assize, and suffered capital punishment'.⁵ Indeed, M. Penman's recent biography of David II emphasises the favourable perception of the king amongst late-medieval chroniclers. Penman notes how Wyntoun's early-fifteenth century *Orygnale Cronikil* stressed David's effectiveness as a ruler – '*Raddour in prince is worthy thing*' – and how this 'strong approval of David's rule was echoed in the 1440s by Abbot Bower'.⁶ As Penman argues:

Indeed, his strengths as king of Scots were recognised and noted even by Scottish chroniclers living and writing under Stewart kings over the century after David's death. Whatever the failings of this king lamented by modern historians (typically when comparing David to his father), late fourteenth – and fifteenth – century writers felt they knew their man.⁷

However, Bower's *Scotichronicon* and the later *Pluscarden* also described David II in less glowing terms, in relation to the poor judgement he displayed at Neville's Cross and his image, in the words of *Pluscarden*, as an 'open fornicator'. What did the late-medieval readers of the MSS make of this material on David II? Did they follow Bower and the author of *Pluscarden* by highlighting the principled administration of David as recorded in the MSS? Indeed, if, as asserted by Penman, the chroniclers of the late fourteenth – and fifteenth – century 'knew their man', one might expect the subsequent readers of these works to interpret David II in a similar manner, leaning more towards the positive accounts of the king in the MSS.

Eight late-medieval readers of the MSS display an interest in the history of David II's personal reign and this is perhaps a surprisingly low level of

⁵ *Chron.Pluscard.*, vol. II, 231.

⁶ M. Penman, *David II 1329-71* (Tuckwell Press, 2004), 429.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 428.

concern in his reign. Evidently, for the majority of the readers under consideration, offering their responses to the MSS *ca* 1450x1550, David II was not a subject deemed worthy of specific attention. Nevertheless, within this small sample, several readers note favourable passages on David's conduct and government. However, what is more unexpected is the level of reader interest in the negative portrayal of David in the MSS. As already noted, David's adulterous nature and early tendency to accept ill-judged counsel, from youthful and inexperienced advisers, are marked features of both *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden* and it is striking that several late-medieval readers have concentrated on these elements of the text. As we shall see, therefore, to readers such as R²⁶ and R³⁰ in *PluscardenB* it was the more unsavoury aspects of David II's reputation, not his administrative capabilities, that really drew their attention. The late-medieval reader activity allows one to argue convincingly that while some readers of the MSS, between *ca* 1450x1550, did recognise David's abilities, others stressed his failings and even possibly upheld David II as an example of a king **not** to follow in their contemporary era.

The MSS descriptions of Neville's Cross in 1346 generated some interest among the late-medieval readers and it is noteworthy that three individuals (R²⁶, R¹⁷ and R³⁴) highlighted negative depictions of David II. R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* noted Neville's Cross twice, with his first pointer, in the left-margin of fo.198r (IX.40), drawing attention to the Scottish preparations before the battle by targeting the line '*congregavit. Ubi comes de Ross*'. In context:

*Rex igitur David, collectis viribus, apud Perth consilium tenuit, et ex omnibus partibus regni grandem exercitum congregavit. Ubi comes de Ross in monasterio de Helquow hospitatus; Ranaldus vero, dominus, eo circa prope similiter...*⁸

This reader continued by adding another symbol in the right-margin of fo.198r (IX.40) in *PluscardenB*, signalling interest in the line '*omnia consumsit. Cui ut fertur*'. As the following translation illustrates, R²⁶ pinpoints a passage in

⁸ In translation: 'So King David assembled his forces and held a council at Perth; and he gathered together a large army from all parts of the kingdom. Now the earl of Ross was lodged in Elcho monastery, while Ranald lord of the Isles was likewise near thereabouts...'.

Pluscarden that is explicit in its criticism of David II's propensity to surround himself with poor advisers:

The King of Scotland, therefore, unwilling to fall in with the advice of trusty men, but as already said, inflamed by youthful counsels, entered the territory of England and laid it waste as far as the city of Durham, destroying everything with fire and sword. It is said that Saint Cuthbert appeared to him in the spirit, asking and warning him not to enter his lands with his army, lest he should chose to rue it.⁹

Furthermore, the conical hand in *Scotichronicon*D, R¹⁷, also appears intrigued by the counsel offered to David II prior to Neville's Cross. On fo.329v (XIV.4) he directs a pointer from the left-margin at '*desertas inveniret, non habituras regem ubi tantas*', within the following context: '*Aliis dicebat timendum esse ne urbes vacuas et desertas inveniret, non habituras regem ubi tantas vires exercere possit*'. This concerns a piece of advice given to Xerxes, King of the Medes, whom Bower compares unflatteringly to David II, involving the opponents of Xerxes deserting their cities when faced by a king with such strength. Bower is clearly portraying a direct similarity between the overconfidence of Xerxes' foolish young counsellor and David II's apparent tendency to listen to inexperienced advisers. It is possible that R³⁴ in *Pluscarden*D was also interested in the subject of young men's advice to kings. On fo.166r (IX.40) of this MS a pointer at the foot of the folio denotes interest in the line '*Francie nobilibus capti sunt; ac multis occisis*'. This relates to the battle of Crecy in 1346 and how 'many nobles of France were taken prisoners, and many were slain'. Clearly this continues R³⁴'s curiosity in military conflict, the consequences that befall the nobility in such conflict and, moreover, issues of a French flavour.¹⁰ However, it is also plausible that this reader was curious about the effect of this on David II, for the next passage in the MS states this familiar message:

⁹ '*Rex igitur Scocie, nolens consilio proborum acquiescere, sed, ut praemittitur, juvenili consilio accensus, terram Angliae usque civitatem de Durame intrando vastavit: ferro et flamma omnia consumpsit. Cui, ut fertur, sanctus Cuthbertus in spiritu apparuit, rogans et admonens eum quod ipse cum exercitu suo terra suas non intraret, ne forte lueret*'.

¹⁰ See above, chapter eight, on 'The Analysis of Individual Readers' Interests'.

The king of Scotland, therefore, unwilling to fall in with the advice of trusty men, but, as already said, inflamed by youthful counsels, entered the territory of England and laid it waste as far as the city of Durham, destroying everything with fire and sword.

It is also noteworthy that the author of the early sixteenth century *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie* felt that the viewpoint offered here by Bower was relevant to his day, living in the aftermath of the disaster at Flodden in 1513. The *Extracta* author includes in his work a verse derived from *Scotichronicon* (XIV.4): 'If you wish to guide the king's state, take good heed of old men's advice; Rohoboam lost his kingdom, for he chose young men's advice'.¹¹ This provides further evidence illustrating how later readers of *Scotichronicon*, in this case the compiler of *Extracta*, would compare the chronicle's recording of events with issues pertinent to their contemporary period.

R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B also draws attention to Neville's Cross by highlighting a passage noting the injuries sustained by David II in the battle. On fo.323v (XIV.3) a pointer in between the columns of text highlights the line 'avelli, donec rex ad sanctum Monanum'. In context: '*Quarum unius ferrum nulla arte medicorum potuit avelli, donec rex ad Sanctum Monanum devocione concepta illuc...*'. This concerns the wounds received by David II from two arrows: 'The tip of one of these could not be extracted by any doctor's skill until the king developed a devotion to St Monan and went there as a pilgrim...'.¹²

The principal late-medieval reader in *CouparAngus*H, R²³, is also interested in features of David's reign and, once again, an undercurrent of criticism is detectable in this reader's activity. R²³ uses three black pointer symbols to highlight passages relative to the negotiations surrounding David II's release, his ransom and his possible heirs. On fo.181r (X.3) of this MS a pointer in the right-margin targets the line '*Circa idem tempus rex David, dismissis in Anglia certe obsidibus*'. The interest therefore lies in David II returning to Scotland in 1351 to discuss his ransom terms with the Scottish nobility: 'About the same time King David left certain hostages in England and

¹¹ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 263. As the editors of *Scotichronicon* note 'the author of *Extracta* (180-1) is struck by the aptness of these reflections in the light of the disaster at Flodden in 1513 in his own day...' (Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 466).

returned to Scotland to negotiate with his magnates and the estates of the kingdom over his ransom'. **R**²³ follows this with a symbol in the left-margin of fo.181v (X.3) highlighting how David II remained an English prisoner by 1354: '*De redempcione regis David hiis adhuc diebus rex David in Anglia detenebatur captivus*'. Furthermore, **R**²³'s interest in the successor to David II is indicated by his addition of a symbol in the left-margin of fo.182r (X.4). This symbol draws attention to the line '*Anno domini m ccc lxiii David apud parliamentum in Scona*', illustrating **R**²³'s interest in the 1363 parliament and David's suggestion, through discussions with Edward III, that after his death it might be wise for a son of the English king, possibly Lionel, to succeed him. This is not the most favourable portrait of David II for a reader to highlight and, indeed, it is interesting to note Bower's words on the parliament's response to David's proposal:

He was answered at once and without further discussion or hesitation by all of the three estates together and all separately that they would never be willing to give consent for an Englishman to rule over them.¹²

R²⁶ in *PluscardenB*, **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*, **R**⁵ in *FordunD* and **R**³³ in *PluscardenC* also demonstrate interest in David's custody and the terms of his freedom in 1357. Once more, therefore, these late-medieval readers are not concerned with the most positive elements of David's reign, preferring instead to draw attention to a difficult period of his kingship. **R**²⁶ notes the imprisonment of David II by employing a pointer, in the left-margin of fo.201v (IX.44) of *PluscardenB*, at the line '*Hiis tamen diebus rex Scocie*'.¹³ Moreover, **R**¹⁹'s pointer in the left-margin of fo.331r (XIV.18) of *ScotichroniconB* draws attention to the line '*et Dalswynton, Dumfress, Morton et Durisdere*',

¹² Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 323.

¹³ In context: '*Hiis tamen diebus rex Scocie David in Anglia, licet gener regis fuisset Anglie, captivus tamen detinebatur; cum eo eciam reges Francie, Boemie, et de Maillegrie...*' ['In these days King David of Scotland was kept a prisoner in England, though he was the son-in-law of the king of England; and with him were the kings of France, Bohemia and Maillegria (Majorca)'].

concerning the castles that David II promised to destroy as a condition of his release in 1357. In context:

*Qui quidem rex juxta promissum cum ad propria redisset castra scilicet Dalswynton, Dumfress, Mortona et Durisdere cum aliis novem ad terram prostravit, que adhuc remanent inedificata...*¹⁴

The ransom terms were also pinpointed by R²⁵ in his readership of *PluscardenA*. This reader has underscored the following passage on fo.218r (IX.44), demonstrating an awareness of the financial agreement of 1357: '*anno sequenti quo supra, pro centum millibus marcarum Stirlingarum, ad terminus xiii annorum immediate*'. The translation, in context, is instructive:

Afterwards, however, in the year following the one mentioned above, a covenant was made: they agreed upon a hundred thousand marks sterling, at terms of fourteen years immediately following, and that during that time a truce should be strictly observed between the kingdoms.

Furthermore, R⁵ in *FordunD* drew attention to the release of David II by adding a comment in brown ink, accompanied by a pointer symbol, to the right-margin of page 352 ('*Nota de liberatate rege David*'), while R³³ in *PluscardenC* also noted David's release with a short comment in the right-margin of fo.253r (IX.44).

Another controversial aspect of David's reign involved, to paraphrase Ranald Nicholson, his amorous liaisons.¹⁵ Queen Joan died in 1362 and David then married Dame Margaret Logie, widow of Sir John Logie. Indeed, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* highlights David's intention to marry Margaret Logie.¹⁶ Clearly

¹⁴ In translation (and context): 'But it was also the case that before he was released King David was forced to bind himself and promise to knock down the castles and forts in Nithsdale which at that time had inflicted the greatest damage on the English. When the king had returned home, then, he razed to the ground according to his promise the castles of Dalswinton, Dumfries, Morton, Durisdeer, and nine others; they have still not been rebuilt'.

¹⁵ Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, 169.

¹⁶ On fo.203r (IX.46) of *PluscardenB* this reader includes a symbol in the right-margin and directed at the line '*ejusdem anni. Hiis itaque stabilitis*'. In context: '*Post hoc autem rex, convocatis regni majoribus apud Enchemurthow, juramenta fidelitatis ab omnibus renovari*

this marriage, and the possibility of children, held severe ramifications for the Steward's hopes of ultimately gaining the throne. However, the failure of the marriage to produce an heir led to Logie falling from favour and by 1369 David was seeking a new union with Agnes Dunbar. Prior to this, however, the king's mistress, Katherine Mortimer, had been stabbed to death in 1360, illustrating the depths of resentment that some members of the nobility harboured towards the king over his lack of communication and, in their eyes, poorly judged financial administration. David II took action against the plotters of 1360 with Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, incarcerated in Dumbarton Castle, and the capture of the Earl of Mar's castle at Kildrummy in September 1362.¹⁷ In fact, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A noted the citation of Mortimer's death in the MS by underscoring '*concubine regis, Katerine de Mortimer*' on fo.219v (IX.45). The translation, in context, provides the necessary background:

The same year also died Thomas earl of Angus, not only through his own folly in following the advice of young men, but also because, through his retainers, he contrived and plotted the death of the king's mistress, Katherine Mortimer.¹⁸

More interesting, however, are two pointer symbols added by R³⁰ to *Pluscarden*B. Both are additions in between the columns of text on fo.202v (IX.45) and both illustrate deeply unflattering depictions of King David. The first sign targets the line '*Non recedet de domo tua gladius*', with '*Non recedet*' underscored. R³⁰ therefore signals his interest in a biblical reference in bk.IX of *Pluscarden*, concerning the adulterous actions of David and Katherine Mortimer:

fecit, xiiii die Januarii ejusdem anni. Hiis itaque stabilitis, disposuit se rex David ad disponendum Margaretam de Logi, filiam domini Malcolmi de Drummond, nobilem pulcerrimam dominam, apud Enchemarthow ['But after the king called the great men of the kingdom together at Inchmurthow, and had the oaths of fealty renewed by all on the 14th of January of that same year. When therefore this was settled, King David set about espousing Margaret Logie, daughter of Sir Malcolm Drummond, a noble and most beautiful lady, at Inchmurthow'].

¹⁷ Nicholson, *The Later Middle Ages*, 168.

¹⁸ '*Eodem eciam anno mortus est in carceribus Thomas Angusie, non solum propter ejus levitatem, quia consilium juvenum consequabatur, ymmo eciam eo quod mortem concubine regis, Katerine de Mortimer, fabricando per familiars suas machinatus est...*'.

By this may be seen what evils are brought on by that sin of adultery,
as saith the Lord by the prophet, The sword shall not depart from thy
house for ever, seeing thou hast despised me in violating thy
neighbour's bed.

Even more illuminating, however, is the next pointer on this folio that directly
notes a passage accusing David II of being an 'open fornicator'. The line of
interest is '*ibidem existente. Vidente inquantum adulterium*'. In context:

*...comes eciam Thomas de Moravia, cum multa alia nobelium
multitudine ibidem existente. Vidente inquantum adulterium ergo
displicet Divine majestati; quod rex David, qui fornicator publicus
erat, nuncquam in vita sua pacem vel felicitatem, prosperitatem aut
graciam, vel regnum successione liniali sui corporis potuit
praemunire, sive fertilitatem aut habundenciam in tempore suo.*¹⁹

R³⁰'s salacious interest in this passage is fascinating as the text clearly blames
all of David's apparent failings, in prosperity and matters of the succession, on
his adulterous nature. Although it is striking that this passage has been targeted
by R³⁰, the intention is not to suggest that all of the late-medieval readers felt
this way about David II. For example, R²³ in *CouparAngusH*, who also
highlights negative aspects of the reign, applied a pointer to the right-margin of
fo.182r (XIV.34) to signal interest in '*Post hec rex David regnum suum optimis
legibus innovavit rebelles castigavit, tranquilla suas pace composuit...*'. The
full translation reminds us, the modern interpreters of this reader activity, not to
adopt a blinkered attitude when assessing the reader responses – it was perfectly
possible for a late-medieval reader, as it is for a modern historian, to condemn
some aspects of David's kingship whilst praising others:

Afterwards King David reformed his kingdom with excellent laws, he
punished rebels, he calmed his subjects with undisturbed peace, and
he united to their fatherland by means of one legal contract Scots

¹⁹ In translation: '...and Thomas earl of Murray, with great numbers of other nobles who were
there. See then how adultery displeases the Divine Majesty. King David, who was an open
fornicator, never could have peace or happiness or prosperity or favour during his life, or secure
the throne in the lineal succession of his body, or have fruitfulness or plenty in his time'.

speaking different tongues, both the wild caterans and the domesticated men with skills.

Nonetheless, it remains a fact that some readers, like R²⁶ and R³⁰ in *PluscardenB*, have chosen to select passages that describe David II as an adulterer or a poor judge of counsellors. It seems possible that this was a fairly common perception of David II in the later-medieval period, at least among the educated elite. To consider this further it is helpful to return to the early-sixteenth century *Extracta*. The author of this work decided to include a verse from *Scotichronicon* pertinent to David II:²⁰

*Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras,
 Testis erit culter, David capietur adulter.
 Suspicians et clerus, penetrans cognomina verus,
 Viscera Scotorum penetrabunt belligerorum.
 Angusti spata ferientur vulnera lata.
 Sed Lucas medicus Scotis non fiet amicus,
 Davide namque duce vincentur vespere Luce,
 Teste nova cruce ville, latitant sine luce.
 Cum pauca gente, Christo vexilla ferente,
 Mundata mente, non fit Victoria lente.
 Sacri cornuti, divino dogmate muti
 Sub signo scuti, fient hoc tempore tuti.
 Non erit et mutum Scotis solvisse tributum.*

[While striving to destroy the lands of the English through wars,
 a knife will be a witness, David the adulterer will be captured.
 Zouche and the clergy, Percy true to his name,
 will penetrate the bowels of the warlike Scots.
 Broad wounds will be inflicted by a narrow blade.
 But Luke the doctor will not be a friend to the Scots,
 for with David as leader, they will be defeated on the eve of Luke;
 as the new cross of the town bears witness, they are concealed
 without light.
 When the people are few but Christ bears the banner,
 victory comes quickly if consciences are clear.

²⁰ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. VII, 467.

The holy mitred bishops, silent by divine order,
 will be safe at this time under the sign of their shields.
 And to have paid tribute to the Scots will not go without comment.]

The *Extracta*'s author also included, from *Scotichronicon*, the lines '*Terras Cuthbertie qui non spoliare verentur, esse querunt certi quod morte mala morientur*' ['Those who are not afraid to despoil the lands of Cuthbert can be certain that they will die a nasty death'].²¹ The significant point is that through the interest of the early-sixteenth century *Extracta* author, who interpolated these passages into his text, one can demonstrate that perceptions of David as a fornicator and rash leader were in circulation in the late-medieval period.

The late-medieval reader activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives adds more weight to this view, with the extant evidence pointing to a less favourable interpretation of David II's reign among the readers, *ca* 1450-1550, compared to the views of the earlier chroniclers. As we have seen, although the evidence is fragmentary, some readers have deliberately selected material that paints a particularly negative picture of David II. Indeed, among the interested late-medieval readers of this material, one might ponder why so few have chosen to highlight the positive portrayal of David's government that is apparent, at points, in *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden*. One must remember, of course, that the accession of Robert Stewart in 1371 would lead to a new burst of propaganda writing, with John Barbour's *Brus*, composed by 1376, being the most obvious example. The fifteenth-century chroniclers were also understandably affected by Stewart propaganda and their work is clearly more favourable to Robert Stewart's role in these years than Fordun's earlier fourteenth-century work. Nevertheless, as Penman has shown, *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden* were also keen, 'despite living and writing under Stewart kings', to laud aspects of David II's personal rule. The late-medieval reader activity in the MSS, however, suggests that in the hundred years or so after the chroniclers had completed their works, David's reputation in Scotland had declined and that the educated readers of the country were now more interested in his failings than his virtues.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 467.

CHAPTER VII

The 'Lost' Declaration of Arbroath and its

Late-Medieval Readers

THERE IS NO SCOTTISH historical document, unless it be the National Covenant of 1638, whose name at least is better known to the average Scotsman than the Declaration of Arbroath. Such is the name of the letter of the barons of Scotland to pope John XXII dated at Arbroath on 6 April 1320'.¹

The sentiments of Sir James Fergusson, writing in 1970, remain equally valid in the present era, with many modern Scots clearly identifying (in one way or another) with the Declaration's themes of ancient independence, liberty and community.² The Declaration is indisputably an impressive document in both language and tone, appealing in its Latin prose rhythms (*Ars dictaminis*) to the papal curia in 1320 and in rhetoric to many generations of Scots (and others) ever since. The Declaration of Arbroath urged Pope John XXII to recognise the ancient liberty and independence of Scotland, and the long lineage of Scottish

¹ Sir James Fergusson, *The Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 1.

² For an excellent overview of the interpretation, and significance, of the Declaration of Arbroath throughout Scottish history see T.Brotherstone and D.Ditchburn, '1320 and A' That: The Declaration of Arbroath and the Remaking of Scottish History', in T.Brotherstone and D.Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority, Scotland c.1050-c.1650: Historical and Historiographical Essays presented to Grant G Simpson* (Tuckwell Press, 2000), 10-31. In addition to highlighting some excellent uses of the language of the Declaration through the years (as on the Unionist Newtonards Road in Protestant Belfast in 1996 and 1999), the authors also pinpoint instances of surprising ignorance regarding the nature of the Declaration: 'A declaration I wasn't familiar with' explained the broadcaster Jeremy Paxman on the airwaves of Radio 2 at 9.25a.m. on 23 November 1998 (at 10). Brotherstone and Ditchburn provide an even more illuminating, and significant, example with the finding that 'among Scotland's Westminster MPs of the mid-1990s, 35% of respondents to a questionnaire, most of them educated in Scotland and one with a degree in History, acknowledged that they had no clear conception of what the Declaration was and why it was made. Perhaps the most surprising statistic is that 65% *did* know something about it'. (at 15) Also see, G.W.S. Barrow (ed), *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003).

kingship. The author of the Declaration incorporated (and developed) the Scottish origin legends,³ outlining the mythical beginnings of Scottish history:

Most holy father and lord, we know, and we gather from the deeds and books of the ancients, that among other distinguished nations our own nation, namely that of Scots, has been marked by many distinctions. It journeyed from Greater Scythia by the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and dwelt for a long span of time in Spain among the most savage peoples, but nowhere could it be subjugated by any people, however barbarous. From there it came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea and, having first driven out the Britons and altogether destroyed the Picts, it acquired, with many victories and untold efforts, the places which it now holds, although often assailed by Norweigans, Danes and English. As the histories of old time bear witness, it has held them free of all servitude ever since. In their kingdom one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock have reigned, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.

The Declaration also, of course, contained a clear Scottish rebuttal of English claims of overlordship and it actively sought papal support for the Scots in their struggle against the English. The Declaration's author reminded Pope John that in God's eyes all countries were equally deserving of peace and freedom:

Therefore it is, reverend father and lord, that we beseech your holiness with our most earnest prayers and suppliant hearts, that recalling with a sincere heart and pious mind that, since with him whose vicegerent on earth you are there is neither weighing nor distinction of Jew and Greek, Scotsman or Englishman, you will look with paternal eyes on the troubles and anxieties brought by the English upon us and upon the church of God; that you will deign to admonish and exhort the king of the English, who ought to be satisfied with what he has, since England used once to be enough for seven kings or more, to leave in peace us Scots, who live in this poor little Scotland, beyond which

³ On the development of the Scottish origin legends, *vis a vis* the Declaration of Arbroath, see Broun, *Irish Identity*.

there is no dwelling-place at all, and who fully desire nothing but our own.⁴

Undoubtedly, however, the most famous passage of the Declaration today remains the evocative statement on the sanctity of freedom, and how the Scots would even be prepared to remove King Robert from power if he threatened to submit to English overlordship.

Yet if he should give up what he has begun, seeking to make us or our kingdom subject to the king of England or to the English, we would strive at once to drive him out as our enemy and a subverter of his own right and ours, and we would make some other man who was able to defend us our king; for, as long as a hundred of us remain alive, we will never on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English. For we fight not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, but for freedom alone, which no good man gives up except with his life.⁵

However, the emotive nature of the Declaration should never obscure its pragmatic contemporary value: the Declaration was the product of Robert the Bruce's chancery and thus was essentially an element in the diplomatic attempt to secure papal recognition and support for Bruce and the Scots in their ongoing struggle against England. As Grant G Simpson declared in 1977, 'The immediate reason for the preparation and despatch of the Declaration was a diplomatic one, not a sudden outbreak of patriotic feeling in the breasts of

⁴ As medieval cartography illustrates, the concept of Scotland 'beyond which there is no dwelling-place at all' was familiar in medieval Europe. For a fuller discussion of Scotland's medieval isolation, see D. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe: The Medieval Kingdom and its Contacts with Christendom, c.1215-1545. Volume I: Religion, Culture and Commerce* (Tuckwell Press, 2000), esp. 267-273.

⁵ For the background to the Declaration of Arbroath see Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, esp. 302-309; G.G. Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath Revitalised', in *Scottish Historical Review*, vol.56 (1977), 11-33; E.J. Cowan, *For Freedom Alone: The Declaration of Arbroath 1320* (Tuckwell Press, 2003); A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Making of the Declaration of Arbroath', in D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (eds), *The Study of Medieval Records* (Oxford, 1971); A.A.M. Duncan, 'The War of the Scots', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, ii (1992); Reid, 'Crown and Community'; A. Grant, 'Aspects of National Consciousness' and B. Webster, 'The Declaration of Arbroath and Scottish National Identity', in *Medieval History*, iii (1993), 156-165.

certain Scottish barons'.⁶ However, as befits such an important medieval source, the Declaration has been the subject of much historical scrutiny and varying interpretations have been offered regarding the origin, authorship,⁷ purpose, influence and ramifications of the Letter. Some historians go further than Simpson in their consideration of the impact of the Declaration; for example, Professor G.W.S. Barrow has argued that 'we shall find no clearer statement of Scottish nationalism and patriotism in the fourteenth century'⁸ while, in a different context, Professor E.J. Cowan has contended that the Declaration of Arbroath can be read as 'the supreme articulation of Scottish nationhood and constitutionalism'.⁹ The late-medieval reader reaction to the text of the Declaration, its political and constitutional ideas or its patriotism, will be considered in this chapter.

We do not need to delve too deeply into the complex textual background of the Declaration.¹⁰ The Declaration arrived at the papal curia in Avignon, in July 1320, accompanied by letters from the King of Scots and the bishop of St Andrews. These documents are no longer extant. Our knowledge of the Declaration of Arbroath is based upon the existence of a duplicate copy of the original Letter (held in the NAS) and three copies of the Declaration in later chronicle works – Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* of the 1440s, a St Andrews formulary dateable to 1417-43 by Prior James Haldenstone and the mid-fifteenth century *Liber Pluscardensis*. The text of the Declaration is therefore reproduced in Bower's working copy of *Scotichronicon* (*ScotichroniconC*) and its five extant copies (*ScotichroniconR*, *D*, *B*, *H* and *E*). *Liber Pluscardensis* contains two copies of the Declaration for the unknown author erroneously

⁶ Simpson, 'The Declaration', 18. In contrast, late-medieval readers of the Declaration were wholly unaware of its immediate political and diplomatic concept, and were largely reacting to its patriotic content.

⁷ Sir James Fergusson's belief in Bernard de Linton, King Robert's Chancellor, as the author of the Declaration has been disputed by, among others, A.A.M. Duncan (*RRS*, V, 164-6). Professor Barrow has suggested Alexander Kinnimonth, one of the Scottish ambassadors to the papal curia in 1320, as a more likely author (Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 308). Also see Cowan, *The Declaration of Arbroath*, 54-55.

⁸ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 310.

⁹ Cowan, 'Identity, freedom and the Declaration', 39.

¹⁰ For which see Simpson, 'The Declaration', 12-17.

included the Declaration twice (in bks.VIII and IX); although in the latter case the text of the Declaration is incomplete (once the author has realised his earlier mistake). Thus the Declaration's text is apparent in the five surviving Pluscarden copies: *Pluscarden*A, B, C, D and E. Furthermore, the text of the Declaration also formed part of a dossier of documents that was added (*ca* 1384) to *Gesta Annalia* I before *Gesta Annalia* II, and is extant in four MSS – *Fordun*A, C, D and G.¹¹ In addition, as already noted, the Declaration was also copied into an early fifteenth-century St Andrews formulary by Prior James Haldenstone, who used the NAS sealed duplicate (often referred to as Tyn) as his source. This discovery, by Dr Simpson, therefore discredited an earlier claim by Sir James Fergusson – 'Whether it [the Declaration] was read in early Stewart times we cannot tell'.¹² In fact, Grant Simpson was now able to demonstrate categorically that the NAS copy (Tyn) had indeed been read in the early-fifteenth century:

It is now possible to say, therefore, contrary to Sir James, that Tyn was read and copied in early Stewart times by an interested cleric. He may have looked on it mainly as a useful 'style' for a letter to the pope, rather than as a document of special historical or political interest.¹³

Evidently, therefore, the MS evidence of the fifteenth-century illustrates that the text of the Declaration remained very much alive and in circulation. The significance of this point has perhaps not been sufficiently stressed in the past.

Nevertheless, a repetitive theme in recent discussions of the Declaration is that (after its inclusion in *Liber Pluscardensis*) it was largely ignored in the Scottish historical writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only then to be 'rediscovered' in the later-seventeenth century.¹⁴ The legitimacy of this

¹¹ Broun, 'A New Look at *Gesta Annalia*'.

¹² Fergusson, *Declaration*, 37.

¹³ Simpson, 'The Declaration', 15. No subsequent late-medieval readership of the St Andrews formulary is detectable (from the photostat evidence) and thus this source will play no further part in the analysis that follows.

¹⁴ See Webster, 'Declaration of Arbroath', for an overview of the lack of interest displayed in the text of the Declaration by Scottish writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moreover,

thesis of 'rediscovery', based upon the duplicate copy of the Declaration, is beyond doubt and must be considered an important instance of Scottish archive recovery. However, the text of the Declaration was not only apparent in the duplicate copy held in the Scottish records (and then at Tynninghame House until 1829); as outlined above, it was also preserved in the late-medieval manuscript copies of Fordun, *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden*. Indeed, Professor Cowan, writing in 2003, emphasised this point:

Scotichronicon remained in manuscript until 1759 when it was published for the first time, minus a translation. Caution must, however, be exercised in assuming that such works were unlikely to be read until they were available in print. We know that by the early sixteenth century five manuscript copies of the full text were in existence as well as four abridged versions.¹⁵

Therefore, if one could determine definitively that fifteenth and sixteenth century readers of these MSS were interested in the Declaration then it seems possible to argue that the Declaration was not actually 'rediscovered' in the later seventeenth century because it had never really been lost; to be sure, the duplicate copy of the Declaration may have been hidden from view (or ignored) during this period, but the text of the letter, contained in the chronicles, may well have continued to be read and remarked upon. Therefore, if readers were continuing to consult the text of the Declaration of Arbroath in the MSS, then one can argue that the ideas of the Letter remained in circulation during this period (even if they were not included in any subsequent fifteenth or sixteenth century works). The separation between the duplicate sealed copy of the

in an illuminating paper delivered to a conference held at Arbroath on 20th October 2001, G.G. Simpson provided further insights on the usage of the Declaration throughout the ages. Simpson argued, for example, that John Mair may have ignored the Declaration because (as a supporter of church councils) he did not want to directly acknowledge the power and influence of the papacy (implicit in the Declaration) and that John Knox and George Buchanan, among others, also disregarded the text of the Declaration as a consequence of their hatred for the pre-Reformation Church. See G.G. Simpson, 'The Declaration of Arbroath: What Significance When', in G.W.S. Barrow, *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 108-115, at 113.

¹⁵ Cowan, *The Declaration of Arbroath*, 88-89.

Declaration and the actual text of the Declaration (as copied into the various histories) seems, to this writer at least, to be extremely significant.

Therefore, at the risk of overlooking G.G. Simpson's modest opening statement of 1977 ('Can anything new conceivably be said about a document apparently so well known in Scotland as the Declaration of Arbroath?'),¹⁶ it does seem possible to now offer a fresh perspective on this 'lost' Declaration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not, however, with research based on the Scottish writers of this period (and whether they included any reference to the Declaration in their work) but with an analysis concentrating on the late-medieval reader activity apparent in the MSS. Six late-medieval readers have been identified as demonstrating awareness of the text of the Declaration in the MSS. Indeed, three readers (R²⁶, R²⁹ and R³⁰) are active in the same MS – *PluscardenB*. This raises two particular issues. Firstly, one feature of this reader activity could be that the existence of one individual's additions to the MS (in this case on the Declaration) could trigger further activity by later readers. And secondly, the loss of even one MS (such as *PluscardenB*) would reduce the volume of extant reader activity quite dramatically.

Nonetheless, despite the interest of six readers, this leaves twenty-eight of the recognised readers who do not display marked concern in the Declaration. As will be discussed, this is perhaps the more illuminating point to highlight.

FordunC, containing the *Chronica*, *Gesta Annalia* and the dossier of documents relating to Scottish independence, includes an abbreviated text of the Declaration of Arbroath on fo.1 of a new foliation at the tail of the MS. At the top-left margin of the folio R³ added a brown pointer symbol with the index finger directed at the title '*Generose probitatis Scotorum progenies domino pape Johanni xxii^o de illatis eis injuriosis per regem Anglie Edwardum conquerentes in huis modium*'. Clearly R³ is highlighting that this chapter is one of interest and certainly indicates his readership of the abbreviated text of the Declaration.¹⁷

¹⁶ Simpson, *Declaration*, 11; an opening rhetorical question which, as Professor Cowan reminds us in his 'Identity, Freedom and the Declaration', Simpson then proceeds to answer resoundingly in the affirmative.

¹⁷ Indeed, on fo.42v of this collection of documents R³ has added two further pointer symbols. One pointer is placed in the text (corresponding to c.105 of the *Gesta Annalia*) and directed at the word '*habetur*': '*Cujus copia, cum processu ipsius Baldredi contra regem Anglie, in*

Moreover, as highlighted, three late-medieval readers in *PluscardenB* signal interest in the Declaration of Arbroath. The text of the Declaration first appears in *PluscardenB* on fos.168r-169r (VIII.54). R²⁶, responsible for the addition of one hundred and thirty six pointers to the MS, illustrates his interest in the subject matter by adding three symbols to the margins of these folios. On fo.168r R²⁶ includes a sign in the right-margin directed at the line '*impugnata fuerit, multis tamen victoriis*', while another symbol by this hand is visible on fo.168v, in between the columns of text, targeting the start of the famous passage '*Quia quandiu centum ex nobis vivi remanserint numquam Anglorum dominio volumes aliquartenus subjugari*':

For as long as a hundred of us remain alive, we will never on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English.

In this way, therefore, R²⁶ demonstrates his engagement with the text of the Declaration by spotlighting the sections he deems most intriguing (and worthy of further referral). In fact, R²⁶ signifies his inquisitiveness in the origin of the Declaration through the inclusion of a third pointer sign in *PluscardenB*. This lies in the left-margin of fo.169r and is light-brown in colour. It is accompanied by a light-brown '*nota*' situated directly above it. R²⁶'s symbol is placed beside '*datum apud monasterium de Abbirbroth*'¹⁸ and thus we can be in no doubt that the date and origin of the Declaration, as well as its content, was of concern to this late-medieval reader. Indeed, given the colouring of this last pointer (and '*nota*'), R²⁶ could also be accountable for the brown underscoring evident on fo.168r – if so, this would further show the comprehensive readership of the Declaration by this individual.¹⁹

quodam libello, scripto per Alanum de Monrose, habetur cum multis litteris ad eandem litem pertinentibus.' This concerns the commission of the Scottish ambassadors sent by John of Soulis to Pope Boniface VIII in 1300: 'a copy whereof, together with that Baldred's pleading against the king of England, and many letters bearing on that lawsuit, is in a pamphlet written by Alan of Montrose'. The other sign, in the left-margin, targets a marginal comment by the text-hand highlighting the earlier title of the Declaration chapter – '*...In principio folio generose probitate Scotorum progenies...*'.

¹⁸ This line is followed by '*in Scotia vi die mensis Aprilis anno gracie millesimo ccc xx regni vero Regis nostri predicti xv*'.

¹⁹ The following have been underlined in brown ink on fo.168r: '*Mannie et Vallis*', '*Patricius de Dunbar*', '*Malisius*', '*Malcolmus*', '*Willelmus*', '*Magnus*', '*Willelmus*', '*Walterus*', '*Willelmus*'.

R²⁹ and **R**³⁰ also demonstrate their concern in the text of the Declaration. In the right-margin of fo.168r of *PluscardenB* **R**²⁹ has added a comment in bold, black abbreviated Latin. **R**²⁹ also includes comments (in the same style) on fos.180v (*'In regnum Hibernie'*) and 181v (*'Hibernie'*). With particular relevancy to the Declaration however and adjacent to the passage describing the uninterrupted rule of 113 Scottish kings, **R**²⁹ stated in the margin that *'Nota de cxiii Regnaverunt in Scocia ante Robertus de Broys coronata'*. Significantly, therefore, another reader of *PluscardenB* chose to draw attention to Robert Bruce's predecessors as Kings of Scots, as described in the text of the Declaration.

Further evidence of late-medieval readership of the Declaration occurs in bk.IX of *PluscardenB*, with the repetition of the text of the Letter on fos.184v and 185r. **R**³⁰, the prominent reader who adds a total of thirty eight pointer symbols to the margins of *PluscardenB* (predominantly between fos.110r and 216v), illustrates his knowledge of the Declaration by marking the text on fo.184v with two pointer symbols. The first sign, in brown ink at the top of the left-margin, is clearly intended to highlight the title of c.21 in which the (partial) text of the Declaration appears: *'Generose probitatis progenies Scotorum scribunt domino pape super regem Anglie conquerentes'*. It seems fair to propose, therefore, that **R**³⁰ is marking the chapter title to indicate that all of its content (on the Declaration) is worthy of note; this chapter is of general interest to this reader. Furthermore, it is possible that the brown underscoring evident in the first column of text of c.21 belongs to **R**³⁰ as well.²⁰

'Jacobus de', 'David', 'David de', 'Ingelramus', 'Johannes de Menteth', 'Alexander Fraser', 'Gilbertus de le', 'Robertus de Keth', 'Henricus de Sancto[Clare]', 'Johannes de Grahame', 'David de Lyndesey', 'Patricius de', 'Johannes de', 'Willelmus de Abirnethy', 'David de Wemis', 'Willelmus de', 'Fergusius de', 'Eustachius de', 'Willelmus', 'Alanus de', 'Donaldus', 'Johannes de', 'Reginaldus de', 'Alexander', 'Andreas', 'Alexander de Stra[toun]' and, interestingly, 'centum et tredecim', with the last underscoring highlighting the Declaration's striking (and obviously erroneous) claim that there had been 113 Scottish kings without the introduction of one foreigner.

²⁰ The following words have been underscored in brown ink in the first column of fo.184v: *'Sanctissimo in Christo patri', 'Duncanus', 'Thomas Ranulphi', 'Patricius', 'Malcolmus', 'Willelmus', 'Willelmus', 'Walterus', 'Jacobus de', 'David de', 'David de Grahame', 'Ingelramus', 'Johannes de', 'Alexander Fraser', 'Gilbertus', 'Henricus de', 'Johannes de', 'David de', 'Robertus de', 'Patricius', 'Johannes de', 'Willelmus de', 'David', 'Willelmus de', 'Furgusius', 'Eustachius', 'Willelmus', 'Alanus' and 'Johannes'.*

R³⁰'s second symbol on fo.184v has been placed in between the columns of text and is pointing to the right at the line '*tenuit. In quorum regno centum xiii*'.²¹ This symbol is black in colour and thus we can claim that R³⁰ is also the author of the black comment '*multis*' which appears three lines above the symbol in between the columns of text.²²

In addition, R³⁴ in *PluscardenD* illustrates interest in the text of the Declaration. On fo.139v (VIII.54) of the MS R³⁴ has included a pointer sign at the foot of the folio and directed upwards at the comment '*De commendacione Roberti Bruys*'. This comment (possibly by R³⁴ himself) summarises the text of the Declaration above it, which details the parallel drawn in the Declaration between Bruce and legendary biblical figures: 'our most stalwart prince and lord, King Robert Bruce, who, to deliver his people and inheritance from the hands of the enemy, like another Maccabaeus or Joshua, went through toil and trouble...'. Although R³⁴'s interest may solely have been with Bruce, he also demonstrates, through his inclusion of a symbol, an awareness of Bruce's citation and eulogy in the Declaration. Clearly, therefore, this late-medieval reader was certainly familiar with the text of the Declaration of Arbroath.

Furthermore, the interest in the Declaration was not restricted solely to Scottish readers, for Matthew Parker (R¹³), archbishop of Canterbury 1559-1575, was also clearly familiar with the text. Fos.272r-273r of *ScotichroniconC* contain the text of the Declaration of Arbroath and significantly they have not been left untouched by Parker's hand. Indeed, Parker, clearly identifiable via his distinctive red chalk, underscored the following words on fo.272v (XIII.2) of *ScotichroniconC*: '*regno centum et tredecim reges*', '*quasi primos ad suam fidem*' and '*Sanctum Andream*'. Parker then followed this by further underscoring on fo.272v (XIII.3): '*Eadwardus*', '*dominum Robertum*' and '*Quia quamdiu centum ex nobis vivi remanserint numquam Anglorum dominio volumes aliquartenus subjugari*'. Through this underlining Parker not only proves that he had read the text of the Declaration but also that he was interested in sections of it, including the famously rousing line of 'for, as long as a

²¹ The full passage is '*In quorum regno centum xiii reges de ipsorum regali prosapia nullo alienigena interveniente regnaverunt*'.

²² The comment is beside the line '*multis tamen victoriis et laboribus*'; it will be remembered that this line was also of interest to R²⁶.

hundred of us remain alive, we will never on any conditions be subjected to the lordship of the English'. As already stated, Parker probably gained possession of *Scotichronicon*C in the mid-sixteenth century and his reader activity in the MS obviously dates to before his death in 1575. In this case at least therefore, the text of the Declaration of Arbroath was familiar to and of interest to a learned sixteenth century (English) scholar. Indeed, one is evidently not stretching the evidence by asserting that the Declaration of Arbroath was known in the highest English ecclesiastical circles of the day!

From the activity of these late-medieval readers, both Scottish and English, it seems clear that the text of the Declaration in these late-medieval MSS continued to be consulted in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Indeed, the clues of readership that these individuals have left us display a marked interest in the named barons (on whose behalf the Letter was technically sent), the (misleading) claim that one hundred and thirteen Scottish kings ruled before Robert Bruce, the refusal to submit to English overlordship ('as long as one hundred of us remain alive') and the date and origin of the Declaration.

We have already alluded to the manner in which the Declaration of Arbroath was contained in a dossier of documents that were included in four MSS of Fordun's *Chronica* and then subsequently transcribed by Walter Bower. This process of MS compilation – with the inclusion of the text of the Declaration in these works, and then also by the unknown author of *Liber Pluscardensis* – clearly asserts the continuing readership and knowledge of the Declaration into the sixteenth-century. It is possible to be even clearer on this point. In 1501-2 John Gibson, a canon of Glasgow and Rector of Renfrew, produced an abridgement of *Scotichronicon* (based upon *Scotichronicon*R). Gibson's work survives as NLS Adv.35.6.8. This small MS has a highly personal feel to it²³ and it is a heavily abbreviated work; it represents Gibson's choice of content. Effectively, therefore, Gibson can be considered a motivated late-medieval reader who has absorbed the content of *Scotichronicon*R and reproduced (in a much shorter version) what he considered to be the significant aspects. One such aspect is the Declaration of Arbroath which Gibson has duly

²³ In a similar manner to John Law's Chronicle of 1521 (Edinburgh University Library, MS 171).

copied (in abbreviated form) into his own MS. By its simple inclusion in Gibson's MS one can further illustrate the obvious readership of the Declaration at the start of the sixteenth-century.

Moreover, John Gibson (or the text-hand) followed a general procedure by adding marginal comments throughout the MS to nicely summarise, or encapsulate, the textual content at a given point. Thus, in the left-margin of fo.225v (XIII.2), containing the Declaration, the text-hand has added '*De nobiles Scotorum scribunt pape super regem Anglie*'. This bold marginal addition, mirroring the chapter title, would have been clearly noticeable to every subsequent reader of this work and possibly would have drawn their eyes to the (abridged) content of the famous Letter.

However, while this late-medieval reader activity certainly testifies to an awareness of the Declaration in this period, one should also highlight the evidence to the contrary. Namely, in specific MSS which contain the Declaration, some late-medieval readers have marked out sections of the MS but have not deemed the text of the Declaration worthy for comment. This is the case with R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B, one of the two MSS of the full text of *Scotichronicon* that were copied by the scribe Magnus Makculloch.²⁴ R¹⁹ is responsible for the inclusion of one hundred and eighty seven pointer symbols in the MS and numerous other comments, underscoring and brackets. Nonetheless, despite this evident connection with many aspects of the text, R¹⁹ does not comment on the text of the Declaration in any way. In fact, R¹⁹ is more interested in the content of the preceding chapter (XIII.c.2), outlining the so-called Soules conspiracy of 1320, as he demonstrates through specific underscoring: '*Willelmus de Soulez*', '*Dominus David de Brechyne, qui in expedicione Terre*', '*Eustachius de Maxel, Walterus de Bercley*', '*quod Rogero de Mowbray*' and '*equorum traccionem, patibuli suspensionem et capitis detruncacionem condempnatum*'.

As explained in chapters three to six, R¹⁹'s numerous interests in the text of the MS display an element of patriotism, for instance with twenty pointers noting aspects of the battle of Bannockburn. Could this be a late-medieval

²⁴ See chapter two.

example, therefore, of a seemingly patriotic Scottish reader who has skipped over the text of the Declaration in his reading of *ScotichroniconB*?

Further reader disinterest in the Declaration is apparent in *PluscardenC*, the Glasgow University copy of *Pluscarden*. Although William Gaderar, R³¹, underscores passages of text, adds marginal comments and pointer symbols in the MS, he does not display any interest in the text of the Declaration in *PluscardenC*. This is unfortunate as his reader activity is easily identifiable (through his employment of lilac ink) and dateable to shortly after 1543. Further reader evidence to the contrary is provided by another late-medieval reader of *PluscardenC*, R³², who employs glutinous brown ink to add pointer signs and comments to the MS. Despite the level of R³²'s interest in the MS, he ignores the text of the Declaration completely. Indeed, in a similar vein to the activity of R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*, R³² pinpoints sections of the text in the chapter after the Declaration. On fo.203v, in the chapter titled '*Sequitur tenor primi libelli processus domino pontiffii summo exhibiti*', R³² adds a comment in the left-margin and a pointer directed at the line '*fidelitatem et homagium regi anglie facere consueverunt. Secundo, quod id...*'. This lack of interest in the text of the Declaration is also demonstrated by late-medieval readers in *ScotichroniconR* and *PluscardenA*.²⁵

Clearly, therefore, not every late-medieval reader of these Scottish MSS was influenced or necessarily interested in the Declaration of Arbroath.

²⁵ In *ScotichroniconR* neither R¹⁷, responsible for at least sixteen finely drawn conical pointers between bks.I-XIII, nor R¹⁸, who included the brown glutinous fists (sometimes incomplete and consisting only of the index finger or a couple of digits) to the margins of the MS, have marked the text of the Declaration in bk.XIII. Clearly these readers did not consider it worthy of closer consideration or future referral. Furthermore, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* has added numerous comments to the margins of the MS, underscored a great deal of text and included brackets beside passages of text. R²⁵'s reader activity is prevalent throughout the MS. However, despite these copious comments and underscoring, R²⁵ ignores both versions of the Declaration in *PluscardenA*. In fact, as in *ScotichroniconB*, *ScotichroniconR* and *PluscardenC*, there is direct evidence indicating this reader's disinterest in the Declaration. On fo.180r (VIII.55), immediately after the first copy of the Declaration, R²⁵ has underscored the text '*...cui idem regnum in temporalibus et spiritualibus dinoscitur subici sine medio, hostiliter dilaceravit...*', while on fo.200r (bk.IX c.21), after the second version of the Declaration, the same reader has laboriously underscored '*Anno vero Domini M CCC Xxiii renovata est confoederacionis liga inter reges Francie et Scocie per ambassiatores solempnes: eciam in curia Romana, per precedentes literas a baronibus Scocie missas, dominus papa, pro unitate et concordia cum Romana ecclesia habenda, contra iniquas suggestiones Anglorum: quae aliquando male...*' and '*...datus est nobis, David, rex futurus, apud Dunfermlyng...*'. R²⁵ was clearly not concerned with the text of the Declaration.

However, this chapter has illustrated that, despite the obscurity of the Declaration, the actual text of the Letter (in the late-medieval chronicles) continued to be read and, on occasion, elicited a response. Without doubt, therefore, in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries some readers (at least) came into direct contact with the famous text and passed comment on the issues involved. The important point is that while some historians may have always considered this late-medieval readership of the Declaration to be probable, analysis of the extant MS evidence now proves it conclusively. In this way one can state with certainty that the text of the Declaration of Arbroath was not 'lost' entirely in the nebulous environment of later-medieval and early modern Scotland – it was only waiting to be found.

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL READERS' INTERESTS

The analysis of late-medieval reader activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives reveals that, in general, certain subjects interested them more than others. However, while there are patterns in the thinking of these readers, it must be stressed that the additions made by these educated readers reflect their personal concern with a particular topic or topics as they perused the MS. To demonstrate this more fully it is worth considering some individual cases of interest in the subject matter.

R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* provides a good example of interest in a subject that does not fit into wider patterns of readership. On fo.212v (IX.37) of *PluscardenA* this reader has highlighted a section of text concerning Christy Cleik, a peasant cannibal of the fourteenth century. **R²⁵** positioned a bracket in the left-margin of fo.212v to target the following passage:

*Et ut quidam ferunt, nonnuli, in spelencis habitantes, bestias inhibitas
ut canes comedebant: ymmo, eciam et infantes et mulieres, prout
probatum per quendam Christe Cleik¹*

An interest in this rather grisly citation cannot be detected among the other late-medieval readers of the MSS. Similarly, **R²⁶** appears to offer reader activity of a very personal flavour on one occasion in *PluscardenB* by demonstrating concern with the price of beer and wine in the early fourteenth century. This reader, as chapter five illustrated, has a healthy interest in many aspects of the Wars of Independence, but on fo.175r (IX.2) he has chosen to ignore an extract on William

¹ In translation: 'and it is said that some took up their quarters in caves and fed on forbidden beasts, like dogs – and even on children and women, as for instance in the case of one, Christe Cleik by name [who, with his beldome, killed and ate many children and women]'.

Wallace, instead drawing attention to the price of vittals in 1303.² R²⁶'s pointer symbol, in the left-margin, targets the line '*bone cervisie pro duobus denariis, vini boni pro octo denariis, lagena*', with '*bone*' and '*vini boni pro octo*' also underscored in the MS. Thus R²⁶ was concerned that in 1303, during Edward I's occupation of Scotland, 'food was so plentiful and abundant in Scotland, that a laggen of good beer sold commonly for two pence, and a laggen, Scottish measure, of good wine for eightpence'.

Another example of individual reader activity involves R¹⁷ in *Scotichronicon*C when he placed a black conical pointer in the left-margin of fo.269v (XII.34). The extract of interest to R¹⁷ concerns either Bower's personal information on nature and birdlife, derived from his eyewitness testimony of events in 1411 at the opening of St Andrews University, or the significance of the founding of Scotland's first university. This reader has highlighted the passage:

*Simul incrementaque suscipiunt. Vidi eciam et ego conscriptor huius libri, qui me prius scriptorum initulavi ad differenciam scribe, cum oculis meis semel in Sancto Andrea plusquam mille minuta huiusmodi avium corpora in litoe maris ab una protela et grandi alga dependencia, testis inclusa et iam formata.*³

Some late-medieval readers chose, on occasion, to bolster their customary reader activity with a drawing pertinent to the theme of interest, possibly representing doodling but also perhaps as a further means of locating their reference more easily in the future. As we have seen, a striking example of this activity occurs in *Fordun*D where R⁴ has drawn a large face, in profile, in the right-margin of page

² The passage, in translation, ignored by R²⁶ is as follows: 'The same year, after the whole people of Scotland, except that noble leader, William Wallace, and his partisans and followers, were little by little brought by the aforesaid king to make their submission and swear allegiance to him, giving up to him the towns, castles and all the strongholds but Stirling Castle and its garrison'.

³ In translation: '...wonderful method of breeding. Even I, the writer of this book (who earlier called myself the writer as distinct from the scribe), have with my own eyes once seen at St Andrews [at the opening of the university there] more than a thousand tiny bodies of birds of this kind hanging down from a single long and large piece of seaweed on the shore, enclosed in shells and already formed, [but with no sign of life-giving breath, and as long as a man's thumb]'.

157 (III.8). The man's face, in red ink, clearly represents Cinead mac Alpin and is drawing attention to the MS description of his final victory over the Picts, and his death. Clearly the addition of this drawing would allow R⁴ to locate this chapter much more quickly in any future reading of the MS. A similar process can be detected in *CouparAngusH* with R²³'s entry on fo.139v (X.20). This reader, responsible for the addition of over a hundred distinctive pointer symbols to the MS, includes a red pointer (accompanied by a bracket) in the left-margin of fo.139v, directed upwards at a marginal comment by the text-hand '*Robertus Hude*'. Evidently the MS reference to the legendary Robin Hood is of concern here: 'at this time there arose from among the disinherited and outlaws and raised his head that most famous armed robber Robert Hood, along with Little John and their accomplices'.⁴ In a dramatic flourish, however, R²³ includes a neatly sketched arrow, the weapon most commonly associated with Hood, within the grasp of his pointer sign. Despite the abundance of his reader activity, R²³ does not employ any further artistic embellishments in his additions to *CouparAngusH*. *ScotichroniconR* also contains some worthy artistic features. In the left-margin of fo.77v (IV.39), in the chapter entitled 'The state of the English observed in the 'Polychronicon' and a certain prophecy', a late-medieval reader, possibly R¹⁸ (as the ink used is comparable), drew a sinewy arm holding aloft a sword. The symbol appears to be directed at the passage derived from Henry of Huntingdon: 'Because the English are given over to treachery and drunkenness and disregard for the house of God, they will have to be crushed first by the Danes, then by the Normans and thirdly by the Scots, whom they regard as worthless.'⁵ Furthermore, another reader of *ScotichroniconR*, possibly late-medieval in origin, included a crude portrait of a fox's head in the left-margin of fo.173r (X.38), beside the following verse at the end of the chapter:

*Sculptor, dum sculpes, Anglos faciens quasi vulpes,
et Gallas agnos, Normannos fac bene magnos*

⁴ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. X, 355.

⁵ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IV, 391.

*ursus, sed Britones apros, Scotosque leones.*⁶

This reader, by solely depicting a fox in the margin, is highlighting the verse's correlation between the English people and foxes. The interest, or objective, of this reader is better understood by stating the (translated) introduction to the verse in question:

An Englishman is a treacherous associate, a good servant, but an intolerable master or lord; whatever position you put him in, he will be found to be like a crafty and deceitful fox. Thus someone began a poem on the English and other nations in this way.

It is clear, therefore, that the methodology of late-medieval readers differed greatly in their application of reader activity to the MSS, with the addition of specific drawings remaining a rare event. Indeed, whilst some readers, like R²⁵ in *PluscardenA* or R¹² in *FordunI* for example, preferred to express their interest through underscoring passages, others favoured the addition of pointer symbols, like R²³ in *CouparAngusH*, to highlight their concerns. Others still, such as R⁶ and R⁷ in *FordunE*, opted exclusively to register their interest through marginal comments in the MS. Of course, some individuals, Matthew Parker (R¹³) in *ScotichroniconC*, William Gaderar (R³¹) in *PluscardenC* and R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* for instance, can be seen to have used all these methods to denote their interest in aspects of the text. However, R²⁰ in *ScotichroniconB* adopted a more unusual approach with his reader activity. On fos.54r and 54v of *ScotichroniconB* this reader used seven brown pointer symbols, crudely drawn in a sprawling fashion, to target specific chapter headings of bk.IV. These chapters presumably interested R²⁰ the most but he must have been a very selective, or sparse, reader for his additions do not appear anywhere else in the MS.

⁶ In translation: 'Sculptor, when you carve, make the English like foxes and the French like lambs, make well the Normans like Great bears, the Britons like boars, and the Scots like lions'. This extract is also highlighted by R¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* who uses a pointer in the left-margin of fo.242v (X.38) to target the word 'sculpes'.

Alternatively, perhaps **R**²⁰ only gained access to *ScotichroniconB* on one occasion, hence explaining the limited nature of his activity. Whatever the origin of his reader activity, **R**²⁰'s additions to the MS are worth further consideration. On fo.54r (IV.*Tabuli*) **R**²⁰ has included several pointer symbols, in between the columns of text, to highlight the following chapter titles: '*Ammonicio futura pro regibus c v*'; '*De successione rege Gregorii qui sibi subjugavit totam Yberniam et pene totam Angliam xvii*'; '*De morte Gregorii et [?] Edmundi rege et quod Anglia subnata erat Scotis et Danis viii*' and '*De Johanne Scoto philosopho et de imperator Arnulpho pediculis consumpto xix*'. Furthermore, on fo.54v of *ScotichroniconB* **R**²⁰ included two pointers in the left-margin to note chapters 22 ('*De fonte sanguinis et de Judeis imagini Crucifixi novam passionem irrogantibus*') and 39 ('*De condicionibus Anglorum natatis in Palicronicon et de quedam propheta*'). Also, another pointer, in between the columns of text, draws attention to chapter 47 ('*De liberalitate vel pocius prodigalitate regis Malcolmi qui nichil sibi retinuit*'), whilst a brown '*nota*' presumably by the same reader targets the title of chapter 48 ('*De vicio prodicionis omnium victorum villissimo*'). Intriguingly, **R**²⁰'s method in *ScotichroniconB* was also used by three other late-medieval readers in the MSS under discussion.⁷

Moreover, as we have witnessed with William Gaderar and his interest in Moray, some readers identify strongly with one particular subject in the MSS. The activity of **R**⁹ in *FordunG* does not, on the whole, fit into wider patterns of interest among the late-medieval readers. From a total of ten distinctive pointer symbols in *FordunG* that can be attributed to **R**⁹, five pinpoint MS extracts linked to the history of Galloway, primarily the actions of Gilbert son of Fergus, Roland, and his son Alan. Evidently, this strongly suggests a close association with Galloway on the part of **R**⁹.

R⁹ first demonstrates his interest on fo.172r (Annals.xvii) of *FordunG* where a black pointer, in the right-margin, is directed at the line '*Sed et eo tempore,*

⁷ This technique was employed by **R**¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC*, **R**¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconD*, **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* and **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD*. For example, on fo.97v (VII. *Capitula*) of *PluscardenD* **R**³⁴ directs a pointer from the left-margin at a *nota* beside the chapter title '*xvii. Anno domini mccli magnates regni Scocie*'.

bellorum civilium amator simul et executor, dominus'. The following lines of the Annal reveal R⁹'s concern in the death of Gilbert, son of Fergus and lord of Galloway, in 1185:

*Gallwallie, Gilbertus filius Fergusii, qui fratrem suum Ochtredum,
mutilatum lingua et exaculatum, nequiter occidit, anno Domini M C L
XXXV mortuus est*⁸

Gilbert's murder of Uhtred occurred between July-November 1174, during his Galwegian rising of that year.⁹ Indeed, R⁹ follows up his interest in Gilbert and Uhtred by focusing on a passage concerning Roland of Galloway, Uhtred's son. Roland, lord of Galloway between 1186 and his death in 1200, angered Henry II of England by crushing a revolt in Galloway in 1185, involving leaders like Gilpatrick and Gillecolm, which had been supported by the English king. It is this conflict of interests between Roland of Galloway and Henry II, and their subsequent truce, that R⁹ draws attention to on fo.172r (Annals.xviii) of *FordunG*. A pointer in the right-margin of fo.172r clearly targets the opening lines of the annal:

*Henricus, rex Anglie, graviter exasperatus erga Rotholandum, pro
morte proditorum Galwalensium, quas anno precedenti se suaque
jura tuendo belli lege prostraverat, atque, ad suggestionem
malivolorum quorundam, eum habens exasum, coadunato contra eum
undequaque per Angliam exercitu, Karlele usque progressus est, ubi
Rotholandus, jussu et consilio, domini sui regis Scocie, ad eum
veniens, honorifice cum ipso concordatus est.*¹⁰

⁸ In translation: 'At that time, also in the year 1185, died that lover and wager of civil war, Gilbert, son of Fergus, and lord of Galloway – he who had wickedly killed his brother Uhtred, after he had cut out his tongue and put out his eyes'.

⁹ Duncan, *The Making of Scotland*, 181-184. Also see R.Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard c.1100-c.1336* (Tuckwell Press, 1997) and K.J.Stringer, 'Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: Alan son of Roland, lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland' in A.Grant and K.J.Stringer (eds), *Medieval Scotland. Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), 82-112.

¹⁰ In translation: 'Henry, king of England, was very bitter against Roland, for the death of the Galloway traitors, whom, in defending himself and his rights, the latter had, the year before,

R⁹ then continues his interest in Galloway and its leaders by highlighting an extract concerning Alan, son of Roland, lord of Galloway following his father's death in 1200. R⁹ pinpoints a citation of Alan of Galloway on fo.176r (Annals.xxvii), with the symbol in the right-margin directed at the line '*dominus de Galwallia, constabularies vero Regis Scocie, de voluntate et*'. The translation, in context, indicates R⁹'s interest in the homage performed by Alan in 1212 to King John for the lands granted to him in Ireland:

At this time Alan, lord of Galloway, and constable of the king of Scotland, did homage to John, king of England, at Norham, by his lord the king's will and leave, for some broad lands which the latter had bestowed upon him.¹¹

R⁹'s final addition involving Galloway also concerns Alan son of Roland. On fo.177r (Annals.xxxi) of *FordunG* R⁹ uses a pointer in the right-margin to single out the line '*tradidit Alano Gallwallie filio Rotholandi, qui genuit ex ea*'. The context is extremely instructive, informing us of this reader's interest in Alan's marriage to Margaret, granddaughter of earl David of Huntingdon:

That same earl David likewise begat, of his said wife Matilda, one son, named John, who afterwards succeeded him – and three daughters: Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret he gave in wedlock

overthrown in battle; and, through the promptings of certain evil-minded persons, feeling a deep hatred towards him, he levied an army against him, from all parts of England, and advanced as far as Carlisle. Roland, however, at the bidding and advice of his lord the king of Scotland, came thither to him, and they arrived at an honourable understanding'.

¹¹ '*Apud Norham eo tempore Alanus, dominus de Gallwallia, constabluarius vero Regis Scocie, de voluntate et licentia domini sui regis, regi Anglie Johanni, pro terries spaciosis in Hibernia quam ei contulerat, fecit homagium*'. *Gesta Annalia* then continues by describing how Alan came to be constable and this ties in with R⁹'s earlier interest in Roland: 'On the death of William of Morville, long ago, as he had no sons, he was succeeded by Alan's father, Roland, lord of Galloway, as heir, through a marriage formerly contracted between the latter and the said William's sister; and Roland gave King William 700 merks of silver, for the heirship and the honour of the constableness aforesaid'.

to Alan of Galloway, Roland's son, who of her begat a daughter named Dearbhfhorghaill; his second daughter, Isabella, he gave to Robert Bruce, who of her begat a son named Robert...¹²

R⁹'s reader activity in *FordunG* is therefore very individual, with his interest centred on the actions of these noble lords of Galloway, from Gilbert and Uhtred, through Roland and onto Alan. A late-medieval association with Galloway, and curiosity in its history, in relation to kings of Scotland and kings of England, is the obvious conclusion to draw from R⁹'s concern in these MS passages.

Furthermore, R²¹ in *CouparAngusC* demonstrates clear interest in descriptions of plague, or pestilence, an issue that he may of course have directly encountered. R²¹, responsible for ten pointer symbols in the MS, used five to target references to plague. On p.62 (IV.8) of *CouparAngusC* R²¹ added a sign in the left-margin to highlight the text-hand comment '*de mortalitate*', beside the (translated) passage 'In the fifth year of his reign the whole of Europe was devastated by the grim disaster of a most virulent plague. Adomnan, referring to the disaster, says...'. R²¹ follows this with a symbol in the right-margin of p.63 (IV.11) drawing attention to a further text-hand comment concerning '*de pestilencia*'. Another pointer by R²¹ in the left-margin of p.64 (IV.11) of the MS signals interest in the comment '*Brigitta nota*', which notes St Bridget's *Liber Celestias Reges* and her advice on bouts of plague: 'Mary says to the bride that the plague visits a kingdom because of three sins – pride, self-indulgence and avarice...'. Similar interest is displayed by R²¹ on p.174 (X.13) in the text-hand comment '*peste*' and on p.414 (XXXVIII.6) when he targets the comment '*De pestilencia quo dicebatur le qwhew*', referring to the plague, nicknamed '*le qwhew*' by the common people, which struck Scotland in 1420. Throughout *CouparAngusC*, therefore, between pp. 62-414, R²¹ illustrates

¹² 'Genuit itaque idem comes David ex eadem uxore sua Matilde unum filium, nomine Johannem, qui sibi postea successit, et tres filias, Margaretam, Isabellam et Adam. Margaretam quoque nubendam tradidit Alano Galwallie filio Rotholandi, qui genuit ex ea filiam nomine Darworgillam, et Isabellam secundam filiam Roberto de Brusse dedit in uxorem, ex qua genuit filium Robertum nomine'.

concerted interest in examples of pestilence and it was clearly a topic of some concern to him, if not to the majority of readers.¹³

Much of the reader activity prevalent in the MSS is clearly motivated by individual concerns. However, as the analysis of this activity has also shown, some patterns of readership are apparent, featuring several readers sharing a common interest in a particular subject. In addition to the subjects already covered, we should not be surprised to find that the descriptions of Scotland's, and also Albion's (Britain's), geography proved attractive to various readers. R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, a prominent supplier of reader activity, added a symbol to the foot of fo.10v (I.34) to target the line '*regionis eciam sibi prodiderant in qua volatilia tantum*'. R³⁴'s concern is therefore with *Pluscarden*'s description of Albion:

And also at the same time certain people arrived who described to them the beauty of a region so extensive and of such great fertility in which there were only birds, wild beasts and animals, and which could easily be brought into cultivation.

Later in his perusal of *PluscardenD* R³⁴ also notes, on fo.12r (II.2) Geoffrey of Monmouth's depiction of Britian's rivers. R³⁴ signals his interest by directing a pointer at the line '*quo navigator ad Gallias, tria nobilia [flumina]*'. Geoffrey's description of Albion and its rivers also proved attractive to R⁶, R⁷ and R¹¹. Indeed, R¹¹ in *FordunH* marked the same passage as R³⁴, by adding a light-brown pointer to the right-margin of fo.24r (II.2) denoting interest in the line '*meridiane plage freto, quo navigator ad Gallias, tria nobilia flumina*'. It could be, of course, that R¹¹'s sign was intended to mark the start of his interest and this would make sense for the passage continues by questioning Geoffrey's emphasis:

¹³ R¹⁸ in *ScotichroniconR* was also interested in this topic. On fo.62r (III.48) of the MS R¹⁸ uses a brown index finger in the right-margin to target a text-hand comment '*mortalitas*', relating to Adomnan's quotation on the plague to hit Europe in the fifth year of Maelduin's reign: 'I can by no means pass over in silence the plague which twice in our lifetime laid waste the greater part of the world'. R¹⁸ provides further interest in this theme on fo.62v (III.49) of *ScotichroniconR*. In this case he adds a viscous brown hand to the left-margin to note the start of a verse by Cadwalleder on the devastation of the plague – '*Dedisti nos, Domine, tamquam aves escarum et in gentibus dispersisti nos. Ve nobis*' ['Lord, you have given us like sheep to be devoured, and you have scattered us amongst the nations...'].

Yes, but surely there are more rivers that are famous in Albion? If he meant the whole of Albion by the word 'Britain', he would certainly not have passed over in silence the rivers of Scotland which are much bigger than the rivers mentioned above, have more fish in them, are of higher quality and are altogether more productive for all purposes – rivers such as the Forth, which is also called the southern Firth or the Scottish sea, and the river Esk, which is called Scotiswath or Solway.

Furthermore, R⁶ in *FordunE* included the comments '*Nota descripcionem Albionie et situam in Europa*' to fo.19r (II.1) and '*Nota de flumen de Forth*' and '*sive Sulwath*' to fo.20r (II.2). Likewise, R⁷ added '*Longitudo Albionis insulis*' to the left-margin of fo.19v (II.1) of *FordunE*. Isidore's account of Scotland's traditional climate also interested R⁷ who applied the comment '*Nota de temperata Scocie*' to the left-margin of fo.23v (II.8) of *FordunE*. This is located beside the text '*Isidorus: Scocia, quantum ad aeris et coeli salubritatem, est regione valde temperata*', informing us of Isidore's (rather surprising) assertion on Scotland's mild climate. Moreover, in the same chapter of *FordunE*, R⁶ draws attention to the natural resources of Scotland by including a comment beside the (translated) passage:

For the region abounds in wool-bearing sheep and in horses. Its grassy soil supports cattle and wild beasts; it is rich in milk and wool, and has a great diversity of fish from sea, river and loch.

In addition, the descriptions of the islands of Scotland were pinpointed by R⁶, R⁷ and R¹¹. R⁶ could not have been clearer in his interest by adding '*Nota de insulis*' in the right-margin of fo.25r (II.10)¹⁴ and '*Nota de insulis Orcadibus*' to the right-margin of fo.25r (II.11) of *FordunE*. R⁷'s interest relates to the origin of the name

¹⁴ This comment was placed beside the line '*insularum fortissimo, juxta quam est insula quedam xx*', concerning St Kilda 'strongest of all the islands'. Given this reader's previous entry on fo.23v (II.8), however, perhaps the interest lies in then island near to St Kilda 'in which there are said to be wild sheep which can only be captured by hunters'.

‘Orkney’, with a comment involving ‘*Orchadum*’, placed beside ‘*Dicuntur autem Orchades ab Orce Graece, quod est recipere Latin*’ on fo.25r. R¹¹ in FordunH also draws attention to the MS description of the Scottish islands. On fo.26r (II.8) of this MS the reader included the comment ‘*Nota de Insula Tyle*’ in the left-margin and to the left-margin of fo.26v (II.10) he added ‘*De insulis Scocie a divisis ab insulis Orcadibus*’. In the latter case, the comment mirrors the chapter title at this juncture. It should be noted that although the earls of Orkney had been Scots from the thirteenth century, Orkney did not formally become a Scottish possession until 1468 during the reign of James III. Therefore, it is possible that the late-medieval reader interest in Orkney is partly derived from its status as a newly-acquired Stewart possession.

A further trend in reader activity, with five late-medieval readers expressing interest, involves Fordun’s famous passage in bk.II c.9 on ‘the division of peoples and languages in Scotland’. Fordun, describing the situation as he viewed it in late-fourteenth century Scotland, recounted how the Scottish character was dependent on the language one spoke:

For they have two languages, Scotie [Gaelic] and Teutonic [Scots].
The people who speak Scots occupy the coastal and lowland regions,
while those who speak Gaelic live in the mountainous regions and the
outer isles.¹⁵

Whilst Fordun did equate both lowlanders – *gens maritima* – and highlanders – *gens montana* – as one *natio*, with distinct languages separating the *gentes*, he depicted the highlanders in very unflattering terms:

The coastal people are docile and civilised, trustworthy, long-suffering and courteous, decent in their dress, polite and peaceable, devout in worship, but always ready to resist injuries threatened by their enemies. The island or highland people however are fierce and

¹⁵ ‘*Duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica videlicet et Theutonica. Cuius lingue gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones, Scotice vero gens lingue montanas inhabitant et insulas ultiores.*’

untameable, uncouth and unpleasant, much given to theft, fond of doing nothing, but their minds are quick to learn and cunning.

R⁶ highlights this passage in *FordunE* by adding the comment '*Nota de moribus Scotorum*' to the left-margin of fo.23v (II.9). However, perhaps more revealing is the activity of **R**¹¹, **R**²⁷ and **R**³⁴. **R**¹¹ in *FordunH* chose to signal interest in a passage by Isidore that portrays the highlanders in a more favourable manner. On fo.26v (II.9) of the MS **R**¹¹ directs a light-brown pointer at the line: '*In lecto mori reputans segniciem, interfeci campo per hostes*'. The translation, in context, stresses the courage of the Gaelic people:

[the Gaelic people] regarding dying in bed as cowardice, but thinking it glorious and manly to kill or to be killed on the battlefield by their enemies, a people with a frugal way of life, able to endure hunger for a long time, and seldom indulging in food before sunset.

Similarly, **R**³⁴ demonstrates interest in the account of the highlanders rather than the lowlanders. In this case, however, it seems clear that it is Fordun's negative depiction that really concerns this reader. On fo.14r (II.9) of *PluscardenD* **R**³⁴ employs a pointer, from below the columns of text, to target the word '*montana*', within the line '*Insulana vero sive montana ferina gens est*'. In addition, **R**²⁷ in *PluscardenB* drew attention to the same passage by directing a grey-brown pointer, from the left-margin of fo.16v (II.4), at the line '*vero gens est et montana ferina gens est*'. Therefore, whilst **R**¹¹ seemed more interested in highlighting the Gaelic people as 'glorious' and 'frugal', **R**²⁷ and **R**³⁴ were more intrigued with a description centring on their 'fierce', 'untameable', 'uncouth' and 'unpleasant' nature. This contrast in perspective could, of course, reflect the background of the readers involved, in much the same way that **R**⁹'s activity in *FordunG* is possibly shaped by his association with Galloway or, more definitively, how William Gaderar's concerns in *PluscardenC* illustrate his interest in his home territory of Moray. Nevertheless, it is illuminating that to some late-medieval Scottish readers

Fordun's fourteenth-century description of *gens maritima* and *gens montana* still held a certain resonance in their own eras.

Although the activity of thirty-four late-medieval readers of the MSS have been identified and discussed in this thesis, it is clear that nine readers were particularly prominent in this process. It is helpful to consider what the evidence tells us concerning the primary interests of these readers.

R¹³ (Matthew Parker) in *ScotichroniconC*

Matthew Parker, the most illustrious reader of the MSS, has featured often in the discussion and his engagement with the text of *Scotichronicon* ranged from ecclesiastical matters to an interest in the Declaration of Arbroath and the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton. Parker's potential significance as an English, rather than Scottish, reader of the material will be discussed in due course. Parker also demonstrated interest in *ScotichroniconC* in his own particular concern with the collection and keeping of MSS. On fo.162v (VIII.24) of *ScotichroniconC* Parker, R¹³, adds the comment '*Vide Matthew Paris et Walterus Coventry 1175*', in red chalk, to the foot of the folio. The comment is placed below the first fifteen lines of this chapter, entitled '*De liberacione regis Willelmi de captivitate et bonis exemplis ad propositum faciendis*',¹⁶ and the inclusion of the date allows us to be certain that Parker's interest lay with the MS description of the freeing of King William and the terms of that release in the Treaty of Falaise. Or, to be more precise, Parker's comment was intended to remind himself of the views of the chroniclers Matthew Paris and Walter Coventry on this subject, and we know that Parker possessed a text of Paris' thirteenth-century *Chronica majora* in his extensive library at Corpus Christi Cambridge.¹⁷ Indeed, we gain a further insight into the concerns of Parker on fo.163r of *ScotichroniconC* for he included the date '*1175*', again in red chalk, in the right-margin. The date was placed beside the passage:

¹⁶ In translation: 'The freeing of King William from captivity, and some good examples which advance our argument'.

¹⁷ *DNB*, 722.

*In diversis autem cronicis repperi quod rex Willelmus pro sua liberacione loco obsidum tradidit regi Anglie iii^{or} precipua regni sui castra, Roxburgh videlicet Berwik, Castrum Puellarum et Striveline.*¹⁸

We gain a feel for Parker's methodology here, therefore, with the distinguished churchman providing a bookmark in bold lettering at the foot of fo.162v, thus reminding himself of the information on the next folio (easily locatable by his inclusion of '1175' in the margin), lest he skipped over this page in a future perusal of the MS. Parker was of course a noted bibliophile of his age and his final two additions to *Scotichronicon*C, his only Scottish MS, provide a fascinating glimpse into his views on the keeping of records and documents, and how chronicles should be properly compiled. On fo.353r (XVI.39) of the MS Parker has added a red bracket in the left-margin from '*reprehendatur aut*' (the first words of a line) down to '*diligenta*' (the first word of a line). Moreover, Parker also underscored the words '*Ideoque statutum est convenientur*', probably indicating that his interest in the passage began at this point. It is instructive to quote the (translated) passage in full, for one can imagine the relevance of these words to Parker and how he may have subsequently passed on this advice:

For that reason it has been suitably laid down in very many countries (including England, I have heard) that each monastery founded by kings should have its scribe or writer appointed from among the community, who should make a dated record of all noteworthy things during a king's reign which affect the kingdom and neighbourhood at any rate as seems to be the truth of the matter; and at the first [parliament or] general council after a king's death all the annalists should meet and produce openly their sworn statement or writings. The council should choose wise men who are skilled and expert in such matters to examine the writings, make a careful collation of

¹⁸ In translation: 'I have found it written in various chronicles that King William, to gain his freedom, handed over to the king of England in return for hostages the four principal castles of his realm, namely Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh and Stirling'.

them, [extract a summary of what had been brought together, and compile a chronicle].¹⁹

Furthermore, Parker's final instance of reader activity in *ScotichroniconC* is similarly illuminating. On fo.353v (XVI.39) Parker underscored '*Quinque Libros fo Fordona*', thus illustrating his awareness of Fordun's authorship of the first five books of *Scotichronicon*, an interesting fact in itself. Therefore, Parker would appear to have held a particular interest in not only the method of MS compilation but also in the chroniclers themselves, further evidenced by his earlier concern in Paris and Coventry. Parker's reader activity, therefore, provides further evidence that he was 'among the keenest readers of his own books'²⁰ and offers an illustration of his interest in the collection and comparison of chronicles.

R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconC*, *ScotichroniconR* and *ScotichroniconD*

R¹⁷, apparent in three MSS of *Scotichronicon*, has also featured prominently in the thematic chapters and his principal interest involved references to the administration of justice. In addition to the examples already noted, R¹⁷ displayed further interest in this theme in *ScotichroniconR* and *ScotichroniconD*. On fo.212v (XIII.17) of *ScotichroniconR* R¹⁷ directs a pointer from the left-margin towards a text-hand comment – '*sacerdotem*'. The relevant text at this point is '*Legimus enim quod in diocesi Pictavensi quidam miles sacerdotem interfecit, qui ab episcopo Johanne de Molendinis eius ordinario peciit instanter absolvi*' ['For we read that in the diocese of Poitiers a certain knight killed a priest, and then at once sought absolution from his ordinary, Bishop John de Melon']. An even clearer indication of this reader's interest is provided in the next chapter of the MS, fo.212v (XIII.18),

¹⁹ '*Ideoque statutum est convenientur in plerisque regionibus, et ut audiui in Anglia, quod unumquedque monasterium a regibus fundatum haberet de ipso laco suum certum scribam vel scriptorem, qui omnia notabilia tempore regis saltem in regno vel e vicinis contingencia secundum quod veritas facti se haberet cum data annotaret; et ad proximum generale consilium post obitum regis omnes cronographi convenirent, et sue veredicta sive scripta in medium producerent; et, electis a consilio sagacioribus et in talibus peritis et expertis, scripta examinarent et, diligenti [habita collacione, de congestis summarium extraherent et cronicam compingerent]*'.

²⁰ DNB, 723.

when **R**¹⁷ directs a pointer, from in between the columns of text, at the line '*Arfaxes vel Assuerus filius Ciri rex Persarum*'. Thus this reader continues noting themes of justice, for Assuerus was regarded as a righteous and committed judge. As the (translated) passage continues in *Scotichronicon***R**:

As Helinand writes, he was accustomed to go round his kingdom every year, and to enquire whether justice was being maintained on all sides. And when a single prejudiced judge was found, who sold justice and accepted gifts, the king himself in his judicial capacity had this unjust judge flayed.

Another example provides a further illustration of the methodology of this reader. On fo.183v (VIII.55) of *Scotichronicon***D** **R**¹⁷ uses a conical pointer in the left-margin to target the text-hand comment '*de falsis testibus*'. This marginal comment is directly beside the following passage:

*Corruptos siquidem duos scabinos pecunia et ad sepulcrum defuncti nocte ducens, illudque effodiens ac in manu illius sacculum pecunie quam viventi optulerat posuit, clausaque fossa in crastino vineam apprehendit*²¹

This does not appear to tie in very closely with the other examples of this hand that have been discussed. However, by citing the next passage in this chapter it is clear that this symbol is also concerned with questions of law and justice:

The dead man's widow objected, and came before the king [Philip of France], who appointed judges; but her case was rejected because of the testimony of officials. The woman did not accept this and assailed the king with bitter words of complaint. He called in each of the witnesses separately and examined each of them individually. He made the first of them whisper the 'Our Father' in his ear. The king

²¹ In translation: 'He bribed two town officials and took them by night to the dead man's tomb. He then dug up the tomb, placed in the corpse's hand the bag of money which he had offered to the man when he was alive, and closed up the hole. Next day he seized the vineyard'.

had him removed and placed under guard, and then spoke to the other official about telling the truth under pain of death, adding: “Your colleague has told me the truth [as surely] as the “Our Father” etc. is sacred.” The official then became frightened and revealed the whole sequence of events. The king restored the vineyard to the widow, had the officials beheaded and the provost buried alive.

R¹⁷’s principal interest in the MSS is therefore clear and it is tempting to speculate that his concern in the administration of justice derives from a perception that this was inadequate in his own era, or possibly from his involvement in some way with the legal profession. In this sense, R¹⁷’s distinctive conical pointers were intended to note, presumably for future reference, particular examples on this subject.

R¹⁹ in *Scotichronicon*B

R¹⁹ must be considered as one of the most prolific and eclectic readers in the MSS. The extent of R¹⁹’s activity in *Scotichronicon*B is only matched by R²³ in *CouparAngus*H, R²⁵ in *Pluscarden*A, R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B and R³⁴ in *Pluscarden*D. R¹⁹’s activity, consisting of numerous pointer symbols, underscoring, marginal comments and brackets, has been referred to in all the thematic chapters, with the one exception of chapter seven concerning the Declaration of Arbroath. As discussed, R¹⁹’s many interests stretched from MS references to the sons of Brutus and events in Pictish history to David II’s devotion to St Monan and the castles that David promised to destroy as a condition of his release in 1357. Furthermore, it has been shown that R¹⁹ was particularly interested in the Wars of Independence, with the description of Bannockburn especially drawing his attention.

R¹⁹’s interest in the *Scotichronicon* material was extensive. Like the readers R¹² in *Fordun*I, R²³ in *CouparAngus*H, R²⁶ in *Pluscarden*B and R³¹ in *Pluscarden*C, R¹⁹ demonstrated an interest in David I and Ailred of Rievaulx’s lamentation. On fo.98r (V.45) of *Scotichronicon*B a pointer in between the columns of text notes the line ‘*continencia, in tantis negociis tanta providencia*’, concerning David I illustrating ‘such great forethought in such important transactions’. R¹⁹’s next addition to *Scotichronicon*B continues this pattern by highlighting on fo.98v

(V.46) the following line from Ailred's lamentation: '*omnium saluti prospiciens; rector morum, censor*'. This relates to David I 'taking thought for the welfare of all; director of morals, judge of wickedness'.

However, despite R¹⁹'s many other concerns, a strong interest in ecclesiastical matters prevails in his reader activity. Among many references regarding religiosity, R¹⁹ shows interest in the founding of the Black Canons by St Augustine in 398 (fo.30r (II.65)), the importance in the mid-twelfth century of 'the great doctor Richard the Scot canon of St Victor' (fo.97r (V.42)), the foundation of the church of St Andrew by Malcolm IV, with Bishop Arnold, in 1161 (fo.118r (VI.35)), the election of William de Lothian as prior of St Andrews on 15 December 1340 (fo.125v (VI.51)), the nature of the Divine Word which was like 'a consonant at the Incarnation, a number in His Passion' (fo.150r (VII.47)) and how Richard bishop of Dunkeld built the new choir on the church of St Columba on Inchcolm in 1266 (fo.233v (X.20)). Therefore, given the range of topics that he is interested in, the evidence would appear to illustrate that R¹⁹ was an individual connected to the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews.

R¹⁹ also demonstrates clear concern in the papal history. He notes, for example, MS references to Clement VII (fo.123r (VI.45)), Martin V (fos.229r-229v (X.12)), Eugenius IV (fo.229v (X.13)) and John XXII (fo.230r (X.13)). In fact, R¹⁹ uses six pointer signs on fos.229r-229v to signal interest in features of Martin V's papacy, such as his granting of indulgences, with two hundred days being granted for attendance at matins and the same number for attendance at mass (fo.229v (X.12)).

Therefore, while it is recognised that R¹⁹ does exhibit interest in many themes (such as Scottish origins, St Margaret and the Wars of Independence), one senses that his principal focus centred on Bower's account of ecclesiastical history in *Scotichronicon*B, with a particular interest in the history of the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews. Indeed, R¹⁹'s last addition to the MS, in the left-margin of fo.400v, seems to highlight this aptly with the symbol targeting the Index entry for bk.VI c.24 '*Episcopis Sanctiandree*'.

R²³ in CouparAngusH

The extensive interest of R²³ in many aspects of the Wars of Independence has been commented upon. This reader demonstrated clear concern in events such as the battle of Dunbar (fos.148v-149r (VIII.7)); the appointment of Wallace, his defeat at Falkirk, his resignation of the guardianship and his capture in 1305 (fos.150v-157r (VIII.9-15)); the capture of southern strongholds by Bruce supporters 1310-14 (fos.160r-161r (IX.4-5)); the role of William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld in 1317 (fos.164v-165r (IX.9)); the Treaty of Edinburgh/Northampton (fo.169r (IX.11)); the death and burial of Robert the Bruce (fos.169r-169v (IX.12)); the sieges at Berwick, Loch Leven and Perth in the 1330s (fos.173r-177r (IX.15-17)); and the negotiations concerning the release of David II from English custody (fos.181r-182r (X.3-4)).

Furthermore, R²³ displays significant interest in references to Thomas Becket, William the Lion and the reigns of Robert II, Robert III and James I. R²³ used ten pointer symbols, between fos.115v-118r, to register concern in the relationship between Becket and Henry II, between the church and crown generally, and in Becket's death and subsequent canonisation. On fo.115r (VI.3), for example, a red pointer in the left-margin draws attention to the line '*Ecce sancte pater sacrilege consuetudines regis Anglie canonibus*', referring to Becket's speech, in 1164 at Sens, on the relationship between the laws of Henry II and the decrees of the church. Moreover, Becket's murder in 1170 is noted on fo.117r (VI.8) and the visit of Henry II to Becket's tomb in July 1174 is also highlighted on fo.118r (VI.9): 'Henry the senior king of England came to England in a contrite spirit and stricken with heartfelt grief...as soon as he could after his arrival in his kingdom he visited the tomb of St Thomas at Canterbury, doing penance for his sins...'. R²³'s evident interest in St Thomas could reflect the continuing influence of this saint in the late-medieval period or even a contemporary knowledge of the destruction of Thomas' tomb in 1539.

R²³'s concern in the Quitclaim of Canterbury (1189) was discussed in chapter five. His interest in William the Lion extended much further than this however. R²³ added pointer signs to *CouparAngusH* to highlight the following themes of

William's reign: the cordial relationship that existed between William and Richard I (fo.121r (VI.13)); William's illness in 1195 at Clackmannan and the fealty sworn to his daughter Margaret (fo.121v (VI.14)); the meeting between William and King John at Lincoln in 1200 and the homage offered by William for his lands in England (fo.122r (VI.15)); the possibility of conflict between William and John in 1209 (fo.123v (VI.17)); the subsequent negotiations between the two kings (fo.124r (VI.18)); the flood that affected Perth in September 1209 and the departure, by boat, of William, Alexander and earl David of Huntingdon (fo.125r (VI.20)); William's attempts to pacify Ross in 1211 and his conflict with Guthred MacWilliam (fo.125v (VI.20)); William's awareness of his impending death and his attempts to secure a legacy of peace and justice for all his subjects (fo.126r (VI.21)); and the burial arrangements of William the Lion (fo.127r (VII.1)). This clearly represents substantial interest in William the Lion and, in a similar manner to his approach with Thomas Becket, **R**²³ seems to provide, through his reader activity, a snapshot of some of the pivotal aspects of this reign. Indeed, it is striking that this reader has concentrated so heavily on St Thomas and William, possibly reflecting **R**²³'s awareness of William's devotion to Becket, epitomised by his foundation of Arbroath Abbey in his honour on 9 August 1178.²²

A further theme of concern to **R**²³ involves the reigns of Robert II, Robert III and James I, and he uses several black pointer symbols, not accompanied by paragraph breaks, to highlight various events in these reigns. The birth of David duke of Rothesay, son of Robert III, in October 1378 is highlighted on fo.182v (X.5) and on the following folio **R**²³ also draws attention to the Scottish victory at Otterburn in August 1388. In addition, **R**²³ notes the safekeeping in 1404 by Henry Wardlaw of James earl of Carrick (son of Robert III) on fo.184r (X.6), the death of Robert III and guardianship of Robert duke of Albany on fo.185r (X.8), the battle of Harlaw in July 1411 on fo.185v (X.8), the birth of twins –Alexander and James – to James I in 1430, the parliament held at Perth in September 1431 and James I's

²² K. Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in Context 1178-1320', in G.W.S. Barrow (ed), *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting* (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 116-141, at 116-123.

pardoning of the earls of Douglas and Ross on fo.186v (X.9), and the custodianship of Dunbar Castle in 1433 on behalf of James I on fo.187r (X.9). R²³ was evidently very interested in the MS description of the early Stewart kings. As will be discussed, this subject was also of concern to several prominent readers of the *Pluscarden* corpus.

R²³'s interest in bks. VI-X of *CouparAngusH*, based upon the Perth MS, was considerable. Although his system of using red, brown and black pointer symbols (with the former often accompanied by paragraph breaks) remains idiosyncratic and puzzling, his concern in specific themes in the MS are quite clear. The evidence left by R²³ shows him to be a most careful late-medieval reader of the material and an exceptionally keen student of the narrative of the Wars of Independence.

R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*

With the exception of the material on the Declaration of Arbroath, R²⁵ has played a prominent role in all of the thematic chapters. R²⁵'s activity, principally the addition of comments and underscoring, permeates throughout *PluscardenA* and he must have spent a considerable amount of time reading and noting references in the MS. In short, R²⁵'s interest in the narrative of the Scottish nation, as recorded in *PluscardenA*, was comprehensive and demonstrative of an individual attempting to learn or revise a complete subject area. Indeed, it is possible, as highlighted earlier, that R²⁵ was a monk at Newbattle Abbey (seemingly in possession of *PluscardenA* after 1543) and this would obviously facilitate the many sittings that R²⁵ required to finish his reading of the MS.

In addition to the many references to R²⁵ in chapters three to seven, his interests in *PluscardenA* ranged from adding a comment on Carausius, a Roman naval commander of the third century, in the left-margin of fo.29r (II.39) ('*Carausius rex Bestanie unde Britanniam accepit*') to including comments concerning Macduff earl of Fife on fos.77v-79v (V.1-5) ('*Makduf Thannis de Fife ad Malcolmum regem ut pro susceperetur in Angliam*', '*Responso regis ad Makduf de Fife*', '*Dupplira regis Malcolmi as Makduf Fife*', '*Alia responsa ad Makduf*', '*Alia*

responso Makduf Fife and *'regem Malcolmum'*) to highlighting the battle of Agincourt on fo.236v (X.23) (*'Bellum Agincourt inter Francorum et Anglorum'*).

The extent of R²⁵'s reader activity can be illustrated further through focusing on two themes: the MS references to William the Conqueror and the history of James I. On fo.85r (V.16) R²⁵ notes Williams's incursion into Scotland and his war with his son Robert by including in the right-margin the comments *'Willelmus Bastard intravit Scociam rex Malcolmus sic homo pro quas de eo terris in Anglia'* and *'Guerra inter regem Willelmus Bastard et Robertus eius filium'*. Furthermore, on the same folio R²⁵ also underscored the following text:

*Mariam comitissam...ita quod in regno suo domus sine casa
ferme nequoquam extiterat, que virilis sexus aut feminei
captivos...Northumbriam ultra flumen de These
vestavit...Northumbrie...Waltherio Dunelmensi...apud
Gatishede...Malcolmus...Willelmi
Bastard...Northumbrorum...ut quidam humanam carnem et
multi carnibus equinis vescuntur...Malcolmus, in loco qui
dicitur Abernethy homo suus devenit...de Scocia...Sancto
Cuthberto...Hildebrandus...Dunelmo...Robertus
Curthose...rex Malcolmus...ad Tyne*

R²⁵ also applied a bracket in the left-margin of fo.85r beside the (underscored) passage from *'ita quod'* to *'captivos'*. R²⁵ continued his interest in the years of the Conqueror by adding the comments *'Novum Castrum condidit pro Robertus filium regis Willelmum Bastardi'* in the left-margin of fo.85v (V.17) and *'Willelmus Ruffus filius Willi Bastardo successis in Anglie'* in the right-margin of fo.86r (V.19).

R²⁵'s interest in the reign of James I, and particularly the role of the Albany Stewarts, was equally comprehensive. On fo.235r (X.21) two comments in the right-margin draw attention to the death of Robert III (*'Mors Roberti terci regis Scotorum'*) and James I's removal to France by Henry IV of England (*'Jacobus primus rex Scotorum ductus pro Henricum Anglie regni in Franciam in bello'*). Moreover, R²⁵ recognises the guardianship of Robert duke of Albany on fo.235v

(X.21) with the comment in the left-margin '*Dux Albanie Robertus Stewart gubernatur Scocie eligitur*'. R²⁵ continues by adding the comment '*Moritur dux Albanie Stewart gubernator regni Scocie*' in the right-margin of fo.245r (XI.1) and underscoring on the same folio '*et matrimonio cum nepte regis Anglie, filia comitis de Somerseth, nunc ducis ejusdem, contracto de manibus inimicorum liberaverunt, et in regno reduxerunt*' and '*vicesimo primo die Maii, anno MCCCCXXIII. Murdacus vero*'. A bracket has also been positioned beside the following text:

Coronati vero erant ambo per episcopum Sancti Andree, vicesimo primo die Maii, anno MCCCCXXIII. Murdacus vero Stewart, ex speciali privilegio sibi ut duci Albanie et comiti de Fiffe

R²⁵ further signposts his interest in this material by adding a lengthy comment, to the right of the bracket, on fo.235v (X.21): '*Coronata regis Jacobi primi Scotis et matrimoniam contractum cum filia ducis de Somerseth nepte regis Anglie et Murdacus Stewart ex speciali privilegio sibi ut Duci Albanie concessa eundem regem in sede regali collocavit*'. Further interest in Murdoch is demonstrated on fo.245v (XI.2) with R²⁵ underscoring the words '*est Walterus Stewart filius primogenitus Murdaci Stewart ducis Albanie*'.

R²⁵ was therefore an exceptionally comprehensive reader of the Pluscarden material. His interest in the MS, from Scottish origins to James I, was vast in its scope and his knowledge of the narrative of the Scottish nation was clearly as complete as any of the late-medieval readers encountered.

R²⁶ in PluscardenB

R²⁶'s additions are prevalent throughout *PluscardenB* and he evidently gained access to the MS on numerous occasions. His reader activity has been referred to throughout this thesis and he was clearly interested in topics ranging from early Scottish origins to the personal rule of David II. As we have seen, R²⁶ also demonstrated interest in the siege tactics adopted in the 1330s. In addition to the other examples discussed, R²⁶ also adds a pointer to the right-margin of fo.190r

(IX.28) of *PluscardenB*, thus drawing attention to the line '*hac nocte lacaverunt. Quo audito, rex*'. In context:

*Qui vero, eorum consultacionibus adquiescentes, in quodam parca de Donamis se hac nocte lacaverunt. Quo audito, rex Anglie, ante diem prefixum dicti contractus deliberacionis ac reddicionis ville veniens ante portas, predictam villam peciit sibi deliberari*²³

Indeed, in addition to this, the extent of R²⁶'s concern in the narrative of *PluscardenB* can be gauged from his interest in the lament for David I, the reign of William the Lion and the reigns of the early Stewarts. Coupled to drawing attention to David's heritage as a son of Malcolm and Margaret on fos.77v (V.16) and 85r (V.33), R²⁶ employs four pointer signs to specifically target Ailred's lament for David I and his achievements.²⁴ For example, on fo.87r (V.38) of *PluscardenB*, a pointer in between the columns of text highlights the line '*cessum xii reliquit. Monasteria quoque*' concerning the following passage:

at his death he left 12 bishoprics. He also established and left monasteries of different orders – the Cluniac, Tyronensian, the Aravenian, the Belvacian – namely, those of Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Holmcultrane, Dundrennan...

Evidently the significance of David I's monastic foundations did not pass the attention of this late-medieval reader. Moreover, R²⁶ displayed discernible interest in David I's grandson, William, and chapter five detailed the four pointer symbols used to highlight aspects of the Quitclaim of Canterbury. R²⁶ also noted, however, the oath of fealty that the Scottish magnates swore to William's daughter Margaret as the heir to the crown (fo.110v (VI.35)), the oath sworn by the Scottish magnates

²³ In translation: 'The besieged, however, being in doubt, secretly sent messengers to them from Berwick and urged them to fight the English forces, deeming them to be the stronger force. So, yielding to their advice, they unfortunately altered their mind and halted that night in a certain park of Donamis. But the king of England, hearing of this, came up to the gates before the day appointed...'

²⁴ The symbols are apparent on fos.86v (V.36), 87r (V.38), 87v (V.39) and 100r (VI.17).

to William's son Alexander in 1201 (fo.112r (VI.38)) and the conditions of the subsequent agreement between William and King John of England (fo.113r (VI.41)).

R²⁶ also demonstrated a great deal of interest in book X of *PluscardenB*. Like other prominent readers of the MSS, **R**²⁶ highlighted aspects of the reigns of Robert II and Robert III. On fo.210r (X.10) a pointer in the left-margin notes the first line of the chapter '*Anno domini MCCCLXXXIX, quia rex Robertus secundus*', concerning Robert II making his second son, Robert earl of Fife, the governor of the kingdom in 1389 (replacing John earl of Carrick who had been injured by a kick from a horse). Robert II's death in 1390 was highlighted by **R**²⁶ on fo.210r (X.10) and he also draws attention on fo.210v (X.11) to the 'struggle among the savage Scots' that erupted in the year after the king's death. Moreover, on fo.211r (X.11) a pointer in between the columns of text draws attention to the line '*Perth. Anno domini MCCCXCVIII rex*', noting the creation by Robert III in 1398 of his eldest son David earl of Carrick as duke of Rothesay and Robert earl of Fife as duke of Albany.

In a similar fashion to **R**²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, therefore, **R**²⁶ in *PluscardenB* demonstrated a comprehensive interest in the complete narrative of the Scottish nation.

R³⁰ in *PluscardenB*

R³⁰ was also a very prominent reader of *PluscardenB*, signifying interest in many aspects of the Wars of Independence. In addition to the themes discussed in chapter five, **R**³⁰ demonstrated significant interest in John Balliol and the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV of England, and James I of Scotland.

R³⁰ displays a marked interest in King John's fall from grace. On fo.147r (VIII.18) **R**³⁰ added a pointer to the left-margin to target the initial 'E' of this chapter. In context: '*Eodem vero anno, Paulo ante, interfectus fuit comes de Fife, nomine Makduf; cujus fratrem interfectores comitis privari nitentes heredibus fraternis de Kilconquhar, coram rege Scocie in parlamento suo hac de causa citari fecerunt, et in causam traxerunt*'. In this way, therefore, **R**³⁰ draws attention

to the infamous Macduff case which would involve legal appeals to Edward I's court and thus fully expose King John's subordinate status and kingship. Even more revealing, however, are R³⁰'s next two additions to the margins of *PluscardenB*. On fo.147r (VIII.18), in between the columns of text, R³⁰ directs a pointer symbol to the line '*Tandem ibidem in parleamento statutum fuit*'. R³⁰ thus offers clear evidence of his interest in John's renunciation of homage to Edward I and this is apparent when the line is viewed in context: '*Tandem ibidem in parleamento statutum fuit quod idem rex Johannes homagium et fidelitatem per eundem regi Angliae praestita et promissa penitus revocaret, et tanquam per vim et metum ab eo extorta deinceps facere recusaret*'.²⁵ R³⁰'s final addition pertaining to King John is on fo.150v (VIII.24) when a pointer in the left-margin is directed either at a marginal comment (by R³⁰), '*Resignatio de Johannes de Balliol*', or at an underscored line in the main text: '*reddimus voluntarie, et gratuite resignamus*'. It is helpful to view the line in context, detailing King John's resignation speech in 1296:

*Nos igitur, dampna praemissa ad votum redimere cupientes, mere nostro libero arbitrio ac libera et plenaria potestate praedicto domino reddimus voluntarie, et gratuite resignamus, totam terram Scociae praedictam, cum omnibus et singulis gentibus, incolis ac inhabitantibus, una cum homagiis et ligenciis universe.*²⁶

R³⁰ also notes the overthrow of Richard II of England. In the left-margin of fo.213r (X.14) of *PluscardenB* R³⁰ directs a pointer at the (underscored) line '*et sic per hunc modum rex Richardus*', concerning how 'in this manner was King Richard

²⁵ In translation: 'At length it was settled there in parliament that king John should altogether recall the homage tendered and fealty promised by him to the king of England, and should thenceforth refuse to perform them, as having been extorted from him by force and intimidation'.

²⁶ In translation: 'Our forces and power being of no avail whatever to withstand this; we therefore, longing to repair this mischief to his satisfaction, voluntarily restore and gratuitously resign to Our said lord, purely of our own free will and with free and full control, the whole aforesaid land of Scotland, and all and sundry its folk, people and inhabitants, together with the homage and allegiance of the whole'.

bereft and divested of his kingdom, and straightway thrust into perpetual imprisonment, and about to be despatched'. R³⁰ follows this with a pointer at the foot of fo.213r (X.14), targeting '*Accidit autem in tempore istius Henrici quarti quod*'. This relates to a prophecy by the White Hermit on Henry IV where 'he saw the king's throne alight with the flames of hell and with demons at the ready'.

Like several other readers, R³⁰ also notes a reference to James I's capture and removal to France. On fo.216v (X.21), in between the columns of text, a pointer is aimed at '*honorice sepulitur. Et notandum est quod rex Jacobus, primus [hujus nominis, ductus fuit in Francia per Henricum Anglie regem...]*'. R³⁰ has also supplied a bracket around '*Et notandum*' and his interest in this is further demonstrated by a comment at the foot of the folio '*Nota qualiter rex Jacobus primus ductus fuit in Francia per Henricus rex Anglie*'.

R³⁰ evidently possessed a keen interest in the later stages of the narrative of the Scottish nation, if not in the early Scottish origin material. The significance of his concern in the text of the Declaration of Arbroath was indicated in chapter seven and, as we have seen, one should also stress that this late-medieval reader was interested in the (negative) portrayal of King John Balliol in *PluscardenB*. R³⁰, unlike most of the other readers, did not gloss over his MS's account of John's turbulent reign.

R³¹ in *PluscardenC*

As discussed in chapter three, William Gaderar's primary interest in *PluscardenC* concerned the MS's account of the early history of Moray. Gaderar, in possession of *PluscardenC* from 1543, also noted David I's monastic foundations on fo.96v (V.37) and, as chapter five illustrated, the death of David earl of Huntingdon on fo.135v (VII.5). Furthermore, Gaderar demonstrated other interest in themes of the MS. On fo.74v (IV.39) Gaderar includes a comment in the left-margin that appears to be '*Nota de Athanus de Dull*'. This concerns the marriage of Bethoc, daughter of Malcolm II, to Crinan abthane of Dull. Is Gaderar's interest in the territory of the 'Appin of Dull', the term that Fordun adapted for his reference, or perhaps royal genealogy is his primary interest here for 'this Abthane begat, of his wife, a son,

named Duncan; who afterwards, on his grandfather's death, succeeded him on the throne'.²⁷ Gaderar clearly read the narrative of Malcolm II's reign carefully for on fo.75v (IV.43) he added, in lilac ink, a comment, pointer symbol and underscoring to draw attention to a specific passage. The following text is underscored on fo.75v (with the pointer directed at it from the left-margin): '*In consulte satis fuit illa donatio, quam necessaria sequitur donarum repetitia*' ['It is certainly un-advised to give away, when one must, of necessity, ask back the gift afterwards']. This relates to Malcolm II bestowing his property and possessions too generously to others, resulting in him being left with nothing but the 'Moothill of the royal seat of Scone'. Did Gaderar have a contemporary example in mind here, either royal (and his activity dates to the reign of Mary queen of Scots) or personal, as an Elgin merchant?

Gaderar also draws attention to a citation of Malcolm III, Duncan's son, by applying a (now faded) comment to the left-margin of fo.79v (V.7). The comment is beside the line '*et silvarum abditis tutius sperabat se tueri. Insperate tamen festino gressu, Malcolmus*', concerning Malcolm Canmore's pursuit and subsequent killing of Macbeth in 1057.

Gaderar's last additions to *PluscardenC* are equally revealing.²⁸ On fo.267r (X.10) Gaderar included underscoring, a pointer symbol and a comment (possibly '*Nota consensit de Roberti*') to signify interest in Robert II consenting in 1389 to his second son Robert becoming governor of the kingdom in place of his eldest son John. The following lines, with the context in parenthesis, are underscored by Gaderar:

[Anno Domini MCCCLXXXIX, quia rex Robertus secundus etate grandevus erat, consensit quod secundus] filius ejus, Robertus comes de Fife, gubernator regni esset. Nam Johannes comes de Carrik, ejus

²⁷ Chron., Fordun, vol.II, 174.

²⁸ It is possible that a faded bracket in the right-margin of fo.268r (X.11) belongs to Gaderar; the ink could be lilac although one cannot be definitive on this. The bracket is positioned around a marginal comment (not by Gaderar) referring to the war that broke out among the Scots following the coronation of Robert III in 1390.

*filius primogenitus, ex percussione equi Jacobi de Douglas graviter
 leesus fuit in [tibia quod quasi impotens erat ad labores cotidianos in
 regimine regni].*²⁹

It is noteworthy that another prominent late-medieval reader, **R**²⁶ in *PluscardenB*, also signified interest in this exact passage. It seems possible to argue that this historical precedent of replacing one guardian with another resonated with some late-medieval readers because it had direct relevance to their own eras. This could be especially pertinent to Gaderar's reader activity, for his initial reading of *PluscardenC* took place during the minority of Mary queen of Scots, in which guardians maintained the realm in the name of the absent queen.

Although Gaderar was not as prolific in his activity as some of the other prominent readers of the MSS, the importance of his additions lies, in the same way as Matthew Parker, in the fact that they can be definitively ascribed to him and dated with certainty. Through Gaderar, therefore, we learn of the nature of an Elgin merchant's interaction with a MS and his evidence reveals that while he undoubtedly held an interest in the history of Scottish kingship, his primary concern rested in his homeland of Moray.

R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*

R³⁴ has also proved to be a dominant reader in the MSS. **R**³⁴, responsible for the addition of large pointer symbols and smaller, occasionally curved tail, ones in *PluscardenD*, demonstrated an interest in Scottish origins, St Margaret, the Wars of Independence, the Declaration of Arbroath and the reputation of David II. Moreover, as referred to in chapter five, this reader also showed concern in the siege tactics adopted in the Wars of Independence. He provides further evidence of this by highlighting, using a symbol, the line '*obsidionem poruerunt: ubi Robertus Steward, filius regis*' on fo.174r (X.7). This correlates to the siege of Roxburgh

²⁹ In translation: 'In the year 1389 King Robert II, being of great age, consented that his second son, Robert earl of Fife, should be governor of the kingdom. For John earl of Carrick, his eldest son, had been seriously injured on the leg by a kick from the horse of James Douglas, so that he was to speak unequal to the daily task of governing the kingdom'.

Castle in 1385, which was conducted by Robert Stewart (the future duke of Albany), son of Robert II. In addition, another pointer on fo.179v (X.10) is used to highlight how Gledstones, the commander of Cocklaw Castle in 1402, promised by a covenant that he would ‘failing succours, surrender the castle to them [Sir Henry Percy’s force] within a certain time’.

R³⁴ also drew attention to two references to Queen Matilda of England, wife of Henry I (1100-1135) and daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret. A small pointer on fo.72v (V.29) notes the death of Matilda in 1118 by targeting the marginal comment ‘*De morte Matildis bone regine*’. Next, on the same folio, another pointer is aimed at the comment ‘*De epitaphio Matildis bone regine Anglie*’. Furthermore, in a similar manner to R²³ in *CouparAngusH*, R³⁴ notes events concerning William the Lion. For instance, a small pointer at the top of fo.86v (VI.20) is directed at the comment ‘*Willelmus frater Malcolmi custos Scocie proclamatus est*’, involving William becoming guardian of the whole kingdom at the expense of Malcolm IV. Then a curved tail pointer symbol in the left-margin of fo.94v (VI.38) draws attention to the oath of fealty sworn by the Scottish magnates to William’s son Alexander in 1201 at Musselburgh, a subject that also interested R²⁶ in *PluscardenB*.

R³⁴, like R²³ in *CouparAngusH*, R²⁵ in *PluscardenA*, R²⁶ in *PluscardenB* and Gaderar in *PluscardenC*, also draws attention to events in the reigns of Robert II and III. On fo.175v (X.10) a large pointer at the foot of the folio notes the line ‘*suo reperiēbat flamma et ferro consumpsit*’, concerning the attempt by Robert earl of Fife, and governor of Scotland, to entice the English into conflict in 1389, before returning to Scotland and ‘destroying with fire and sword’ everything that stood in his path. In addition, the unrest that occurred following the coronation of Robert III is highlighted by R³⁴ on fo.176r (X.11) and the death of Robert III and capture of James is targeted by this reader on fo.180r (X.21), with a symbol noting the last two lines of the folio: ‘*sequitur de morte regis Roberti tercii, et de capcione primogeniti sui regis Jacobi primi. CXXI*’.

However, coupled to these interests, R³⁴ consistently demonstrates concern in French affairs throughout *PluscardenD*. For instance, on fo.168v (IX.43) R³⁴

directs a pointer, from the foot of the folio, at the line '*tempestatis taliter circumplexi sunt et congelati, quod paucis*', thus illustrating his concern with the battle of Poitiers in 1356, between English and French forces, and how a large section of the English army died as a result of the freezing weather and poor military leadership. Similarly, on fo.169v (IX.45) R³⁴ includes a symbol in the left-margin to draw attention to '*tres milliones auri, ut quidam ferunt. Per medium*'. R³⁴'s interest therefore seems to lie in the terms of a 1360 treaty between John II of France and Edward III of England, whereby John agreed to pay a sum of gold and surrender his rights to Gascony, whilst Edward and his heirs would resign their rights to the French kingdom. R³⁴ also signals interest in a Franco-Scottish treaty of 1381. On fo.172v (X.3) of *Pluscarden* a symbol, in the left-margin, highlights the passage '*omnibus viribus suis ad movendum guerram dicto regi Angliae heredibusque suis et successoribus in regno Angliae*'. The chapter involves the terms of a 1381 treaty between Charles V of France and Robert II of Scotland. R³⁴ appears to note the Scottish support that would be forthcoming if France and England embarked upon conflict, with the king of Scotland or his heirs bound 'to wage war with their whole forces upon the said king of England and his heirs and successors on the throne of England'. Among the many French MS references that R³⁴ highlights are the following: the death of the duke of Orleans, killed by the duke of Burgundy in 1407, on fo.180v (X.22); the battle of Agincourt on fo.181r (X.23); the duke of Albany, Scotland's governor, sending the earl of Buchan to France (in 1420) to aid Charles VII's war effort against Henry V on fo.182r (X.25); the duke of Burgundy sending messengers to the towns of Bourges, Angers, Tours and Lyon to counsel that they should submit themselves to him to avoid capitulation to the English on fo.184v (X.30); and the sturdy defence by the population of Orleans against the English on fo.184r (X.31).

On the extant evidence, therefore, it would appear that R³⁴ was a reader with an unusually voracious appetite in French history, suggesting personal experience or knowledge of France that is lacking in the other late-medieval readers. While R³⁴ does illustrate concern in numerous themes in the MS, it is issues of a French nature that appear to have interested him the most.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The analysis of readers' interests in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives has revealed some striking results. It is perhaps noteworthy that five of the most prominent readers of the MSS come from the *Pluscarden* corpus and no reader of the Fordun MSS can be considered as prolific in their approach. Does this provide evidence that the mid-fifteenth century *Pluscarden*, generally considered as the most polished and coherent narrative, was easier for some readers to comprehend and follow? Moreover, it is clear that a strong spirit of patriotism pervaded many of these reader responses, whether they were merely fleeting observations on the part of the individual (such as R²⁴ in *CouparAngusF*) or more concentrated activity on behalf of the reader (like R²³ in *CouparAngusH* or R²⁶ in *PluscardenB*). However, the late-medieval reader activity also illustrates that to some readers at least (like R⁹ in *FordunG*, R²¹ in *CouparAngusC* and R³¹ (Gaderar) in *PluscardenC*), references to their local history or a subject of personal interest, were their prime focus in the reading of the MS. In fact, when viewing the late-medieval reader activity collectively, just as Bower in bk.XVI of *Scotichronicon* contrasts the administration of James I with the lawlessness in the 1440s during the minority of James II, so it appears that the primary interests of many of these readers reflected their own contemporary experiences. This hypothesis could certainly apply to R¹⁷ in *ScotichroniconC*, *ScotichroniconR* and *ScotichroniconD*, and R³⁴ in *PluscardenD*.

The late-medieval reader activity in the MSS has also posed some interesting questions. Throughout the analysis it has been commented upon when there is either a surprising lack of interest or unexpected concern in a subject. In addition to the themes already noted, it does seem surprising that so little interest existed in the *Scotichronicon* and *Pluscarden* MSS in the regicide of James I in 1437 and Bower's lengthy reflections on the reign's achievements (and lessons). Only one

reader, **R**¹⁵ in *ScotichroniconC*, signalled interest in Bower's lament on James I. On fo.350r (XVI.32) of *ScotichroniconC* a pointer in the left-margin by **R**¹⁵ is directed at the initial 'J' in the opening line '*Jacobus dei gracia rex Scotorum venerabilibus [in Christo et prioribus ordinum et regularum Sanctorum Benedicti et Augustini salutem...]*'.¹ To the vast majority of the late-medieval readers of the MSS, however, offering their response ca 1450 – 1550, this was not a topic that significantly drew their attention. In fact, they indicate greater interest in the influence of the Albany Stewarts than the kingship of James I. Similarly, while we have highlighted a clear interest in David I among some of the prominent readers (like **R**¹⁹, **R**²⁶ and **R**³¹) and **R**¹² in *FordunI*, one would perhaps have expected to find more interest among the other late-medieval readers in this significant twelfth-century king.

Furthermore, one cannot be definitive about some elements of the reader activity. For example, it is not possible to say with certainty why William Gaderar was interested in aspects of Malcolm II's reign, or why **R**³⁴ was so fascinated in French affairs in *PluscardenD* or, indeed, why **R**¹⁷ was absorbed by MSS descriptions of the judicial process. However, this rather misses the point. The key conclusion in the analysis of readers' interests is that one can now argue definitively that certain events in the narrative of the Scottish nation continued to be of clear interest to readers' ca 1450 – 1550. This is clear with regard to the material on Scottish origins up to Cinead mac Ailpin, in which eighteen readers demonstrated interest in the MSS. This included the prolific readers **R**¹⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**²⁵, **R**²⁶, **R**³¹ and **R**³⁴. In fact, even some very sparse readers of the MSS (such as **R**⁴, **R**⁸ and **R**¹⁰) show concern in this material. However, it is noteworthy that Matthew Parker (**R**¹³) did not signify any interest in Scottish origins, no doubt explained by his status as an English reader of *ScotichroniconC*. Moreover, while **R**²³, the prolific reader in *CouparAngusH*, obviously did not have access to this text in bks.VI-X of his MS, the ever-present **R**²⁶ in *PluscardenB*, responsible for the addition of over one hundred pointer signs to the MS, offered only one example of

¹ In translation: 'James by the grace of God king of Scots greets the venerable fathers in Christ the abbots and priors of the orders and rules of St Benedict and St Augustine...'.

interest (in Fergus son of Ferchar). Similarly, R³⁰ in *PluscardenB* did not draw attention to any text on Scottish origins.

Despite the popularity of much of the Scottish origin material, it is curious that so few readers registered specific interest in the narrative of Gaythelos and Scota (only R⁸, R¹⁵, R²⁵ and R³⁴), especially compared to the concern shown in aspects of Pictish history. Thirteen late-medieval readers display interest in the Picts (R², R⁴, R⁵, R⁶, R⁷, R¹¹, R¹⁷, R¹⁸, R¹⁹, R²⁵, R²⁸, R³¹ and R³⁴), although admittedly R⁴'s interest in *FordunD* concerned Cinead mac Ailpin's final victory over the Picts (p.151 (IV.3)) and William Gaderar (R³¹) was more accurately interested in the Moravians' relationship with the Picts. Nevertheless, while the evidence does illustrate that the individuals were reading this material as Scots (with their emphasis on aspects of Scoto-Pictish, rather than solely Pictish, history), the reader activity fundamentally demonstrates that a significant body of readers were not just skipping over this material in their MS.

Another relatively popular topic for the late-medieval readers proved to be St Margaret. Seven readers showed concern in this subject – R⁵, R¹⁵, R¹⁹, R²¹, R²⁵, R²⁶ and R³⁴. Although four prolific readers are involved (R¹⁹, R²⁵, R²⁶ and R³⁴), with three once more coming from the *Pluscarden* corpus, five prolific readers show no concern in this significant Scottish saint. It has been illustrated that R³⁰ in *PluscardenB* did not display as much interest in the early narrative of the Scottish nation (his first addition to the MS is on fo.110r) and R²³, of course, did not have access to this material in *CouparAngusH*. For the three other prolific readers, however, it could simply be that St Margaret was not their primary focus in the MS: for Parker (R¹³) this was general ecclesiastical matters and the collection and keeping of MSS; for R¹⁷ this concerned aspects of the judicial process; and for William Gaderar (R³¹) this was undoubtedly the history of Moray. Whilst the MS evidence does show a largely patriotic, rather than spiritual, concern in Margaret among the seven interested readers, it is curious that so few of the fleeting readers of the MSS drew attention to elements of her life.

We have also seen a great deal of interest in the period 1286-1341, with eighteen readers drawing attention to events in these years. As discussed, the

history and legacy of Alexander III was noted by five readers (**R**⁵, **R**²¹, **R**²³, **R**²⁵ and **R**²⁶) with two displaying clear recognition of Alexander's 'golden age', but six of the prolific readers were not interested in this material in their MS (**R**¹³, **R**¹⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**³⁰, **R**³¹ and **R**³⁴). Moreover, several readers demonstrated an interest in the Great Cause but, although the majority of them took a pro-Bruce line, it should be noted that **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* and **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB* did highlight passages favourable to Bruce and Balliol. Indeed, while much of the reader activity pertaining to the years 1286-1341 focused unsurprisingly on positive accounts of the Bruce family, some readers were evidently prepared to recognise less admirable traits. This was certainly the case with the negative depiction of Robert Bruce's father, targeted by **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB* (fo.256v (XI.25)) and **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH* (fo.149r (VIII.7)).

William Wallace also proved an attractive subject to eight readers of the MSS (**R**⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**²³, **R**²⁴, **R**²⁵, **R**²⁶, **R**³² and **R**³³). However, considering the extent of **R**³⁴'s additions in *PluscardenD*, it is peculiar that he was not interested in Wallace. Moreover, given that we know the impact of Blind Hary's Wallace, it is surprising that Gaderar (**R**³¹), reading *PluscardenC* in or after 1543, did not note Wallace's legendary exploits. One should further add that while Matthew Parker in *ScotichroniconC* noted the death of Robert Bruce on fo.276v (XIII.14), he displayed no similar interest in Wallace.

The MS evidence also revealed that although Bannockburn was a popular topic for some readers, especially **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*, it was ignored by the bulk of them. Only seven readers drew attention to this battle in their MS (**R**⁷, **R**⁹, **R**¹⁹, **R**²⁴, **R**³⁰, **R**³² and **R**³³), with such notable readers as **R**²³, **R**²⁵, **R**²⁶, **R**³¹ (Gaderar) and **R**³⁴ showing no concern in this conflict at all. This is a surprisingly low tally when one considers that the English attempt to invade Fife in 1317, and the heroic defence by William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, was highlighted by three readers (**R**¹⁷, **R**¹⁹ and **R**²³). Therefore, as suggested in chapter five, perhaps William Sinclair's actions in the Wars were lauded (by some) in the late-medieval period in a similar manner to Lamberton's and Wishart's.

The Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton also drew the attention of six readers of the MSS (**R**¹², **R**¹³ (Parker), **R**¹⁶, **R**²³, **R**²⁵ and **R**³⁰), while wider issues concerning Anglo-Scottish homage interested **R**⁷, **R**¹², **R**²³, **R**²⁵ and **R**³⁴. The nature of Anglo-Scottish relations *ca* 1450x1550, involving propaganda from both sides, has featured regularly in this thesis and thus one can comprehend the interest of some readers in this material.

Furthermore, a productive source of reader activity proved to be *Gesta Annalia* II's account of the 1330s. Including topics such as Randolph's guardianship, the battles of Dupplin and Halidon Hill and the siege warfare in this decade, eight readers showed concern in some or all of these topics: **R**¹³ (Parker), **R**¹⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**²³, **R**²⁵, **R**²⁶, **R**³³ and **R**³⁴. Indeed, **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* illustrated particular interest in these subjects. One should also note that Matthew Parker (**R**¹³) in *ScotichroniconC*, in addition to his more obvious textual interests, highlighted both the battle of Dupplin (on fo.281r (XIII.21)) and the build-up to the encounter at Halidon Hill (on fo.282v (XIII.25)). Coupled to Parker's interest in Robert Bruce and the Declaration of Arbroath, therefore, one can argue that this leading English churchman had a sound knowledge of some significant episodes in the Wars of Independence.

The personal reign of David II was also attractive to eight of the late-medieval readers (**R**⁵, **R**¹⁷, **R**¹⁹, **R**²³, **R**²⁶, **R**³⁰, **R**³³ and **R**³⁴). It is interesting that, with the exception of **R**⁵ in *FordunD*, the concern in David II comes from the very prominent readers of the MSS; there is virtually no demonstrable interest in David from the non-prolific readers. Moreover, contrary to expectations, it was the negative portrayal of David II that concerned some readers, most notably **R**²⁶ and **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB*.

The extant reader activity has also demonstrated that the text of the Declaration of Arbroath was read, and commented upon, in the late-medieval period. The activity of **R**³ in *FordunC*, **R**¹³ (Parker) in *ScotichroniconC*, **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD* and **R**²⁶, **R**²⁹ and **R**³⁰ in *PluscardenB*, allows one to argue this convincingly. However, it has also been shown that for many of the other readers, including a prominent and seemingly patriotic reader like **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*

or the more spasmodic (but still significant) reader **R**³³ in *PluscardenC*, the Declaration was not considered as noteworthy as other subjects.

Furthermore, in addition to providing striking conclusions in its own right, the non-textual reader scribal activity offers a clear foundation for future research. The systems employed by several readers, such as **R**¹⁹ in *ScotichroniconB*, **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH* and **R**³⁴ in *PluscardenD*, could represent a sophisticated method of editorial selection, with these readers highlighting the text that they considered relevant for inclusion in an abbreviated work of the Fordun-Bower canon. These abbreviated chronicles, such as the '*Tractat drawin owt of the Scottis Cronikle*' in the 'Asloan MS' (fos.124r-136v),² maintain at least some narrative detail and thus it is entirely plausible that some of the late-medieval reader activity was preparatory to producing an abbreviation. It could be, for example, that the text signposted by **R**²³ in *CouparAngusH*, with pointers accompanied by paragraph breaks signalling interest in passages and those without denoting concern in lines only, was subsequently copied up as another derivative work of (in this case) the *Scotichronicon* material. Therefore, whilst this thesis has concentrated on a very particular form of response to the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives, a logical continuation of this research could involve analysis of abbreviated chronicles such as the '*Tractat*' in the 'Asloan MS'.

In addition, further research in this field could focus on summary chronicles, such as the late-fourteenth century short work included in the 'Aberdeen Cathedral Breviary' (Edinburgh University Library MS 27), which notes (very briefly) eighty events between 1286 and 1385. A comparative analysis of summary chronicles, which consist of extremely short entries similar to chapter headings, with the Fordun-Bower canon could prove instructive. However, this would involve extensive research, for summary chronicles (and abbreviated chronicles for that matter) have not been systematically examined up to this date. Moreover, one should stress that summary chronicles are tricky to handle as it is often difficult to determine what source they initially used. The EUL MS 27 summary chronicle is a

² W.A. Craigie (ed), *The Asloan Manuscript, A Miscellany of Prose and Verse*, 2 vols, *Scottish Text Society* (Edinburgh and London, 1923-5), vol I, 245-70.

good example of this problem as on first glance it appears to be from *Gesta Annalia* II, but (on further examination) must be independent of it, and be instead from a lost source or earlier version of what survives as *Gesta Annalia* II. Therefore, whilst an exploration of summary chronicles could prove fruitful, and it may be that R²⁰ in *Scotichronicon*B and R¹⁷ in *Scotichronicon*D were intent on picking out specific chapter headings for summary purposes, it would be problematic. Indeed, even ascertaining whether a summary chronicle (or an abbreviated one) has been derived directly from a MS of the Fordun-Bower canon, rather than from another summary or abbreviated chronicle, would involve difficulties. In turn, therefore, the particular summary or abbreviated chronicle may not be responding directly to the Fordun-Bower narrative, but to that lost earlier source.³ However, this allows one to emphasise once more the unimpeachable quality of the non-textual reader scribal activity; this thesis has concentrated upon, and highlighted the nature of, clear late-medieval readers' responses to the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives. Nevertheless, if tentative links between the reader activity in the MSS and certain abbreviated/summary chronicles could be demonstrated, it would provide historians of the late-medieval period with a tantalising insight into the development of Scottish chronicle histories in this period. In this way, therefore, one can argue that the reader activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives undoubtedly widens our understanding of the nature of chronicle production, and reader interpretation, in late-medieval Scotland.

Indeed, to continue this theme, the non-textual reader scribal activity could contribute to the wider debate on, to borrow Julia Crick's phrase, the 'uses of script and print'. If one accepts, and future research may prove this conclusively, that some of the late-medieval readers were highlighting sections of text for inclusion in future works (possibly in print), then the reader activity could demonstrate a Scottish example of the interaction between script and print, with readers such as R²³ and R³⁴ acting as the conduit between them. The nature of the relationship between script and early print has been the focus for much recent scholarship by both medievalists and early modernists. As A. Walsham and J. Crick argued in 2004:

³ I am indebted to Dr Broun for bringing these points to my attention.

The interfaces between literacy and orality and between the products of the pen and the press have prompted a wealth of important and stimulating studies. In the process the ingrained contrast between 'script' and 'print' has begun to blur and fade, giving way to an emphasis on their lingering co-existence, interaction and symbiosis both before and after 1500.⁴

It is exciting, therefore, that the reader activity in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives may contribute to this arena of historical thinking and provide a new approach on the interaction of Scottish script and print.

Moreover, the exploration of late-medieval reader activity illustrates another forum for future scholarship, ironically not concentrated upon in this thesis. As discussed above, in the process of researching the late-medieval readers of the MSS, one can detect the prominent activity of Sir William Sinclair (d.1582) in several of the MSS. This is particularly evident, of course, in *ScotichroniconD* and *CouparAngusP*, with Sinclair's inserted annotations adorning the folios of the former and his comments peppering the margins of the latter. Whilst Sinclair's additions have been comprehensively recorded, they were not included in this study as they fell outwith the time period set for the analysis and a worthy investigation of this activity would require a thesis in its own right. Nonetheless, it would be fascinating to trace Sinclair's interest in this chronicle material and thus outline more fully how one early modern Scottish reader interpreted these late-medieval chronicles. In fact, a useful exercise could concentrate on comparing Sinclair's activity with that of other readers who also had access (over time) to several MSS, such as **R**¹⁷ in relation to three MSS of the *Scotichronicon* canon (*ScotichroniconC*, *ScotichroniconD* and *ScotichroniconR*). The methodology underpinning non-textual reader scribal activity could therefore contribute to Sally Mapstone's recent

⁴ J. Crick and A. Walsham, 'Introduction: Script, Print and History', in J. Crick and A. Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 1-26, at 4.

work in this field ('The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers') and add to a clearer comprehension of the nature of chronicle readership in early modern Scotland, allowing historians to explore the circulation and interpretation of these works in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, this would build upon elements of this thesis, which has demonstrated the wide circulation and readership of these MSS in the late-medieval era, in the case of *Pluscarden*C from Archbishop William Scheves in the late-fifteenth century to William Gaderar in 1543.

In addition, of equal importance, this thesis illustrates indisputably that these Latin MSS continued to be consulted in the late-medieval era and, as William Sinclair demonstrates in *CouparAngus*P, into the early modern era as well. Indeed, perhaps as significantly, the late-medieval reader activity allows one to move from generalisations concerning the mindset and interests of educated readers in this period to more concrete assertions. The MS evidence offers a (hitherto obscured) glimpse into the thinking and methodology of these individuals; it has proved to be a rich source for historical investigation and future research would undoubtedly reveal further substantial conclusions. Evidently there was much in the MSS of Fordun, Bower and their derivatives that appealed to the late-medieval readers and, to allow the abbot of Inchcolm the final word, this was just as Bower stated in his preface to *Scotichronicon*:

In this volume, I believe, rulers will find how to avoid the dangers of war and uncertain issues, religious will learn the rudiments of the monastic life, laymen will learn fruitful lessons, preachers will find tales with a moral. By force of its example kings will become more cautious, religious will be instructed more in accordance with their rule, and all those who are depressed will be given over to joy by reading it.⁵

⁵ Bower, *Scotichron.*, vol. IX, 9.

APPENDIX

The following tables record the non-textual reader scribal activity in each MS as this appears in the specified *tranches* of text. In each case readers are identified according to their numerical label, as outlined initially in chapter two. In addition to demonstrating the process of non-textual reader scribal activity, the general intention of the tables is four-fold: to note the MS and reader involved; to indicate the exact location (folio/book/chapter/margin) of the reader activity; to highlight the particular nature of reader activity (pointer symbols/underscoring/comments/brackets) in each case; and to record the specific interest of the reader activity. However, there is no standard tabular format that will match the activity of each reader; the categories included in each table will clearly vary according to the reader (and method(s) of activity) involved.

The following tables are largely self-explanatory with, for example, separate columns recording the location and specific nature (or content) of a reader's underscoring or comments. However, in relation to pointer symbols, the tables document the specific interest, the word or line of text in the MS that the sign is directed at, and also provide the textual context at that point (with the word or line of interest underscored). Likewise, where a reader has added a bracket, the full text highlighted by that bracket is reproduced. There are three other principal stylistic points to note: marginal comments are given in inverted commas to distinguish them from any underscored text; the location of any reader activity (left-margin/right-margin/between the columns of text etc.) is always in bold type, to provide a clearer structure; and question marks (within boxed brackets) indicate uncertainty regarding a word.

In addition, following each tabular section, concerning bk.II and bk.VIII, comparative tables of the readers' interests are provided on pp.310-321 and 367-378 respectively. These record the specific chapters in each book that interested the relevant readers and thus facilitate, at a glance, an easier comparison of the reader activity under discussion.

NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN MSS
CONTAINING BOOK II OF FORDUN’S CHRONICA

FordunC. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.9.9.

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF COMMENT</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
16v (II.2)	Left-margin	<i>‘Scoti vlgari [?] Scotorum regem Albionorum Scotorum principem vocatur’</i> <i>‘Natus Bruti’</i>
18v (II.6)	Left-margin	<i>‘Tres Bruti filii regnum inter [?]’</i>
19r (II.7)	Right-margin	<i>‘Ubi Scotia ad austro incipit’</i> <i>‘Murus Tynam’</i> <i>‘Pictis a Scotis montanas diviseratum’</i>
20r (II.9)	Right-margin	<i>‘Scotorum montanas’</i>
28r (II.27)	Right-margin	<i>‘Moravii seu Moravienses unde venerunt’</i>
34r (II.39)	Right-margin	<i>‘Basianus Romanorum dux’</i>
34r (II.40)	Right-margin	<i>‘Basianus Romanorum a Caracio occiditur’</i>
38v (II.48)	Left-margin	<i>‘Rex Hungust filius Fergusius’</i> <i>‘Hungus rex’</i>

FordunE. London, British Library, MS Harley 4764 (fos.1-113)

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R⁶

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF COMMENT</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
20r (II.2)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota de Flumen de Forth'</i> <i>'sive Sulwath'</i>
20v (II.3)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota de Colmano episcopo'</i>
21v (II.5)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota quod Alanius erat de genere Japhet'</i>
21v (II.5)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota quod sub Bruto coluerunt Britones Albionem insulam'</i>
21v (II.5)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota quod Bruti origiae habentur a Bruto filio Enee de Troja'</i> <i>'Natus de Bruto'</i>
22r (II.6)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota quod Brutus genuit tres filios et sepultus in Londonis'</i>
22r (II.6)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota divisione regnarum inter tres filios'</i>
23v (II.9)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota de moribus Scotorum'</i>
25r (II.10)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota de insulis'</i>
25r (II.11)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota de insulis Orchadum'</i>
25v (II.12)	Left-margin	<i>'Nota de Fergusio et regni principio insule'</i>
26r (II.13)	Right-margin	<i>'Nota de rege Rether'</i>

27r (II.15)	Right-margin	<i>‘Nota responsa Scotorum Julio Cesere’</i>
29r (II.18)	Right-margin	<i>‘Nota de quatuor monarchi’</i>
31r (II.24)	Right-margin	<i>‘Nota quod Claudius bellum intulit Britannie ab negatem solutionem tributa’</i>

FordunE. London, British Library, MS Harley 4764 (fos.1-113)

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R⁷

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF COMMENT</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
19v (II.1)	Left-margin	<i>‘Longitudo Albionis insulis’</i>
29v (II.19)	Left-margin	<i>‘Nota de morte Julii Cesare’</i>
36v (II.37)	Left-margin	<i>‘Thebea legio possa est’</i>

FordunG. London, British Library, MS Add. 37233

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R⁸

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
15v (II.4)	Right-margin	Directed at <i>‘Beda’</i> (the last word of the line <i>‘et hec revera est tocius Albionis longitudo. Idem Beda...’</i>).

		<p>In context: <i>‘Idem Beda: ‘Denique duabus gentibus transmarinis vehementer sevis Scotorum a circio, Pictorum ab aquilone, Britannia multos gemit per annos. Transmarinas dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent posite, sed quia a parte Britonum erant remote.’</i></p>
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FordunH. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E xi,
fos.24-27

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹¹

<u>FOLIO / BOOK / CHAPTER</u>	<u>LOCATION AND INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>FURTHER READER ACTIVITY</u>
24r (II.2)	<p>Right-margin</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>flumina</i>’, the last word of a line (‘<i>meridiane plage freto, quo navigatur ad Gallias, tria nobilia flumina</i>’).</p> <p>In context: <i>‘Idem in libri sui prohemio Britanniam de suis fluminibus commendans ait: ‘Porro Britannia piscosis fluviis est irrigua, nam absque <u>meridiane plage freto, quo navigatur ad Gallias, tria nobilia flumina</u>, extendit, quibus transmarina commercia ex diversis nacionibus eidem deferentur’ ’.</i></p>	<p>There is a <i>nota</i> in the left-margin (beside the line ‘<i>quem Caduallo post ceteros inquietatum in provinciam usque ad murum...</i>’).</p> <p>In context: <i>‘ ‘Hiis igitur a Caduallone regibus interfectis, successit Oswaldus in regnum Northinhumbrorum, quem Caduallo post ceteros inquietatum in provinciam usque ad murum, quem Severus imperator olim inter Britanniam et Scociam construxerat, effugavit’.</i></p>
24v (II.3)	Left-margin	There is a comment in the

	<p>Directed at '<i>Beda</i>' (the first word of the line '<i>Beda: 'Interea Colmanus episcopus, qui de Scocia erat, relinquens Britanniam...'</i> ').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Beda: 'Interea Colmanus episcopus, qui de Scocia erat, relinquens Britanniam, ad Scociam reversus est. Deinde secessit ad insulam non procul ab Hibernia secretam</i>'.</p>	<p>left-margin concerning the vision of St Cuthbert that appeared to King Alfred.</p>
24v (II.4)	<p>Right-margin</p> <p>Directed at '<i>octingenta</i>' (the last word of the line '<i>Oceano sita, militaria tenet in longitudine octingenta.</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Galfridus: 'Britannia quidem insularum optima, in occidentis Oceano sita, militaria tenet in longitudine octingenta</i>'.</p>	<p>In the left-margin are the comments:</p> <p>'<i>Beda</i>'</p> <p>'<i>Galfridus</i>'</p> <p>'<i>Albania dictus ab Albanacto</i>'.</p>
25r (II.4)		<p>In the right-margin is a <i>nota</i> beside the line '<i>cultura redigerat dici velit Britanniam, velut ab Agenoris filia...</i>'. </p> <p>In context: '<i>Verum quicquid huiusmodi varie diffinitionis finium Britannie scriptorum vicio reperiatur historiis, vulgaris opinio moderni temporis omnem Albionem a Bruto qui preter australes eius regiones cultura redigerat dici velit Britanniam velut ab Agenoris filia dudum Europa</i></p>

		<i>mundi pars tertia nomen accepit eternum, licet illius exigue partis dominium prima tunc temporis excoluerit'</i>
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25r (II.5)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p>Directed at '<i>transiens</i>' (the last word of the line '<i>enim Alanius de genere Japheth, qui primus mare Mediterraneum transiens</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Erat enim Alanius de genere Japheth, qui primus mare Mediterraneum transiens cum tribus filiis Isichion, Armenon et Negno pervenit ad Europam, a quibus exorte sunt, ut dicitur, gentes quatuor videlicet Latini, Franci, Alemanni et Britanni</i>'.</p>	<p>There is a <i>nota</i> in the right-margin beside the line '<i>sequacibus Britanniam esse vocatam volunt, et populatam, sicut a Galfrido...</i>'.</p> <p>In context: '<i>Nam quidam a Bruto duce Trojani generis suisque sequacibus Britanniam vocatam esse volunt, et populatam, sicut a Galfrido sibi que faventibus traditum est</i>'.</p>
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25v (II.7)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p>Directed at '<i>eorum</i>' (the first word of the line '<i>eorum ab invicem regna separabant. Impertransibiles quidem equitibus nisi</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Est namque regio quodammodo promontoria, quodammodo depressa sive plana, nam a fine per medium eius usque finem, ut Alpes altissimi per Europam, sic montes protenduntur excelsi qui</i></p>	
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	<p><i>Scotos dudum a Pictis et eorum ab invicem regna separabant.</i></p> <p><i>Impertransibiles quidem equitibus nisi perpaucis in locis, et tum propter in eis continuos nives, excepto solum estatis tempore, perdurantes, tum propter altissimarum preruptos rupium scopulos, tum propter in eorum medio concavitates profundas peditibus extant vix meabiles’.</i></p>	
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26r (II.8)		In the left-margin is the comment ‘ <i>Nota de insula Tyla</i> ’.
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26v (II.9)	<p>Left-margin</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>In lecto</i>’ (the start of the line ‘<i>In lecto mori reputans segniciem, interfici campo per hostes</i>’).</p> <p>In context: ‘<i>In lecto mori reputans segniciem, interfici campo per hostes ut interficiat gloriam arbitrans et virtutem, gens parci victus famemque diucius sustinens, et raro ante solis occasum se super cibum effundens</i>’.</p>	
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26v (II.10)		In the left-margin is the comment ‘ <i>De insulis Scocie divisis ab insulis Orcadibus</i> ’. This matches the heading to c.10.
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27r (II.11)		In the left-margin is a comment concerning ' <i>Nota de insulis Orchadibus</i> '.
27v (II.12)	<p>Left-margin</p> <p>Directed at the word '<i>sustineret</i>' (beginning the line '<i>sustineret impetum Alexandrum. Historia beati Congalli: Deinde post</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Per idem itaque tempus apud Romanos Lucius Papireus dictator effectus adeo tunc, ut ait Eutropius, inter bellicosissimos urbis milites habebatur ut cum diceretur Alexandrum in Italiam transgredi, Romani inter eos duces eligerent precipue qui bellis <u>sustineret impetum Alexandrum. Historia beati Congalli: Deinde post</u> multum temporis venit quidam rex ex Hibernia nomine Fergus filius Ferchard, regalem in Scocia postea ferens cathedram marmoreo lapide decisam. In qua primus ibidem rex a Scotis coronatus est. Cuius exemplo succedentes postmodum in regno ceteri reges eadem cathedra rite coronam susceperunt...boream suo dominio subjugare</i>'.</p>	In the left-margin is the comment ' <i>De Symone Brek</i> '.

		<i>patribus elaborato, belli studia deposuit, veluti sexum cum matre mutasset, raro a viris visus, in feminarum turba permensit, responsa gentibus per internuncia dabat'.</i>
40r (II.19)	Between the columns of text	<p>Directed at 'domum' (the first word of the line 'domum existimaret. Eodem die cum ad Capitolium iret...').</p> <p>In context: 'Et nocte precedenti diem obitus sui fenestre thalami eius cum tanto strepitu aperte sunt ut exiliens a stratu Cesar ruituram domum existimaret. <u>Eodem die cum ad Capitolium iret</u>, date sunt ei litere indices mortis imminents, quas si statim legisset, de morte sibi cavisset' ✓</p>
40v (II.19)	Left-margin	<p>Directed at 'sola' (the first word of the line 'Sola fidelitas est que dilatat gloriam populi, que pacem firmat, et terrorem incutit inimicis').</p> <p>In context: 'Ecce, lector, remunerationem justam prodicionis. Ideo, ut scribit Blesenis in epistola: 'Nichil detestabilius est nota prodicionis in milite. licet Joab omnia fortiter vincit, non computatur tamen in cathologo fortium David, quia fortitudinem eius prodicio in Abner et Amasam denigravit. <u>Sola fidelitas est que dilatat gloriam populi, que pacem firmat, et terrorem incutit</u></p>

ScotichroniconR. London, British Library, MS Royal 13.E.X.

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁷

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
39r (II.15)	Right-Margin	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (by the text-hand): '<i>Responsa regum Scotorum Pictorumque Julio</i>'.</p> <p>In context: '<i>Huiusmodi vero cum audissent reges nuncium, indignati valde, brevi rescribentes stilo, sub uno tenore conjuncti respons dabant tali forma: 'Reges Scotorum Pictorumque voce consona Romanorum civium Julio procuratori salutem dicimus et pacem. Si que sunt pacis sapias aut salutis et c"</i>'.</p>
40r (II.18)	Left-Margin	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (by the text-hand) '<i>Sardanapalli</i>'.</p> <p>In context: '<i>...per Semiramidem eius uxorem usque ad obitum effeminati Sardanapalli continuator. Quem non inmerito effeminatum nuncupat Justinus de Abbreviacione trogi Pompei, libro primo, dicens: Sardanapullus rex ultimus Assiriorum, vir muliere corrupciore, contentus imperio a</i></p>

		<i>inimicis'</i> .
40v (II.19)	Left-Margin	<p>Directed at '<i>Eutropius</i>' (starting the line '<i>Vir quidem Julius, quo nullus umquam bellis magis enituit</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Eutropius: Vir quidem Julius, quo nullus umquam bellis magis enituit. Eius vero ductu undecies centum nonaginta duo milia cesa sunt hostium, nam quam bellis fuderit civilibus noluit annotare. Signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit. Ad hoc nullus celerius scripsit, nemo velocius legit; quaternas eciam epistolas simul dictavit. Tante fuerat bonitatis ut quos armis subegerat, clemencia magis vincebat</i>'.</p>

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁸

<u>FOLIO /(BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
37r (II.4)	Right-Margin	<p>Directed at '<i>cronicis</i>' (the last word of the line '<i>Et licet huiusmodi crebra discrepacio reperta sit cronicis...</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Galfridus: 'Britannia quidem insularum optima, in occidentis Oceano sita, militaria tenet in longitudine octingenta.'</i> <i>Idem: 'Albanactus filius Bruti possedit patriam, que nostris temporibus</i></p>

		<p><i>Scocia vocatur, cui nomine ex nomine suo dedit Albaniam.' Numquid hec omnino differre videntur a precedentibus? Ymmo differunt. Sed neque super hiis vel illis fixum historie sermonem retinent, quoniam et eisdem varia variis contraria sepius intermiscentur eciam, ut eodem quandoque capitulo quedam videntur sibimet clausule dissonantes. <u>Et licet huiusmodi crebra discrepacio reperta sit cronicis</u>, ipsarum peritis, ymmo sanctis, nullatenus est auctoribus imputanda, qui caute suis originalibus immobili stilo consonas veritati scripserunt historias'.</i></p>
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37r (II.5)	Right-Margin	<p>Directed at a <i>nota</i> (by the text-hand). The <i>nota</i> is located beside the line '<i>Erat enim Alanius de genere Japheth, qui primus mare Mediterraneum transiens...</i>'.</p> <p>In context: '<i>Erat enim Alanius de genere Japheth, qui primus mare Mediterraneum transiens cum tribus filiis Isichion, Armenon et negno pervenit ad Europam, a quibus exorte sunt, ut dicitur, gentes quatuor videlicet Latini, Franci, Alemanni et Britanni</i>'.</p>
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37v (II.6)	Left-Margin	Directed at the comment (by the text-hand) ' <i>De</i>
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		<i>divisione Britannia'</i> . ¹ In context: <i>'Post cuius obitum filii patris regnum, quod ab eo suisve Britonibus est dicta Britannia, divisum in tribus inter se regnis partiti sunt, limites cuilibet et vocabula de suis nominibus imponentes'.</i>
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38r (II.8)	Left-Margin	The sign is pointing at a marginal comment (by the text-hand)
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38v (II.10)	Left-Margin	Directed at ' <i>fortissima</i> ' (the first word of the line ' <i>fortissima. Stromeay juxta Scillam Orchadense. Durenys</i> '). In context: <i>'Thorset et ibi turris est <u>fortissima. Stromeay juxta Scillam Orchadense.</u> <u>Durenys</u> et ibidem estatis solsticio sol per noctem visus est, non lucens sed quasi caliginem pertransiens'.</i>
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¹ The text-hand has also added a *nota* beneath his comment.

ScotichroniconD. Darnaway Castle, Forres, Donibristle MS

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁷

36v (II.63)	Left-Margin	<p>Directed at '<i>Hic</i>' (the opening word of the line '<i>Hic Theodosius clementissimus fuit adeo ut nullum se ledencium...</i>').</p> <p>In context: <u>'<i>Hic Theodosius clementissimus fuit adeo ut nullum se ledencium vel contra se insurgencium morti adjudicaret dicens: 'Utinam michi esset possibile ad vitam eciam mortuos revocare'</i>. Eius curia monasterium videbatur, ubi cum clericis matutinas laudes agebat, codices divinos legebat, hostesque suos non tam ferro vel multitudine quam jejunio et oracione confisus prosternebat. Hic orientis et occidentis partes pacifice possidens, apud Mediolanum defunctus est'</u>.</p>
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Scotichronicon**B.** Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, MS
GD.45/26/48

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁹

<u>FOLIO /(BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION AND INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>FURTHER NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY</u>
10v (II.1)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Albion erat antiquitus</i></p> <p><i>Albion enim Oceani quedam habens in Europa sub</i></p> <p><i>Oceano patent infinito</i></p> <p><i>sic a vulturno</i></p> <p><i>ab oriente Daciam</i></p> <p><i>a notho quidem Holandiam et Flandriam</i></p> <p><i>a zephiro, quibus Oceani</i></p> <p><i>octingentorum milium</i></p> <p><i>amplissimis ducentorum</i></p> <p><i>tantum sexaginta quatuor ab Oceano tenet ad</i></p> <p><i>igitur Albion insula post gigantes</i></p> <p><i>Britannia videlicet et Scocia, fruebatur. Primi quidem.</i></p>
11r (II.1)	<p>Left-Margin</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>Britones</i>’ (the first word of the line</p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>fuerunt Britones</i></p>

	<p><i>‘Britones, a quibus, quoniam per eos sue primo culte fuerant regiones...’).</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i><u>‘Britones, a quibus, quoniam per eos sue primo culte fuerant regiones</u> vocabulum habuerunt Britanniam. Aquilonalis itaque partis regiones advenas primos habebant Pictos et Scotos, quibus similiter a Scotis postmodum Scocia nomem inditum est.’</i></p>	<p><i>habebant Pictos et Scotos, quibus similiter a Scotis postmodum Scocia nomem inditum est</i></p>
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11r (II.2)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>peculiaris Britonum historicus</i></p> <p><i>Rex Britonum Leyl, dum prosperitate regni usus est, urbem in aquilonali parte Britannie de suo nomine Karleyl vocatam edificavit</i></p> <p><i>constat, sed in Albionis boreali nequaquam</i></p> <p><i>Belinus rex, ambiguum legi</i></p> <p><i>viam ex cemento lapidibusque fabricari, que insulam in longitudinem secaret</i></p> <p><i>Scotici litus protenditur, nam</i></p> <p><i>Oswaldus in regnum Northinhumbrorum</i></p> <p><i>Porro Britannia piscosis fluviis est irrigua</i></p> <p><i>de Forth quod et australe dicitur fretum vel mare Scoticum, flumen Eske, quod dicitur Scotiswath</i></p> <p><i>flumen itaque de Clyde</i></p>
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		<p><i>utpote polipsis</i></p> <p><i>kilionibus, turbotis, ragadiis</i></p> <p><i>luciis, murenis, merlinis, pectinibus, mullonibus, allecibus, trutis et similibus eciam aque.</i></p> <p>Left-Margin - there is the comment '<i>Rex Britonum</i>'.</p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text: '<i>boreali Britannie constat, sed in Albionis boreali nequaquam, quia sui pene medio situatur. Idem Galfridus: 'Belinus rex, ambiguum legi'.</i></p>
11r (II.3)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Britonum Britanniam, quasi Britonum terram, sive quas ipsi regiones regando</i></p>
11v (II.3)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Saxones navigio gentes Orchadum cum Scotis et Pictis pori</i></p> <p><i>Northumbria cicitur et tunc et deinceps insedere</i></p> <p><i>in remotissima Britannie plaga, territorio</i></p> <p><i>Britannie versus boream est Northumbria</i></p> <p><i>impetrante, tocius imperium Britannie tibi conceditur," nec multo post imperium quod sanctus predixerat optinuit. Sed</i></p> <p><i>Alfridus totam Angliam preter id quod Dani habebant dominio suo subdiderat</i></p>

		<p><i>venire Britanniam, et Anglis verbum Dei predicare</i></p> <p><i>Colmanus episcopus, qui de Scotia</i></p> <p><i>Sanctus Oswaldus</i></p> <p><i>mare precinxerunt Britanniam</i></p> <p><i>Ptholomeus: 'Scotia regnum promontorium est, montibus et maris bracchiis a Britannia separata; mores</i></p> <p><i>Anglicis omnino distinctum, regioni</i></p> <p><i>Idem Britannia que nunc dicitur Anglia est</i></p> <p><i>Idem: 'A Brute'</i></p> <p>Left-Margin - there are three comments:</p> <p><i>Saxones</i></p> <p><i>De Colmanus</i></p> <p><i>Occisus est Oswaldus</i></p> <p>Left-Margin - there are two <i>notas</i> beside firstly <i>'Alfredus totam Angliam preter id quod Dani habebant dominio suo subdiderat'</i> and then <i>'Idem: Britannia que nunc dicitur Anglia est insula contra prospectum Gallie c'</i>.</p> <p>Left-Margin - there are two brackets beside <i>'Britannie versus boream est Northumbria'</i> and <i>'juxta murum, quo Romani ob arcendos barbarorum impetus totam a mari usque ad mare precinxerunt Britanniam. Ptholomeus: 'Scotia regnum'</i>.</p>
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11v (II.4)	<p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at '<i>filius</i>' (the first word of the line '<i>filius Bruti possedit patriam, que nostris temporibus Scocia vocatur</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Albanactus <u>filius Bruti possedit patriam, que nostris temporibus Scocia vocatur</u>, cui nomine ex nomine suo dedit Albaniam'</i>.</p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>filius Bruti possedit patriam que nostris temporibus Scocia vocatur, cui nomine ex nomine suo dedit Albaniam</i></p> <p><i>sed scribus pocius</i></p> <p><i>omnem Albionem a Bruto qui preter australes eius regiones cultura redigerat dici velit Britanniam, velut ab Agenoris filia dudum Europa mundi</i></p> <p>Right-Margin - there are two comments:</p> <p><i>Filius Bruti Albanactus Albionem</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the line '<i>Agenoris filia dudum Europa mundi</i>'.</p>
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12r (II.5)	<p>Left-Margin</p> <p>Directed at '<i>Albionem</i>' (the first word of the folio).</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Incolverunt ergo Britones <u>Albionem</u> insulam prius sub duce quodam Bruto, sed quis fuit ille Brutus, cuiusve sit generis non omnes consenciant historici'</i>.</p> <p>Left-margin. This symbol is pointing at '<i>Britones</i>' (the first word of a line), within the following passage '<i>Quidam itaque Britones ab eorum</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Incolverunt ergo Britones² Albionem insulam prius sub duce quodam Bruto</i></p> <p><i>Nam quidam a Bruto duce Trojani generis suisque sequacibus Britanniam vocatum esse volunt</i></p> <p><i>Alii a Bruto quondam Isichionis enim Alanus</i></p> <p><i>videlicet Latini, Franci, Alemanni et Britanni</i></p> <p><i>Britones quasi homines, sicut a Bruto consule Romano vocabulum dedere'</i></p>
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² '*In colverunt ergo Britones*' are the last three words of the previous folio.

	<i>condicione silvestri Latine Britones quasi brutos homines, sicut a ferocitate Francos denominari volunt, quibus et favet Isidorus’.</i>	Left-Margin -there is a bracket beside the line ‘ <i>a Bruto consule Romano vocabulum dedere</i> ’.
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16v (II.20)		The following text is underscored: <i>audavit vocem</i> <i>hec est ara celi’, dixitque ei Sibilla</i> <i>Eadem igitur camera in honorem Sancte Marie</i> <i>testatur, vinee Engaddi que perferunt balsamum floruerunt</i>
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16v (II.21)	<p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>calciamenta</i>’ (the first word of the line ‘<i>calciamenta pedum suorum, et discooperuit</i>’).</p> <p>In context: ‘<i>Virgo igitur illa tunc discalciavit <u>calciamenta</u> pedum suorum, et discooperuit mantellum album quo operiebatur, amovitque velum de capite suo, et juxta se reposuit ea, remanens in sola tunica, capillis pulcherimis quasi de auro extentis super spatulas</i>’.</p> <p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>portabat</i>’ (the first word of the line ‘<i>portabat ad involvendum</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>agnoscere, ut libro ultimo Celestium Revalacionum, capitulo xxi. Brigitta: Cum essem apud presepe Domini in</i></p> <p><i>valde, indutam albo mantello</i></p> <p><i>unum bovem et asinum. Qui cum intrassent speluncam, senex ille, ligatis bove et asino</i></p> <p><i>et portavit ad Virginem candelam</i></p> <p><i>eam in muro, et exivit extra ne partui personaliter</i></p> <p><i>ea, remanens in sola tunica, capillis pulcherimis quasi de auro extentis super spatulas. Que tunc duos panniculos lineos et duos laneos mundissimos</i></p> <p><i>portabat ad involvendum nasciturum infantem, et duos alios parvulos lineos</i></p> <p><i>nudum, nitidissimum, cuius carnes</i></p>
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	<p><i>nasciturum infantem’).</i></p> <p>In context: <i>‘Que tunc duos panniculos lineos et duos laneos mundissimos et subtiles extraxit, quos secum portabat ad involvendum nasciturum infantem, et duos alios parvulos lineos ad cooperiendum et ligandum capur eius; ipsos quoque posuit juxta se ut eis debito uteretur’.</i></p>	<p><i>mundissime erant ab omni sorde et immundicia. Vidi eciam pellem secundinam jacentem prope eum involutam et valde nitidam</i></p>
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18r (II.25)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Anno lxiii assumpta est Maria</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text</p> <p><i>‘Comestor in Historia Scolastica testatur quod fuit xiv annorum quando concepit filium, et anno sequenti peperit eum, vixit autem cum eo xxxiii annis, et post Passionem xii annis, ita quod juxta eum fuit sexagenaria, quando fuit assumpta. Alii opinantur quod vixit post eius Ascensionem xxiv annis, et si sic, vixisset lxxii annis. Sed quod supervixit xv annis juxta Revelacionem Sancte Brigitte assencio, et sic vixit lxiii annis, Brigitta, libro vii, capitulo xxvi, et in sepulcro jacuit eius corpus xv diebus, ut libro vi, capitulo lxii. . Unde: Anno xiv virgo concepisti. Anno xv natum’.</i></p>
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22v (II.43)	<p>Left-Margin</p> <p>Directed at ‘sexus’(the opening word of the line <i>‘sexus per diversas provincias martirio</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>et Maximianum Herculium primo Cesarem deinde fecit Augustum, et in Gallios</i></p>
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	<p><i>coronarentur').</i></p> <p>In context: <i>'Tanta quidem furia persecucionis Christianorum invaluit eorum temporibus ut infra xxx dies viginti duo millia <u>promiscui sexus per diversas provincias martirio coronarentur'</u>.</i></p>	<p><i>xxx dies viginti duo millia promiscui sexus per diversas provincias martirio coronarentur</i></p> <p><i>Hoc anno passus est Sanctus Georgius. Huius autem tempus Scotorum</i></p> <p><i>statuto gentis utriusque quidam nobiles more solito regnorum confinibus gracia venandi convenirent. Ubi vero dum per diei ferme spacium</i></p> <p><i>Quem cum repetentes Scoti nec reddere voluissent, in sedicionem versi per</i></p> <p><i>una pace degentes, unaque potencia ceteris quibuscumque resistentes gentibus concordarunt</i></p> <p><i>opus tamen in deterius cotidie versum est ut una gens alteram</i></p> <p>Left-Margin - there is the comment: <i>'Legio Thebeorum possa'</i></p>
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22v (II.44)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausius</i></p> <p><i>dum arte piratica</i></p> <p><i>a senatu secreto per literas ut occideretur</i></p> <p><i>contra Romanos insurgens, totam sibimet Britanniam</i></p> <p>Right-Margin - there is a bracket beside the line '<i>contra Romanos insurgens, totam sibimet Britanniam'</i>.</p>
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23r (II.44)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Scotos eciam et Pictos quos</i></p> <p><i>e Britannia crudeliter expulit</i></p> <p><i>seseque regni cum diademate</i></p> <p><i>consignivit</i></p>
23r (II.45)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Convenciones</i></p> <p><i>ad Fluminis Humbri ripam a</i></p> <p><i>Romanis eatenus ope Scotorum</i></p> <p><i>futuris firmatum</i></p> <p><i>inferre vel eorum altri bella</i></p> <p><i>volentes, absque dolo fidelem</i></p> <p><i>alterutris opem darent</i></p> <p><i>ad Britanniam ut a barbaris</i></p> <p><i>Pictos Basianus</i></p> <p><i>Carausio, junctis sibi Scotis et</i></p> <p><i>Pictis, acerbissimo</i></p>
23r (II.46)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausius, Britanniis sibi per</i></p> <p><i>septem</i></p> <p><i>eius Carausius</i></p>
25r (II.50)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Constantinum et Maxencium</i></p> <p><i>est glorioso virgo Katerina. Cuius</i></p> <p><i>admirabilem conversionem paucis,</i></p> <p><i>ut estimo, manifestam, dignum duxi</i></p> <p><i>presenti scripto annotare</i></p>

25v (II.51)	<p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at '<i>O homo</i>' (which marks the start of one stanza in a verse).</p> <p>In context: '<i><u>O homo</u>, considera, revocans memorie quanta sunt hec opera superne clemencie. Ne desperes venie, si multum peccaveris, ubi tot insignia caritatis videris</i>'.</p>	
26r (II.51)	<p>Left-Margin</p> <p>Directed at '<i>nam</i>' (the first word of a line in a verse '<i>nam tenet in gremio</i>').</p> <p>The verse in full is: '<i>Sub matris presidio fuge causa venie, <u>nam tenet in gremio</u> fontem indulgencie. Hanc saluta sepius cum spei fiducia dicens flexis gentibus: 'Ave, plena gracia.'</i>'</p>	
27v (II.56)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>reliquie Sancti Andree apostoli et Sancti Luce evangeliste et Sancti Timothei discipuli Sancti Pauli apud Constantinopolim cum magno honore</i></p>
28r (II.58)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Finalis demum Pictis victoria cessit. Amplius in bello nequeunt resistere Scoti</i></p> <p><i>continguis terror, hosteque fugare</i></p>

		<p><i>superbos, subdere vi terras, victores jura tueri</i></p> <p><i>Iam latitant derelicti, fit nullus amicus. Fugant ur gladio, ceduntur et exiliantur. Hostis et est</i></p> <p><i>Scotorum Eugenius cum filio, multique cum eis principes et reguli</i></p> <p><i>Echaich</i></p> <p><i>cui nomen Erch</i></p>
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28r (II.59)	<p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at 'Achiam' (the first word of the line 'Achiam, et eciam, ut quidam volunt, Scociam et quia').</p> <p>In context: 'Cum igitur delegasset Christus apostolis et discipulis suis orbem sua predicacione in fide catholica imbuendum, commisit Andree circa mare Caspium, Scithiam, Macedoniam et <u>Achiam, et eciam, ut quidam volunt, Scociam et quia, ut predicitur, Picti de Scithia originem duxerunt, eos quos vivus convertere passione preventus non poterat, voluit vel post mortem</u>'.</p> <p>In between the columns of text. This pointer symbol is directed at the word 'apostolus', within the following passage: 'Hic Andreas apostolus Domini, frater Simonis Petri, in nativitate Petro prior et</p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>anno regni sui xx, zelo</i></p> <p><i>de septem Grece provinciis et insula pene. Nam absque septentrionali sua</i></p> <p><i>in fide catholica imbuendum, commisit Andree circa mare Caspium, Scithiam, Macedoniam et Achiam, et eciam, ut quidam volunt, Scociam</i></p> <p><i>de Scithia originem duxerunt'</i> 'frater Simonis Petri, in nativitate Petro prior et vocacione primus, in ordine secundas aut certe tercius, gente Galileus, de Bethsaida civitate</p> <p><i>Justicia, pietate et sanctitate pene omnes precessit</i></p> <p><i>aspectu, statura</i></p> <p><i>barbam habens prolixam</i></p> <p><i>abbati nomine Regulo</i></p> <p><i>tolles inde dextre manus tres digitos et os brachii dependens ab humero, dentem unum et genu patellam, ac</i></p> <p><i>venius igitur expeditis legionibus</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text -</p>
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	<i>vocacione primus, in ordine secundus aut certe tercius, gente Galileus, de Bethsaida civitate ortus, omnium discipulorum mitissimus'.</i>	there is a bracket beside the text: <i>'pietate et sanctitate pene omnes precessit. Erat enim colore niger, decorus aspectu, statura mediocris, barbam habens prolixam. Cuius quorundam ossium'.</i>
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28v (II.60)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Transcursis demum annis aliquot, angelus iterato celestis ad abbatem reversus Regulum</i></p> <p><i>scias veraciter signis fiendis et totum occidens perpetuo docorari</i></p> <p><i>quoniam electus est a Deo, sempiterna sedes apostolica, firma siquidem fidei petra, nec immerito quia</i></p> <p><i>Sanctus abbas Regulus, Sanctus Damianus presbyter, Gelasius et Chubaculus diaconi, Merniacus frater Sancti Damiani, Nerius et Elrisenius</i></p> <p><i>videlicet Triduana, Potencia et Emerea</i></p> <p>Left-margin - there are two brackets with the first located beside:</p> <p><i>'Resumptis', inquit 'beati Andree Deo dilecti quas, me nuper docente, reservasti reliquiis, sanctorum tecum laudabilem assumens comitivam, occiduas partes sub aquilonis circio mundi finem adire non differas, et quocumque locorum qua transveheris carina, Deo volente, naufragio periclitetur, te tamen'.</i></p> <p>The second bracket is beside the following extract:</p> <p><i>'Itaque regnum, quo situm habeat,</i></p>
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		<i>immobilis erit et tenax anchora, cunctisque fidelibus precipue regibus et ceteris terre potentatibus ob devocionem apostoli percelebris, quorum prediis abunde ditabitur et muneribus. Veniencium igitur ibidem peregre diversis ex mundi finibus ut corporis salutem’.</i>
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28v (II.61)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Cumque spacio duorum pene fuissent annorum, ut aura duce contigerat, freto non cognito</i></p> <p><i>iv kalendas</i></p> <p><i>et ibidem in nemore porcorum, quod patria lingua ‘Mucros’ dicitur, ad honorem apostoli basilicam postea dedicavit</i></p> <p><i>utpote cecis ab utero</i></p> <p><i>occurrunt undique nacionum populi cum muneribus immensas deo laudes, complois manibus, de tanto patrono suppliciter extollentes</i></p> <p><i>Hic sinus iste maris, male fertile litus, opima transcendit patrie fertiltate loca</i></p> <p><i>nunc dives, dudum feda, decora modo</i></p> <p><i>Francus magniloqus, belli</i></p> <p><i>velleris et cedis Andigavensis</i></p> <p><i>Nos quoque, si tantos inter modo nomen habemus, venimus huc vecti prosperiore rota</i></p> <p><i>rex Hurgust filius Ferguso, loci delectatus</i></p> <p><i>suum inibi palacium juxta basilicam edificans</i></p>
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29r (II.61)	<p>Left-margin</p> <p>Directed at a comment (by the same reader) noting Hurgust the son of King Ferguso.</p> <p>Left-margin</p> <p>Directed at ‘<i>expedicionē</i>’ (the first word of the line ‘<i>expedicionē sibi collatē contra Saxones</i>’).</p> <p>In context:</p> <p>‘<i>Cuius exemplo posteri reges, ut sue devocionis dictabat affectus, quamvis in modico, possessio tamen augebatur usque rex Hungus, qui post annum octingentesimum Incarnacionis Dominice Pictos rexit, decimam regni partem beato Andree tradidit ad opem mirabilem in <u>expedicionē sibi collatam contra Saxones, ut infra libri iv xiii capitulo cum sequenti patebit</u>’.</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>octingentesimum Incarnacionis Dominice Pictos rexit, decimam regni partem beato Andree tradidit ad opem mirabilem in expedicione sibi collatam contra Saxones, ut infra libri iv xiii capitulo cum</i></p> <p><i>xxxii postquam naufragus</i></p> <p><i>apud Kilremont a Mucros per regem</i></p> <p>Left-margin - there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p>‘<i>apud Kilremont a Mucros per regem mutato nomine, plenus dierum obiit et grandevus</i>’.</p>
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29r (II.62)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Interea Constancius imperator adversus</i></p> <p><i>Quo mortuo</i></p> <p><i>lxx obiit Sanctus Basilius, qui dicitur Magnus, et post hoc anno ix obiit Johannes Crisostomus</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text:</p>
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		<i>'lxx obiit Sanctus Basilius, qui dicitur Magnus, et post hoc anno ix obiit Johannes Crisostomus'.</i>
29r (II.63)		The following text is underscored: <i>Circa idem tempus floruit doctor Ambrosius</i>
29v (II.64)		The following text is underscored: <i>nomine Poncianus qui vitam et miraculo illius magni Anthonii</i> <i>Quod ciner es, et eris, in corde tuo mediteris. Quare jocunderis, cum vermibus esca pareris ? Quamvis diteris, memor esto quod morieris</i>
30r (II.65)	<p>Beneath the first column of text</p> <p>Directed at the word 'Nigrorum'</p> <p>In context: <i>'Hoc eciam anno fundavit Sanctus Augustinus Iponensis episcopus regulam <u>Nigrorum</u> Canonikorum et eorum ordinem'.</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text</p> <p>Directed at the word 'Maximi'</p> <p>In context: <i>'Istorum vero temporibus imperatorum diu prostrata lateque dispersa Scotorum nacio post mortem <u>Maximi</u> statim resurgere cepit, et ex illatis sibi tanto</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Theodosius autem</i></p> <p><i>Placella genuit, Honorius scilicet et Archadius, anno domini ccc xcviij simulque</i></p> <p><i>Sanctum obisse Martinum</i></p> <p><i>post mortem Maximi statim resurgere cepit, et ex illatis sibi tanto</i></p> <p><i>Scocia Romanis vi metu subdita vanis nonfuit ex evo nec paret imperio</i></p> <p><i>a Theodosio</i></p> <p><i>suus Andragacius</i></p> <p><i>respirandi fuerat, Gracianus municeps a quibusdam Britonibus imperator</i></p> <p><i>Constantinus</i></p>

	<i>tempore per hostes injuriis ulcionem expetere condignam intendit'.</i>	<i>propter solam spem nominis sine meritis virtutis eligitur</i> <i>Constantemque filium ex monacho Cesarem factum Hispanias misit</i> <i>Constancium comitem</i> <i>Constans vero filius, ex prodicione Pictorum</i>
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PluscardenA. Glasgow, Mitchell Library, MS 308876

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²⁵

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION AND CONTENT OF COMMENT(S)</u>	<u>FURTHER NON-TEXTUAL SCRIBAL ACTIVITY</u>
14v (II.1)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>'De Albione insula'</i></p> <p><i>'Longitudinis et latitundo insule Albionis'</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>'Divisionis Albionis insula'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Longitudinis esse traditur esse possum octingentorum milium seu paulo minus. Ex transverse vero latitudinis in quibusdam locis amplissimis ducentorum milium, in quibusdam aliis multo striccior</i></p>
14v (II.2)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Galfridus Monumetensis peculiaris Britonum historicus</i></p> <p><i>Leyl</i></p>
15r (II.2)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'Fluminum Britannia nobilia'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Belinus rex, ambiguum legi sue auferre volens, jussit viam ex cemento lapidibusque fabricari, que insulam in longitudinem secaret</i></p> <p><i>usque ad murum, quem Severus imperator olim inter Britanniam</i></p> <p><i>Themense</i></p> <p><i>Sabrinum</i></p>

		<i>Humbrum</i>
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15v (II.3)	Left-margin: <i>'De maris inter medio et inter Britanniam et Scociam...'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Northumbria</i> <i>Alfredo</i> <i>Alfredus totam Angliam preter id quod Dani habebant dominio suo subdiderat</i>
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16r (II.5)	Right-margin: There is a comment highlighting Brutus and the Britons.	Right-margin - there is a bracket and a <i>nota</i> beside the text: <i>'Brutos nominari homines Latine Britones Franci'.</i>
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16v (II.6)		The following text is underscored: <i>Locrinus, Albanactus et Camber</i> <i>Humbri</i> <i>ampnem de Tharent</i> <i>Cambria</i> <i>Albania</i> <i>Humbri</i> <i>ampnis de Tharent</i>
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16v (II.7)		The following text is underscored: <i>Thrilwal</i> <i>ad ampnem de Tyne</i> <i>ampnem Twedem</i> <i>estivum</i>
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17r (II.8)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'Falcones optimi inneviditur in Scotia'</i></p> <p><i>'Lapides [?] et margante'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>vini tamen in expertes et olei</i></p> <p><i>Falcones</i></p> <p><i>Ibidem immeritur lapides marmiori bini coloris innotes et vupes dyamantibus pulcerrimus insiqiti in couthus a</i></p>
17v (II.8)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>in insula vero Tyle sex mensibus estivalibus dies continuus est, eciam in sex mensibus brumalibus continua nox</i></p>
17v (II.9)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>et subiecci ubi</i></p> <p><i>Nangens est</i></p> <p><i>seviens in hostes tantum fere mortem diligens quam servitutem. In lecto mori reputans segniciem, interfici campo per hostes ut interficiat gloriam arbitrans et virtutem</i></p> <p>Left-margin -there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p><i>'et regno rex obedientes et fideles necnon legibus faciliter obedientes et subiecci ubi'</i></p>
18r (II.10)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>insula eciam Uyst xxx millaria huius in longitudinis ubi maxima de helcis copia de beluis marinis et cethe</i></p>

		<i>grandis et ibidem est castrum de Benwewil</i>
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18v (II.12)		The following text is underscored: <i>Drumalban</i>
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19r (II.12)	Left-margin: <i>‘Arma regis Scotorum’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotis ipsorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo.Christum ter centis ter denis prefuit annis³</i> <i>beati Congalli</i> <i>Fergusius filius Ferchardi</i> <i>Symon Brek ut</i> <i>Rether</i> <i>Reudam</i>
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19r (II.13)		The following text is underscored: <i>Retherdale</i> <i>Riddisdale</i> <i>Beda: ‘Scoti vero duce Reudo de Hibernia progressi, vel amicicia vel ferro inter Pictos sedes quos actenus habent vendicarunt</i>
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19v (II.14)		The following text is underscored: <i>Cassibelanum regem</i>
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20v (II.16)		The following text is underscored:
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³ A line has been drawn from this passage of text to a simplistic sketch of a set of arms at the top of the folio (presumably representing a lion).

		<i>ab ostio non ampnis de Caroun non procul uisque quoquos domunculam Romane possessionis</i>
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20v (II.17)		The following text is underscored: <i>igitur cum pacatam</i>
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21r (II.18)		The following text is underscored: <i>annis quinque</i>
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22r (II.19)		The following text is underscored: <i>Eius vero ducto undecies centum nonaginta duo milia cesa sunt hostium</i> <i>Signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit ad hoc nullus celerius scripsit, nemo velocius legit; quaternas eciam epistolas simul dictavit</i>
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22r (II.20)		The following text is underscored: <i>annorum decem et septem</i> <i>Ipsius autem anno circiter xxvii nata est Beata Virgo Maria</i>
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23r (II.22)		The following text is underscored: <i>Utinam aut non nasceretur aut non moreretur.’ Vir qui non immerito ex maxima parte deo similis putatus est</i>
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23r (II.23)		The following text is underscored: <i>anno xxxviii Pilatus se ipsum interemit</i>
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		<i>Jacobus Zebedei</i>
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23v (II.24)		The following text is underscored: <i>Guiderio, fratem suum Arviragum eius loco</i>
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24r (II.25)		The following text is underscored: <i>Nam ab occidente prorumpentes Hibernici, Scoti siquidem a circio, necnon ab aquilone Picti</i>
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24r (II.26)		In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text: <i>‘pervenerunt inopiam ut domos vinusas quod facultates totam suppellectilem pro nichilo reputantes seipsos, uxores et liberos ab hac clade’.</i>
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24v (II.26)	Left-margin: <i>‘Unde Hethinburgh dictus est’.</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Agned</i> <i>Heth</i> <i>Hethinburgh</i> <i>Kaerleyl</i> <i>Aluclud</i>
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24v (II.27)		The following text is underscored: <i>Roderico</i> <i>Rodericus</i>
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25r (II.27)	Left-margin: <i>'Unde Moravia nomine sumpsit'.</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Marius Britonumque patricius occurrens</i> <i>Moraviorum principe Roderico</i> <i>cui pristine regionis Moravie secundum gentes tradentes nomine</i>
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25r (II.28)	Right-margin: <i>'Nerva imperator a condictus'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>talem se esse privatis imperatorem quales sibi optasset imperatores esse privatus</i>
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25v (II.28)	Left-margin: <i>'Johannes apostolus et annorum nonaginta ad dominus migravit'.</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Eius tempore Johannes apostolus cum esset nonaginta annorum migravit ad Dominum</i>
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26v (II.31)		The following text is underscored: <i>suo rege Lucio</i> <i>Britonum Albanensium Fulgencius</i> <i>Fulgencius</i>
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26v (II.32)		The following text is underscored: <i>Clodium Albinum</i> <i>Fulgencium</i>
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27r (II.32)		The following text is underscored: <i>Quamobrem Scociam</i> <i>perpetue pacis suarumque gentium eterne communitatis</i>
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		<p>Left-margin - there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p><i>'cum suis speraret ullatenus prevalere. Quamobrem Scociam ingrediens, cum regibus Scotorum et Pictorum perpetue pacis suarumque gentium eterne communitatis perstable fedus iniit, filius duobus'.</i></p>
27r (II.33)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Tyne et Esk</i></p> <p><i>Eboracem</i></p> <p><i>Fulgencio</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p><i>'Fulgencio bellum letale committens, occisus est. Beda vero Severum eadem civitate propria morte defunctum refert. Sed Galfridus, sicut et hic, hunc a Fulgencio testatur sequentibus interfectum'.</i></p>
27v (II.34)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>non, ut quidam estimat, muro sed vallo distinguendam putavit. Hoc itaque vallu firmissimum, crebis insuper turribus communitum, a mair deduxit ad mare</i></p> <p><i>Communicatoque sumptu a mari fecerunt illud usque ad mare quod post hostium accessus futuro tempore poterat</i></p>
27v (II.35)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>'[?] quo Scotia fidem</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Sub eo Scoti fidem catholicam susceperunt anno videlicet domini cc</i></p>

	<i>Christi catholicam susceperunt'.</i>	<i>iii, unde quidam: Christi transactis annis atque ducentis Scotia catholicam cepit inire fidem</i>
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28r (II.36)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Sigibertus</i></p> <p><i>Carausio</i></p> <p><i>Dioclesiani</i></p> <p><i>Basiani</i></p> <p><i>Carausius</i></p> <p><i>Diocleciano</i></p> <p><i>Hic primus ex corpore militari sine senatus auctoritate imperator electus est ab exercitu</i></p> <p><i>Sapore</i></p> <p>Right-margin - there is a <i>nota</i> beside the text:</p> <p><i>'Hic primus ex corpore militari sine senatus auctoritate imperator electus est ab exercitu'</i></p> <p>Right-margin - there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p><i>'rege Persarum Sapore captus et omnibus diebus vite sue in ignobilem servitutem redactus est, in tantum ut, quociens rex Sapor equum conscendere vellet, incurvato dorso Valeriani, cervici eius posito pede sinistro, equo membra locaret. galienus vero laudabiliter primo rem publicam gerens, postea in lasciviam resolutus, deteriorata re publica, fraude Aurelii ducis sui Mediolani gladiis'.</i></p>
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28v (II.37)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Primo sederio sive divisio inter Pictos et Scotos’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausio</i></p> <p><i>molosus quidam qui sanguinolenta ferarum solebat insequi vestigia furto per Pictos</i></p> <p><i>qui quingentos annos una pace degentes</i></p> <p><i>est per Carausium Britonem qui eos preliatum contra Romanos secum intendebat</i></p>
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29r (II.39)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Carausius rex Bestanie unde Britanniam acceptit’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausius</i></p>
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29r (II.40)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Carausius ex sera militia et obscure natus’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Hunc igitur Carausium licet ex sera militia Britones cuncti et obscure natum cognascere</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - four brackets (linked together) are beside the text:</p> <p><i>‘callebat periciam libenter in regem suscipiunt, sperantes cicius per eius industriam a Romanorum eripi potestate. Convenciones quoque cum Scotis nuper et Pictis per ipsum initas sponte ratificant, ac dominia ducis quondam Fulgencii, que nepos eius ex filia Gothorius ad fluminis’.</i></p>
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29v (II.40)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Humbri</i></p> <p><i>Carausio</i></p> <p><i>Basianus</i></p>
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29v (II.41)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausius, pre ceteris in omni milicia splendescians primus omnium Britones, postquam ab imperatore Julio</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket beside the text:</p> <p><i>'Erat enim Carausius ex pacto preclare fidelis, promissa queque sed et cum Scotis convenciones et Pictis compositas ad unguem observans, eos ad mutuam et veram frequenter concordiam per intercedentes nuncios sepiusque per literas adhortando'</i></p>
30r (II.41)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carausii</i></p> <p><i>Athlectus</i></p> <p><i>Carausii athlectus proditer eius triennio Britannia</i></p> <p><i>Asclepio</i></p> <p><i>Carausii</i></p>
30v (II.43)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>'Constantinus imperator ex Helena concubina mensibus imperium natus'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>misera Scotos eciam lacerabant. Inter hec vero dux Britannici generis Octavius nomine inseperate in Traherio</i></p>
30v (II.44)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Octavius ad vere pacis unitatem</i></p>

31r (II.44)		The following text is underscored: <i>Carausius</i> <i>Maximus</i> <i>Maximus</i>
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31r (II.45)		The following text is underscored: <i>Octavio</i> <i>Maximus</i> <i>Conanus</i> <i>Octavio</i> <i>Maximo</i> <i>Humbrum</i>
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31v (II.45)		Left-margin - there is a bracket beside the text: <i>‘sub sua servitute deducere, caute primo divisit abinvicem, ut postmodem facilius vincere posset, quia, quos insuperabiles communi potencia conjunctos noverat, dolo separatos vincere proposuit. Cuius propositi statim effectus et in brevi postea sequebatur.’</i>
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31v (II.46)		The following text is underscored: <i>Conanus</i> <i>qui probitate solent armorum gentibus esse</i> <i>Cecidit autem hiis diebus in bello rex Scotorum Eugenius cum filio</i>
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32r (II.46)		The following text is underscored: <i>Echach quoque regis</i> <i>Hiberniam</i> <i>Norgvegiam</i>
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32r (II.47)	Right-margin: <i>'Reliquiarum Sancti Andree Kylremont fratres in Scociam'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>civitatem Patras</i> <i>Deum, abbati nomine Regulo reliquiarum custoditor dicens</i>
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32v (II.49)		The following text is underscored: <i>regno Pictorum scopulos Albionis insule velut ab angelo predictum fuerat ratis impulsa conquasstur</i> <i>quod patria lingua Mucros's dicitur, ad honorem apostoli basilicam</i> <i>Illius autem eo tempore regionis rex Hurgust filius Ferguso, loci delectatus sanctitudine, suum inibi palacium juxta</i>
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33r (II.49)		The following text is underscored: <i>rex Hungus</i> <i>Octingentesium</i> <i>Kylremont a</i>
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33r (II.50)	Left-margin: <i>'Scoti a regno expulisset Maximi'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Maximi</i> <i>Maximus</i>
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		<i>Constancius imperator</i>
33v (II.50)		The following text is underscored: <i>Sigibertus. Hoc tempore Maximus</i>
33v (II.51)	In between the columns of text: <i>‘De regnum Armoricum’</i> <i>‘De Scoto Patrio’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>anno domini ccc lxxxi</i> <i>Maximus, qui merito Maximus</i> <i>regnum Armoricum Conano</i> <i>Meriodoco pro Britannia</i> <i>Conano</i> <i>Tempore Theodosii Senioris</i>

PluscardenB. Belgium, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²⁶

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
16v (II.9)	Left-margin	<p>Directed at ‘vero’ (the first word of the line ‘vero gentes et montana ferina gentes’).</p> <p>In context: <i>‘Insulana vero gentes et montana ferina gentes sicut et indomita, rudis et immorigerata, caparis et aliarum rerum caparis, ocium diligens, ingenio docilis et callida, forma spectabilis sed amictu deformis; populo quidem Anglorum et lingue sed et proprie nationi propter diversitatem linguarum infesta, jugiter et crudelis’.</i></p>
17v (II.12)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the word ‘Albion’.</p> <p>In context: <i>‘Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotis ipsorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo. Christum ter centis ter denis prefuit annis’.</i></p>
20r (II.19)	Left-margin	<p>Directed at the word ‘videlicet’ (the opening</p>

		<p>word of the line '<i>videlicet Cleopatre tercio qui fuit annus etatis</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Primus apud Romanos Gaius Julius Cesar imperium arripuit singulare, anno <u>videlicet Cleopatre tercio, qui fuit annus etatis quinte quingentesimo quadregesimo quarto et imperavit annis ferme quinque</u>'.</i></p>
20r (II.20)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at '<i>eius</i>' (the opening word of the line '<i>eius annorum decem et septem juvenis</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Julio quoque Cesari Romanorum secundus successit imperator nepos <u>eius annorum decem et septem juvenis</u> Octavianus Augustus, a quo ceteri Romanorum imperatores Augusti, sicut a Julio Cesares sunt appellati'.</i></p>
20v (II.21)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the start of the chapter (in the space left by the missing initial). Presumably it is the opening lines of the chapter that are of interest:</p> <p><i>'Anno igitur quadregesimo primo Octoviani Augusti octavo kalendas Julii, quando dies incipiunt minui, suum Elizabeth filium peperit Johannem Baptistam precursorem</i></p>

		<i>Domini</i> '.
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21r (II.22)	Left-margin	<p>Directed at the start of the chapter (in the space left by the missing initial). Presumably it is the opening lines of the chapter that are of interest:</p> <p><i>'Anno gracie secundo gentiles magi Jasper, Melchior et Balthasar cum muneribus procul ab orientis finibus, eos nova ducente stella, venerunt ad Judeam adorare Christum natum'</i>.</p>
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21r (II.23)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the start of the chapter (in the space left by the missing initial). Presumably it is the opening lines of the chapter that are of interest:</p> <p><i>'Anno gracie tricesimo tercio Dominus noster Jhesus Christus, sicut ipse predixerat, ad Passionem sponte venit, passusque sepultus est, ac tertia die resurrexit'</i>.</p>
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28r (II.46)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed at '<i>manus</i>' (the first word of the last line of the folio '<i>manus tres digitos et os brachii dependens</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Applica tibi fratres idoneos, et pergens ad sarcofagum, quo beati Andree reposita sunt ossa, tolles inde dextra manus tres digitos et os brachii</i></p>
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		<i>dependens ab humero, dentem unum et genu patellam, ac ubi monstravero, caute custodias donec rediam' '.</i>
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Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²⁷

20v (II.20)	Left-margin.	<p>Directed at ‘Elizabeth’ (the opening word of the line ‘Elizabeth de qua beatissima virginem filius’).</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Eius autem anno circiter xxvii nata est Beatissima Virgo Maria juxta librum Joachim et revelacionem factam Elizabeth de qua beatissima virginem filius Dei Spiritu Sancto coperante sine virili semine carnalem assumpsit nativitatem’.</i></p>
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PluscardenC. Glasgow, University Library, MS Gen 333

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R³¹ (William Gaderar)

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>PASSAGES OF UNDERSCORED TEXT</u>	<u>FURTHER NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY</u>
28v (II.25)	<i>Huius vero cladis testes fortissime, videlicet Agned</i>	Left-margin - there is the comment: ' <i>Hethinburgh de Heth dicta</i> '.
28v (II.26)	<i>juxta Danubii ipsius patrie tutricem sceleris huiusmodi gladio, sive perpetuo</i>	Left-margin -there is a <i>nota</i> beside the opening lines of the chapter ⁴ : ' <i>Imperatoris illius nequissimi Neronis vecordia segnicieque non incognitis, spes pristine liberatis recuperande nonnullis est exorta gentibus</i> '.
29r (II.30)	<i>demum, inter quos antea sepius spoliis margine commissa, fugere vero domi Pictorum populus post necnon et acephale genti Moravie, cuius princeps in bello cecidit, filias in uxores et amplam dedit patriam excolendam, cui pristine regionis Moravie secundam gentes tradentes</i>	Right-margin - there is the comment: ' <i>Moravii in Scociam venerunt</i> ' Right-margin - there is a pointer directed at ' <i>volens</i> ' (the last word of the (partially underscored) line ' <i>demum, inter quos antea sepius moram fecerat, quiescere volens</i> '). In context: ' <i>Igitur dum ibidem per</i>

⁴ Although, considering Gaderar’s further reader activity here, the intention of this *nota* could be to draw attention to the whole chapter.

	<i>nomine, cum Pictis insuper commanserunt</i>	<p><i>tempus aliquod adversando Romanis mare transcurreret, ac multis infestationibus Gallie portus et Britannie suasque naves afficeret, Pictis <u>demum, inter quos antea sepius moram fecerat, quiescere volens, perpetuo federe manus dabat</u></i>.</p> <p>Right-margin - there is a <i>nota</i> beside the line '<i>in acie Moraviorum principe Roderico. Hos enim Moravios Galfridus</i>'. In context:</p> <p><i>'Quibus interea cum predis pluribus et spoliis margine regnorum revertentibus, Romane gentis legionum dux Marius Britonumque patricius occurrens, eos, utrimque sevissima cede commissa, fugere compulit, perempto prius <u>in acie Moravorum principe Roderico. Hos enim Moravios Galfridus fuisse Pictos de Scithia scriptus imposuit, et bene</u></i>'.</p>
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Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R³²

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
26r (II.21)	Right-margin	Directed at ' <i>Christus</i> ' (the last word of the line ' <i>David eiusdem anni mense decimo Deus et homo, Dominus noster Jhesus Christus</i> ').

		<p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Qui cum in forma Dei esset, humiliter ex ea servi formam excipiens, in Bethleem, Jude civitate <u>David eiusdem anni mense decimo Deus et homo Dominus noster Jhesus Christus</u> nasci voluit, quando, deficiente ubique justicia, et universo mundo in vana et maligna prolapso, tunc placuit pro abolendis peccatis hominum sacramentum remissionis per remedium Christi Incarnacionis afferri, quando nemo poterit de suis meritis gloriari'.</i></p>
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Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R³⁴

<u>FOLIO /(BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
12r (II.2)	In between (and beneath) the columns of text	<p>Directed upwards at ‘<i>quo</i>’ (the first word of the last line of the folio ‘<i>quo navigatur ad Gallias tria nobilia</i>’).</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Idem in libri sui prohemio Britanniam de suis fluminibus commendans ait: ‘Porro Britannia piscosis fluviis est irrigua, nam absque meridiane plage freto, <u>quo navigatur ad Gallias, tria nobilia flumina, Themense videlicet, Sabrinum et Humbrum velut tria bracchia extendit, quibus transmarina commercia ex diversis nacionibus eidem deferuntur</u>’.</i></p>
12v (II.3)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed upwards at ‘<i>ut</i>’ (in the last line of the left column of text ‘<i>Sanctus Cuthbertus ut in eius habetur historia</i>’).</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Ex quibus patet quod ultima pars insule Britannie versus boream est Northumbria. <u>Sanctus Cuthbertus ut in eius habetur historia, lecto vigilanti Alfredo regi apparuit dicens: ‘Misericordiam de cetero</u></i></p>

		<i>diligas et iudicium, quoniam, me impetrante, tocius imperium Britannie tibi conceditur' '.</i>
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13r (II.6)	In between (and beneath) the columns of text	<p>Directed upwards at 'quoque' (the first word of the penultimate line of the folio 'quoque junioris Cambri regio connexa Loegrie regno').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Cambria deinde fratris quoque junioris Cambri regio connexa Loegrie regno jacet non ad australem eius finem neque borealem sed ad ipsius latus occiduum, ab eo montibus marique Sabrino divisa, quasi collateralis ei versus Hiberniam ex opposito</i>'.</p>
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14r (II.9)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed upwards at the word 'montana' (in the last line of the left column of text '<i>Insulana vero sive montana ferina gens est</i>').</p> <p>In context: '<i>Mores autem Scotorum secundum diversitatem linguarum variantur. Duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica videlicet et Theutonica. Cuius lingue gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones, Scotice vero gens lingue montanas inhabitant et insulas ulteriores. Maritima quoque domestica gens est et culta, fida, paciens et urbana, vestitu siquidem honesta, civilis atque pacifica, circa cultum divinum devota, sed</i></p>
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		<p><i>et obviandis hostium injuriis semper prona. <u>Insulana vero sive montana ferina gens est et indomita, rudis et immorigerata, raptu capax, ocium diligens, ingenio docilis et callida, forma spectabilis sed amictu deformis; populo quidem Anglorum et lingue sed et proprie nationi propter linguarum diversitatem infesta, jugiter et crudelis. Regi tamen et regno fidelis et obediens, necnon faciliter legibus subdita, si regatur</u></i>.</p>
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15r (II.12)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed upwards at 'denis' (in the last line of the left column of text '<i>Christum ter centis ter denis prefuit annis</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Albion in terris rex primus germine Scotis ipsorum turmis rubri tulit arma leonis Fergusius fulvo Ferchard rugientis in arvo. <u>Christum ter centis ter denis prefuit annis</u></i>'.</p>
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15v (II.15)	In between (and beneath) the columns of text	<p>Directed at 'nobilique' (the first word of the last line of the right column '<i>nobilique libertatis pervia qua nostri directe parentes</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Ne putes, O Cesar, puerili nos more talibus adulacionum seduci posse blandiciis, quod ab innate nobis amena <u>nobilique libertatis orbita pervia, qua nostri directe parentes ope</u></i></p>
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		<i>deorum suffulti semper ibant, non a dextris ad sinistram flectentes, per callem inviam generosi cordis cuique tortam asperam et horribilem servili valle teterima devios errando, deducere valeas, cum hec precipue, que blandiciarum insipientibus apta conveniunt, pignora tue legacioni defuerunt, giracula videlicet vel poma, quo libacioni forcius aspirat gratulando stultorum levitas, quam si quis regnum eis libere genibus offerat provolutus’.</i>
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16r (II.16)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed at 'stacione' (the first word of the last line of the folio 'stacione <i>reedificata securius quiesceret</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Docetur tamen alias et precipue fama vulgante quod Julius Cesar hanc domunculam per singulos lapides separatim ab exercitu circumferri secum jussit, ut in ea singulis diebus qualibet <u>stacione reedificata securius quiesceret quam tentorio</u>’.</i></p>
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16v (II.18)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed at 'Romanorum' (the first word of the last line of the folio 'Romanorum <i>successiones que per annos notantur</i>').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Juxta cuius igitur <u>Romanorum successiones,</u></i></p>
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		<i>que per annos notantur Incarnacionis Dominice, tactis quorundam famosis aliquibus gestis bellorumve irrupcionibus quodammodo adauctis, huius notari cronicule tempora pretenduntur’.</i>
17v (II.20)	Beneath the columns of text	Directed at ‘Elizabeth’ (the first word of the last line of the left column of text ‘Elizabeth de quo beatissiam virgum’).
18r (II.23)	Beneath the columns of text	Directed at ‘Romanorum’ (the first word of the last line of text ‘Romanorum quartus imperator Gaius Caligula’).
19v (II.29)	In between (and beneath) the columns of text	Directed at the last two lines of the folio, which are also the opening lines of c.29: <i>‘Patrato quoque triumpho, Romanus idem Marius perpetuam volens ad posteror’.</i>
21r (II.35)	In between (and beneath) the columns of text	Directed at ‘credulitatis’ (the first word of the penultimate line of the folio ‘credulitatis clarificata baptizaretur. Martiro’). In context: <i>‘Constituit eciam quod, urgente necessitate, quicumque hominum sive fluminibus sive fontibus vel in mari, Christiana professione credulitatis clarificata baptizaretur. Martiro quod sub Severo</i>

		<i>coronatur et apud Sanctum Petrum sepultus in Vaticano, cuius festum agitur kalendas Augusti'.</i>
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COMPARATIVE TABLE OF READER ACTIVITY IN BOOK
II OF FORDUN'S CHRONICA

<u>CHAPTER</u> <u>NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
1 'The situation, length and breadth of the island of Albion and its change of name to Britain and Scotland'								✓	✓				
2 'Various excerpts from Geoffrey which show that Britain was separate from Scotland'	✓	✓			✓			✓	✓				✓
3 'Excerpts from William of Malmesbury and Bede confirming this same point'		✓			✓			✓	✓				✓
4 'Passages from the same authors maintaining the opposite point of view'				✓	✓		✓	✓					
5 'Which Brutus it was who first led the Britons when they came to the island of Albion'		✓			✓		✓	✓	✓				

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
6 'The division of the three kingdoms of the Britons amongst the sons of Brutus'	✓	✓					✓		✓				✓
7 'The nature and extent of Scotland as it is now or was of old"	✓				✓				✓				
8 'The lowlands and highlands of Scotland and what they contain'					✓		✓		✓				
9 'The division of peoples and languages etc. in Scotland'	✓	✓			✓				✓	✓			✓
10 'The islands of Scotland apart from the Orkneys'		✓			✓		✓		✓				
11 'The Orkney Islands'		✓			✓								

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
12 'When Fergus son of Feradach first king of the Scots in Scotland began to reign; his marital arms'		✓			✓				✓	✓			✓
13 'Rether the descendant of King Fergus'		✓							✓				
14 'The envoys sent by Julius Caesar to the kings of the Scots and Picts etc.'									✓				
15 'The replies sent by the same kings to Julius in a letter"		✓				✓							✓
16 'The sudden return of Julius as a result of the rebellion of the Gauls etc.'									✓				✓
17 'The first consulship of Julius Caesar; how he seized power at Rome by force'									✓				

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
18 'Why the dates of the Roman emperors must be given in this work'		√					√		√				√
19 'The death of Julius Caesar and the amazing punishment of the traitors'			√			√			√	√			
20 'The time of the succession of the Emperor Octavian'								√	√	√			√
21 'The manner of giving birth, and in what way the glorious Virgin gave birth to her son'								√		√		√	
22 'How the mother worshipped her son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a crib'									√	√			
23 'The birth of Christ and also of John the Baptist'									√	√			√

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
30 ‘The expulsion of the Moravians from their native land Moravia by the Romans’											√		
31 ‘The monument which Marius the commander of the Roman legions caused to be made as a war memorial; the succession of the emperors, and the portents before the siege of Jerusalem’									√				
32 ‘The destruction of Jerusalem, and the elevation of Vespasian to the imperial throne’									√				
33 ‘Titus, his generosity and his brother Domitian’									√				
34 ‘What Orosius and Augustine wrote about the rise and fall of Roman power’									√				

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
35 'The succession of various emperors'									✓				✓
36 'The alliance of Fulgentius duke of Albany with the Scots'									✓				
37 'Severus caused a wall to be built to keep out the Scots etc.'			✓						✓				
38 'Fulgentius lays siege to York and kills Severus'													
39 'What Bede wrote about the said wall and the death of Severus'	✓								✓				

CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II	LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
40 'The pope Victor I under whom the Scots adopted the catholic faith'	✓								✓				
41 'The ignoble succession of many emperors'									✓				
42 'The first outbreak of dissension between the Scots and the Picts in the time of Diocletian'													
43 'The agreement made between Carausius and the Scots'								✓	✓				
44 'The ratification of the same agreement and the treaty between the Scots etc.'								✓	✓				
45 'The treacherous death of Carausius'								✓	✓				

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
46 ‘The succession of Galerius and Constantius and the war of Constantius against the Scots and the Britons of Albany’								✓	✓	✓			
47 ‘How Constantine was afflicted with leprosy because of his persecution of the Christians and how he was cured because of his compassion etc.’									✓				
48 ‘The text of the Golden Bull of the Donation to the church by Constantine the Great’	✓												
49 ‘The succession of Constantine the Great and the killing of Maxentius; and also the conversion of St Catherine’									✓				

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
55 'The monk Antony and the death of Arius'													
56 'Conan led the Scots and Picts to do battle against Maximus'								√					
57 'The Britons together with the Picts under the leadership of Maximus threw the Scots out of their kingdom'													
58 'The translation of the relics of St Andrew etc.'								√					
59 'The angel instructed Regulus to take the relics and go to the west- north-west regions of the world'								√					

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK II</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>												
	R ²	R ⁶	R ⁷	R ⁸	R ¹¹	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁸	R ¹⁹	R ²⁵	R ²⁶	R ³¹	R ³²	R ³⁴
60 'Blessed Regulus first reached Scotland with the relics after shipwreck'								✓					
61 'After Maximus had separated the Scots from the Picts and crushed them in war, he also subdued the Picts'								✓					
62 'The presumptuo us attempt of Maximus upon the Roman empire and Conan'								✓					
63 'The most Christian acts of the emperor Theodosius I and his wife Flaccilla'						✓		✓					
64 'After the death of the tyrant Maximus the Scots began to win back their kingdom'								✓					

NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY IN MSS
CONTAINING BOOK VIII OF BOWER'S SCOTICHRONICON

CouparAngusC. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland,
Adv. MS 35.1.7

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²¹

<u>PAGE / (BOOK /</u> <u>CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF</u> <u>POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF</u> <u>POINTER SYMBOL</u>
174 (X.6)	Left-margin	Directed at the comment 'Thomas' (by the text- hand), relating to the life of Thomas Becket.

CouparAngusH. London, British Library, MS Harley 4764
(fos.114-188)

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²³

As already highlighted, this reader has added numerous pointer symbols to the MS, drawn in red, brown or black ink. Many of the red symbols are accompanied by small red brackets in the text (placed in the line that the pointer is directed at). These brackets precede the start of a new line or passage of text in the MS. In general the brown and black signs do not correspond to these red brackets. Therefore, as noted above, it seems that a red pointer (when accompanied by a red bracket) indicates interest in the whole passage of text which follows that bracket, while the other symbols could be highlighting particular sentences or citations. The following table reflects R²³'s methodology by distinguishing between the colour of the pointer symbols⁵ and stating whether a bracket is evident. If a bracket is apparent then the direct passage of text (after the bracket) is presented; otherwise the actual word or line of text targeted by the symbol is reproduced. However, to provide a clearer indication of the interest of this reader, the context of the highlighted word or line is often provided.

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION / COLOUR OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>ACCOMPANIED BY A BRACKET (YES/NO)</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
114r (VI.1)	Right-margin Black	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Mortuo magnifico rege David tollensque omnis populus Malcolmum'</i>
115r (VI.7)	Right-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>'obiit Theobaldus primas Anglie'</i>
115r (VI.7)	Left-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Ecce, sancte pater,</i>

⁵ A question mark indicates where doubt exists over the original colour of the sign.

			<p><i>sacrilege consuetudines regis Anglie canonibus'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Ecce, sancte pater, <u>sacrilege consuetudines regis Anglie canonibus</u> et decretis ac ipsorum eciam terrenorum principum legibus adverse, pro quibus exilium sustinere cogimur, ut eas sancte paternitati vestre ostenderemus et consilium super hiis haberemus, huc advenimus'</i></p>
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115v (VI.8)	<p>Left-margin</p> <p>Brown?</p>	No	<p>Directed at the line:</p> <p><i>'Vir igitur domini aliquanto tempore in curia'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'<u>Vir igitur domini aliquanto tempore in curia</u> demoratus tandem cum licencia et consilio domini pape Pontiniacum se contulit ibique ferme per biennium stetit'</i></p>
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116r (VI.13)	<p>Right-margin</p> <p>Red</p>	No	<p>Directed at the line:</p> <p><i>'Aldredus sive Baldredus tercius abbas...'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Anno sequenti obiit bone <u>memorie Aldredus</u></i></p>
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			<i>sive Baldredus tercius abbas Reivall' qui composuit libellum Vite Sancti David Scotorum regis'</i>
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116r (VI.15)	Left-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Hic Rogerus viribus conatus est primatum habere super ecclesiam Scoticanam'.</i>
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116v (VI.15)	Left-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'illum cum honore velut suum susceperet legatum a'</i>
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116v (VI.15)	Left-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Sepulcrum pii patris Walthevi abbatis Melrosensis ab Angelramo Glasguensi episcopo et quator abbatis ad hoc electis reseratum'</i>
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116v (VI.16)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Anno domini m c lxxii ecclesia Cantuarie per duos cardinales in Franciam missos reconsiliata est et paci reddita'</i>
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117r (VI.16)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage ⁶ : <i>'Primo quod non</i>
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⁶ The bracket, in the line at which the symbol is pointing, preceeds the text of the first of Henry II's decrees concerning the English monarchy's rights in church matters. However, it is likely that the bracket (and pointer sign) are drawing attention to all six decrees and not just the first one.

	Red		<p><i>appelletur ad sedem apostolicam super aliqua causa nisi de licencia regis.</i></p> <p><i>Secundo quod non liceat archiepiscopo vel episcopo exire de regno et venire ad vocacionem pape nisi licencia regis.</i></p> <p><i>Tercio quod non liceat episcopo excommunicare aliquem qui teneat de rege in capite sine licencia regis, vel terram ipsius aut officialium ipsius sub interdicto ponere.</i></p> <p><i>Quarto quod non liceat episcopo cohercere aliquem de perjurio vel fide lesa.</i></p> <p><i>Quinto quod clerici trahantur ad secularia iudicia.</i></p> <p><i>Sexto quod rex seu seculares tractent causas de ecclesiis vel decimis et alia in hunc modum'.</i></p>
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117r (VI.19)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage:
	Red		<p><i>'Tandem cum nec vi nec blandiciis flecteretur quin semper jura sue ecclesie tueretur, ecce milites regis armati adveniunt et xxx die postquam in Angliam est reversus in ipsa ecclesia Cantuariensi non longe ab altare funestis impetunt gladiis et martyrem efficiunt'.</i></p>

117v(VI.19)	Right-margin	No	Directed at 'Willelmus' (the last word of a line).
	Red		

			In context: <i>‘Willelmus Brito necnon Morelius Hugo, Richardus Traci Reginaldus filius Ursi, martyris in mortem Thome fuerant machinati’.</i>
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117v (VI.19)	Right-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>‘Et nec mirum quia cum clerici Cantuarie officium misse cum requiens’</i>
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118r (VI.22)	Right-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>‘Angliam venit corde compunctus animo contritus’</i>
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118r (VI.22)	Right-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>‘cognovisset Leycestriam quam oppugnabat...’</i> In context: <i>‘David comes frater eius junior cum hoc <u>cognovisset Leycestriam</u> <u>quam oppugnabat</u> velociter reliquit et sese cum suis ut potuit in Scociam transtulit.’</i>
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118v (VI.24)	Left-margin Red	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>‘Eodem anno beatissimus Bernardus primus abbas Clarevallis a domino papa Alexandro iii in</i>
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			<i>urbe Rome solemniter auctorizatur et in chathologo sanctorum memoriam eius scribi auctoritate apostolica constituitur.'</i>
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118v(VI.25)	Left-margin	No ⁷	Directed at the line: <i>'Alexandro papa eminenciori privilegio roboratur.'</i> In context: <i>'Quod vero imminens periculum totis conatibus Scoti declinantes ab eis unanimiter sub tamen induciarum remedio prestanciori consilio refutatum est, quorum subinde industria dignitas pristina ecclesia Scotiane auctoritate apostolica confirmatur et libertas ab <u>Alexandro papa eminenciori privilegio roboratur.'</u></i>
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119v(VI.28)	Left-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'tempore detrimens maximas partem regni cedibus et'</i> In context: <i>'Ac deinde totam Moraviam non parvo <u>tempore detrimens maximas partem regni cedibus et incendiis occupaverat, totum</u></i>
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⁷ Although there is a bracket in the text on this folio, the pointer symbol is not directed at it. Rather, it is targeting the line of text above.

			<i>ambiens et ad totum aspirans.'</i>
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120r (VI.39)	Right-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Anno domini m c lxxxv Henricus rex Anglie restituit'</i> In context: <i>'Anno domini m c lxxxv Henricus rex Anglie restituit regi Willo comitatibus de Huntyngdonum quem aute hoc extorsit ab eodem pro ipsius redempcione una cum comitatu Northumbrie Westermorlandie et Cumberlandie id est comitatu de Karleil.'</i>
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120r (VI.39)	Left-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Anno domini m c lxxxix cum Henricus rex'</i> In context: <i>'Anno domini m c lxxxix cum Henricus rex Anglie tocius Anglie monarchiam atque Normannie, Aquitanie Britanie'</i>
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120r (VI.39)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Contigit autem ut cum idem rex ad sepeliendum regio vestitus apparatu portaretur coronam habens auream in capite, cirothecas in manibus deauratas et</i>
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			<p><i>anulum, calciamenta quoque auro contexta, cinctusque gladio, jacens super feretrum vultu discooperto, virgam auream manu gestans, supervenit subito Richardus Ruffus comes Pictavensis filius eius qui eciam cognominatus est Cor Leonis ei obviam ut funeri suo exhiberet obsequium.'</i></p>
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120v(VI.48)	Right-margin Red	No	<p>Directed at 'Scotorum' (the last word of the line 'Regem eciam regnumque Scotorum').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Regem eciam regnumque Scotorum ab omni subjeccione fidelitatis et obligacione sacramenti ac fidei sponsione convencionis antique tenore quibus se regnumque Scotorum pro liberacione corporis sui regi regnoque Anglorum prefatus rex obligaverat absolvit.'</i></p>
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121r (VI.54)	Right-margin Red	Yes	<p>Directed at the passage:</p> <p><i>'Willelmus vero rex Scocie cum de adventu consanguinei sui Richardi regis per internuncios audisset, statim sibi cum non modica potencia venit, et in brevi tempore suo consilio simul et auxilio divisum pene regnum</i></p>
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			<i>Anglorum pacificavit; fueruntque insimul reges colloquentes sibi usque ad xv kal' maii, dominicam scilicet in albis.'</i>
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121v(VI.55)	Left-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Eodem tempore Saladinus obiit apud Damascum. Cum autem sciret sibi mortem imminere, signiferum suum vocavit dicens: "Tu qui soles ferre vexilla mea per bella, fer vexillum mortis mee, hunc scilicet panniculum lineum in quo debeam sepeliri, per totum Damascum super lanceam clamitando: "Ecce magnus rex orientis moriens et nichil fert secum nisi hunc vilem panniculum"'</i>
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121v(VI.56)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Anno domini m c xc quinto rex Willelmus diutina infirmitate detentus est apud Clakmanand, ubi universi magnates congregati juraverunt filie sue Margarite tamquam vere heredi sue fidelitatem, nisi habuerit filium cum Ermengarda regina sua, quam quidem Margaritam genuit de filia Adam de Hitusun.'</i>
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121v(VI.59)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Et anno sequenti natus est Alexandri secundus filius regis Willelmi ex Emergarda regina ad maximam leticiam gentis sue in festo Sancti Bartolomei apud Hadyngton.'</i>
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122r (VI.61)	Right-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Eodem anno revertenti regi Johanni per'</i> In context: <i>'Eodem anno revertenti regi Johanni per conductum eius et optimatum Anglie occurens rex Willelmus in Angliam circa festum beati Martini, apud Lincolniam coacto grandi consilio, homagium fecit sibi pro omnibus terris suis et honoribus que ei debebantur in Anglia et que predecessores sui prius habuerant, salvis suis omnibus dignitatibus.'</i>
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122v(VI.66)	Right-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Anno domini m cc viii xv diebus ante Pascha interdicta est Anglia. Defuncto enim archiepiscopo Cantuar' nomine Huberto Walteri monachi magistrum reverendum suppriorem Cantuar' et rex Johannem Gray</i>
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			<i>episcopum Norwicensem elegerunt in episcopum.'</i>
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123r (VI.68)	Right-margin Red	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Anno domini m cc ix renovatur interdictum tam in Wallia quam in Anglia, unde omnis ordo omnis religio omnis dignitas nullis privilegiis suffragantibus preter parvulorum baptismum quod extra ecclesiam fiebat communi subjacuit interdicto.'</i>
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123v(VI.69)	Left-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>'virus suum erga eam effundere.'</i> In context: <i>'Et quia Scocia regno Anglorum proxima fuit et contigua, incepit vires suas colligere et virus suum erga eam effundere. Nam propter eversionem fabrice apud Twedmowth per regem Willelmum dirute, rex Johannes exinde contra Scotorum regem animo concitatus, cum multitudine et manu valida circa fluvium Twede consedit juxta Norham, regem memoratum bello laccessire disponens.'</i>
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124r (VI.70)	Right-margin Red	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Remittit intrea dominus rex Scocie regi Anglie enudem'</i> In context: <i>'<u>Remittit intrea</u> <u>dominus rex Scocie regi</u> <u>Anglie enudem</u> episcopum Sanctiandr' et abbatem de Melros et quosdam alios amicabiliora prioribus verba per ipsos renunciando, quod velit si posset pacis concordieque fedus componere.'</i>
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125r (VI.72)	Left-margin Red	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Hoc anno circa festum Sancti Michaelis, tanta fuit pluvie inundacio ut torrentes et flumina antiquos canales excederent et segetes de agris asportarent. Villam quoque que olim dicebatur Berta nunc quoque Perth in Scocia aqua de Thaya cum aqua de Almond maxima ex parte pertransiit.'</i>
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125r (VI.73)	Left-margin Red	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Hoc anno obiit Jonathas episcopus Dunblanensis et sepultus est apud Inchefrey ad novum locum ubi comes Gilbertus de Stratherne canonicos posuerat</i>
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			<i>adductos de Scona ubi tunc incepit fundare monasterium canonicorum.'</i>
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125v(VI.76)	Left-margin	Yes	Directed at the passage: <i>'Anno domini m cc xi rex Scocie Willelmus misit exercitum infinite multitudinis cum omnibus optimatibus regni sui in Ros contra Gothredum Macwillam, et ipse rex secutus est ut potuit inter Nativitatem Sancti Johannis et autumpnum.'</i>
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126r (VI.78)	Right-margin	No	Directed at the line: <i>'Interea cepit rex Willelmus, senio et labore'</i> In context: <i>'Interea cepit rex Willelmus, senio et labore effractus, viribus destitui et propter infirmittatis invaliditudinem cretica tempora observare. Unde sibi modum pacem et quitem regni desiderans, ultra vires procedandis discordiis et justicia inter regnicolas observanda etati nequaquam parcens anxie laborabat.'</i>
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Scotichronicon B. Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, MS

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁹

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
156v (VIII)	In between the columns of text	<p>In the list of <i>capituli</i> (for bk.VIII) there is a symbol directed at the title of c.43:</p> <p><i>'De amissione Sancte Crucis et Jerosolim et ortu Ludovici filii Phillipi'.</i></p>
165v (VIII.21)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the opening word of the chapter, '<i>Licitum</i>'.</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Licitum dicitur aliquid in respectu ad Dei prohibitionem, decens dicitur in respectu ad persone condicionem, expediens vero in respectu ad offensionem proximi. Considare ergo debet sapiens an istud quod facturus est si licitum, id est a Deo non prohibitum, deinde an deceat personam eius.'</i></p>
176v (VIII.43)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the line:</p> <p><i>'nisi xxii vel xxiii dentes habent, cum'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Ab ipso autem anno domini m c lxxxvii quo crux Domini capta est</i></p>

		<i>infantes qui postea nati sunt non nisi xxii vel xxiii dentes habent, cum antea xxx vel xxxi habere solent.'</i>
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187r (VIII.66)	In between the columns of text	<p>Directed at the word 'cure' (the first word of the line 'cure pastoralis ut expedicicius').</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Johannes Candide Case episcopus, abjecta sindone cure pastoralis ut expedicicius mundum fugeret, apud Sanctam Crucem juxta Castrum Puellarum habitum religionis suscepit a domino Wilhelmo eiusdem ecclesie abbate.'</i></p>
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ScotichroniconD.Damaway Castle, Forres, Donibristle MS.

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R¹⁷

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
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183v (VIII.55)	Left-margin ⁸	<p>Directed at the opening lines of the left column of text:</p> <p><i>'autem sciret sibi mortem imminere, signiferum suum vocavit dicens: 'Tu qui soles ferre vexilla mea per bella, fer vexillum mortis mee, hunc scilicet panniculum lineum in quo debeam sepeliri, per totum Damascum super lanceam clamitando: 'Ecce magnus rex orientis moriens et nichil fert secum nisi hunc vilem panniculum.'</i></p>
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183v (VIII.55)	Left-margin	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (by the text-hand):</p> <p><i>'De falsis testibus'</i></p> <p>This comment is located beside the line <i>'Corruptos siquidem duos scabinos pecunia'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Circa idem tempus rex Francie Philippus prepositum habuit Parisius qui concupiscens vicini sui</i></p>
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⁸ This symbol is exceptional in that it is inverted, pointing downwards from the top of the folio at the opening lines of text.

		<p>vineam voluit emere eam, sed alius noluit. Ipso tandem mortuo, prepositus fraudem excogitavit. Corruptos siquidem duos scabinos pecunia et ad sepulcrum defuncti nocte ducens, illudque effodiens ac in manu illius sacculum pecunie quam viventi optulerat posuit, clausaque fossa in crastino vineam apprehendit. Uxor defuncti contradicit; regem adit, qui auditores constituens propter testimonium scabinorum repulsa est. Illa impaciens regem querulis vocibus impetit. Qui testes seorsum advocans, unumquemque singillatim examinat, et primum in aure regis Pater Noster susurrare facit. Quo amoto et custodie deputato, alterum scabinum de veritate dicenda alloquitur sub pena mortis, subinferens quod 'socius tuus dixit michi verum sicut sanctum Pater etc'. Ille timens retexuit seriem. Vineam vidue restituit, scabinos decollari et prepositum vivum sepeliri fecit.'</p>
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PluscardenA. Glasgow, Mitchell Library, MS 308876.

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R²⁵

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION AND CONTENT OF COMMENT</u>	<u>FURTHER NON-TEXTUAL READER SCRIBAL ACTIVITY</u>
108v (VI.17)	Left-margin: <i>'Makheth'</i> .	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Carlelum</i></p> <p><i>Dunfermlyn</i></p> <p><i>Malcolmus</i></p> <p><i>regulus Argadiae</i></p> <p><i>Sumerledus</i></p> <p><i>Malcolmi Makheth</i></p> <p><i>Makheth</i></p> <p><i>David</i></p> <p><i>Strucathioch</i></p> <p><i>de Marchemond quod Roxburgh dicitur</i></p> <p><i>Malcolmo</i></p> <p><i>Sumerledo</i></p> <p><i>Petrus Lombardi</i></p> <p><i>Ludovicus, Henricum</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p> <p><i>Stephano</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus Cumyn</i></p>

108v (VI.18)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Henricus dictus Leo’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Northumbriam</i></p> <p><i>et Cumbriam</i></p> <p><i>de Huntyngton</i></p> <p><i>Hic vero Henricus, propter suam feritatem Leo dictus est</i></p> <p><i>Johannem</i></p> <p><i>Glasguensis</i></p> <p><i>Edwaldum</i></p> <p><i>Cummirlandiam</i></p> <p><i>Johannes</i></p>
109r (VI.18)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Malcolmus reddidit Northumbriam et Cumbriam regi Anglie Henricus’.</i></p> <p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Henricus referunt Malcolmo comitatus de Huntygton’</i></p> <p><i>‘Rex Malcolmus rege Anglorum Henricus [?] in bellum [?] regem Franciam’.</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Scocie Malcolmus</i></p> <p><i>Glasguensem</i></p> <p><i>Gedwort</i></p> <p><i>Malcolmus</i></p> <p><i>Cestriam</i></p> <p><i>rex Malcolmus</i></p> <p><i>anno Northumbriam regi Anglis, suis exceptis paucis inconsultis proceribus reddidit et Cumbriam</i></p> <p><i>Karleolum</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p> <p><i>Tholosam</i></p> <p><i>Ludovico</i></p>

		<i>Malcolmus</i> <i>Malcolmus</i> <i>Turenensi</i>
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109r (VI.19)		The following text is underscored: <i>Tholostano</i>
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109v (VI.19)	Left-margin: <i>‘Margareta soror Malcolmi regis disponsata duci Britannie’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Perth</i> <i>Ferchardum</i> <i>de Strathern</i> <i>Fergusius</i> <i>Margaretam</i> Left-margin -there is a bracket highlighting the comment and the following text: <i>Margaretam atque Adam, duci Britannie Conano Margaretam, et Adam comiti Holandie Florencio, in matrimonio tradidit</i>
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109v (VI.20)	In between the columns of text: <i>‘De Moravie...’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Moravie</i> <i>Angusius comes</i> <i>Moravienses</i> <i>Sommerledus</i> <i>regulus Argadie</i> <i>Renfrew</i>
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		<i>Hibernia</i> <i>Gillecolam</i> <i>Malcolmus</i>
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110r (VI.20)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Malcolmus rex plena monitus in casitatem...’</i></p> <p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Monasterium de Cupro fundatum’</i></p> <p><i>‘Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus per Henricus regem Anglorum’</i></p> <p><i>‘De Conano comes Britannie et de Richmont’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Northumbrie</i></p> <p><i>Willo</i></p> <p><i>David comite de Hyntyngton</i></p> <p><i>Alexander papa</i></p> <p><i>Octavianum</i></p> <p><i>Cupro</i></p> <p><i>Medeolanensis</i></p> <p><i>Tharsis et Arabum</i></p> <p><i>Saba</i></p> <p><i>Eustargio Mediolanis</i></p> <p><i>Thomas Cantuariensis</i></p> <p><i>Conanus</i></p> <p><i>Richemont</i></p> <p><i>Constancium qui Conanus</i></p> <p><i>Andegaviae</i></p> <p><i>Arthurum</i></p> <p><i>Andegaviae</i></p> <p><i>Pictavie</i></p> <p><i>Arthurus</i></p>
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110v (VI.20)	Left-margin: <i>‘Elizabeth filia regis Scotorum Jacobi primi disponsata Francisco duci Britannie’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Conanus</i> <i>Margareta</i> <i>Alicia</i> <i>Petro Menclerk</i> <i>duces Britannie</i> <i>Albanus</i> <i>Jacobi</i> <i>Elizabeth</i> <i>Francorum</i> <i>Karoli</i> <i>comitis de Montfort</i> <i>Britannie</i>
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110v (VI.21)	Left-margin: <i>‘Hic Malcolmus rex dictus est Malcolmus Keanwourth’</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>xii annos septem menses</i> <i>quinto yalus Decembris, feria quinta vocabus</i>
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111r (VI.21)		The following text is underscored: <i>et Malcolmus Keanworth</i> <i>Jedworth</i> <i>Dunfermlyne</i> <i>David</i>
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111r (VI.22)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Willelmus comes Northumbrie in regem Scotorum...’</i></p> <p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Willelmus rex Scotorum’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Sconam</i></p> <p><i>Willelmum</i></p> <p><i>Malcolmi</i></p> <p><i>Northumbrie</i></p> <p><i>et Leo Justiciae</i></p> <p><i>Richardi episcopi Sanctiandree</i></p> <p><i>Mathaeum</i></p> <p><i>Willelmum</i></p> <p><i>Mathaeus</i></p> <p><i>Henrico</i></p> <p><i>Northumbria</i></p> <p><i>Northumbrie</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Henrico</i></p> <p><i>Windesor</i></p>
111v (VI.23)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Ducatus Aquitainie suscepit rege Francorum...’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Baldredus</i></p> <p><i>Rivallis</i></p> <p><i>Silvanus</i></p> <p><i>Dundrannan</i></p> <p><i>Matildus</i></p> <p><i>Henrici</i></p>

		<i>Gregorius Dunkeldensis</i> <i>Hunbaldus</i> <i>Posletum</i> <i>Walterus</i>
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111v (VI.24)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <i>Henricus</i>
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112r (VI.24)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>'Northumbria denegavitur pro regem Anglie regi Scotorum'</i></p> <p><i>'Henricus tercius filius Henricus secundus in regni Anglie sublimavit et consecracionem per archiepiscopum Eboracensem'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Windesor</i> <i>Northumbrie</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>archiepiscopum Eboracensem</i> <i>Cantuariensis</i> <i>archepiscopi Cantuariensis</i>
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112r (VI.24)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'Miraculum Beate Marie de Rechemador in Gallia'</i></p> <p><i>'Discordia inter Henricus reges patrum viz et filium et recessis filii in Galliam'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <i>et apud Rechemador</i> <i>Henricus</i>
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112v (VI.24)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p>
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		<i>Artaxerces</i> <i>Darium</i> <i>Ne des alteri honorem tuum, at annos tuos crudeli</i>
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112v (VI.25)		The following text is underscored: <i>Philippo</i> <i>Albiniatensem</i> <i>Albiniatensem</i> <i>Henricus</i> <i>Bononiae</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Northumbria</i> <i>et Cumbriam pollicentis</i> <i>de Werk</i> <i>Northumbria</i> <i>Humbri</i> <i>Karliolum</i> <i>Robertus</i> <i>Licestriae, cum uxore</i> <i>Willi</i> <i>Portestriae</i> <i>Willelmi</i> <i>Karleolum</i> <i>Thomae</i>
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113r (VI.26)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>'Rex Scotorum Willelmus captus ab Anglos'</i></p> <p><i>'Nota poeniti regi Henrici ad sepulcrum Sancti Thomi'</i></p> <p><i>'...in castro de Fallaz custaditus'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Appilbram</i></p> <p><i>Wamerlandiam</i></p> <p><i>Northumbriam</i></p> <p><i>Burgum</i></p> <p><i>Cumbria</i></p> <p><i>Northumbriam</i></p> <p><i>Alnewik</i></p> <p><i>iii ydus Julii decimo regni sui anno, captus est</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus Scotorum rex</i></p> <p><i>Richemont</i></p> <p><i>Thome</i></p> <p><i>Anglie senori Henrico res</i></p> <p><i>Leycestriam</i></p> <p><i>Gallouwidiensibus</i></p> <p><i>Galluwidiensium</i></p>
113r (VI.27)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'Rex Scotorum de custodia extrahatur et pro regem Henricus'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Henricus senori</i></p> <p><i>Willelmum</i></p>
113v (VI.28)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p>

		<p><i>Signum eciam prudentis est de facili non excitari ad praelia, quia necessitas et non voluntas bella movere debeat</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text - there is a bracket, accompanied by a <i>nota</i>, located beside the passage above.</p>
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114r (VI.28)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'Rex Willelmus liberatus a captivitate et pro eis regi Anglorum assignavit castello, scilicet de Berwico, de Roxburgh et de Edinburgh'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Nam bella sine spe magni honoris et Lucri mota hominis aurea piscantibus similari poterit</i> [There is a <i>nota</i> beside this passage.]</p> <p><i>Sanctiandree et Dunkeldensis</i></p> <p><i>Henricum</i></p> <p><i>Berwico et de Roxburgh et de Edinburgh</i></p> <p><i>Willo</i></p> <p><i>Willi</i></p> <p><i>Eboracum</i></p> <p><i>Henrico</i></p> <p><i>de Stirling</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p>
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114r (VI.29)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Galluwidienses</i></p> <p><i>Gilberto</i></p>
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		<i>Fergusi</i>
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114v (VI.29)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Nota in consilio Northampton fuisse ordinatus quod Scoti subjectus archepiscopo Eboracensis eorum metropolitano’</i></p> <p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis canonizatus’</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Othredus</i></p> <p><i>Fergusii</i></p> <p><i>Gilberto</i></p> <p><i>Galluwidam</i></p> <p><i>Gilbertus</i></p> <p><i>Northampton</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Eboracem</i></p> <p><i>Ninianus</i></p> <p><i>Hiberniam</i></p> <p><i>Walterum</i></p> <p><i>Johannem Kalcouwensem</i></p> <p><i>Ninianus</i></p> <p><i>Castrum Puellarum</i></p> <p><i>Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p>
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114v (VI.30)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Northamptonne</i></p> <p><i>Richardo</i></p> <p><i>Rogero</i></p>
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115r (VI.30)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Scotus, nomine</i></p> <p><i>Gilbertus</i></p> <p><i>In naribus Scoti pipar; plenus est enim “sermonibus et coartat eum spiritus uteri sui</i></p> <p><i>Thamensis</i></p> <p><i>testa Beda</i></p>
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115v (VI.30)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Thomam Cantuariensem</i></p>
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115v (VI.31)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Rogerus autem Eboracensis</i></p> <p><i>Gilberti</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p>
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116r (VI.31)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p>Comment highlighting how Scotland was considered to be subordinate to England.</p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Gilbertum</i></p> <p><i>Cathanensem</i></p> <p><i>Ludovicus Francorum</i></p> <p><i>Anglorum rege Henrico</i></p> <p><i>ducatum Normannie</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Abirbroth</i></p> <p><i>Lunderis</i></p>
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		<p><i>Huntington</i></p> <p><i>Phillipus</i></p> <p><i>Qui injuriam Sanctorum tolerat similis est ei qui facit eam</i></p> <p><i>peccare</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>David comite de Huntynton</i></p> <p><i>Makwilliam</i></p> <p><i>Donaldum de Bane</i></p> <p><i>Dunschath</i></p> <p><i>Ederconne</i></p> <p><i>Donaldi</i></p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>David comite de Huntynton</i></p> <p><i>Henricum seniore</i></p> <p>Left-margin - there is a bracket beside the passage:</p> <p><i>hoc reprehenderetur, dixit se blasphemim Jhesu Christi sustinere non posse, sequendo sanctorum decreta, dicencium</i></p>
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116v (VI.32)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Comitatus de Huntyngton, de Northumberland, Cummerland et Westmurland restituiti regi Willelmo Scotorum per regem Henricus Anglie et nota comitatu de</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Jerosolimitanus</i></p> <p><i>Henrico</i></p> <p><i>Henricos</i></p> <p><i>Willelmo comitatum de Huntyngton</i></p>
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	<i>Carleolo'</i>	<i>Windesor</i>
	In between the columns of text:	<i>de Northumberland, Cumber- land et Westmurland</i>
	<i>'Dux Britannia Galfridus filius tercius regis Anglie moritur'</i>	<i>Carleolo</i>
	<i>'Castellum Puellae redditem regi Willelmus per regem Anglie'</i>	<i>de Huntyngton rex Willelmus</i>
		<i>rex Willelmus</i>
		<i>Gilbertus</i>
		<i>Rotholandus</i>
		<i>Othredi</i>
		<i>Gilpatric</i>
		<i>Kenedus</i>
		<i>Samuel</i>
		<i>Galuwidiensium</i>
		<i>Rotholandus</i>
		<i>Karleolum</i>
		<i>Rotholando</i>
		<i>Willelmus</i>
		<i>Gilberti</i>
		<i>Rotholando</i>
		<i>Willelmus</i>
		<i>de Carrik</i>
		<i>Galfridus</i>
		<i>Henrici</i>
		<i>dux Britonnie</i>
		<i>Henricus</i>
		<i>Willo Castelli Puellarum</i>

		<i>Eymergerdam</i> <i>comitis de Beaumont</i> <i>Willelmi Bastard</i> <i>Roberto Curthose</i>
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117r (VI.32)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Margareta</i></p> <p><i>Roberto de Broys</i></p> <p><i>comiti de Leodulss</i></p> <p><i>rex Francie Philippus</i></p> <p><i>Francorum Philippum et</i> <i>Anglorum Henricum</i></p> <p><i>Richardus comes Pictavie</i></p> <p><i>rex Francie</i></p> <p><i>Castellum de Gisorz</i></p> <p><i>Ludovicus</i></p> <p><i>Philippi</i></p> <p><i>Henrico</i></p> <p><i>Henrici senioris</i></p> <p><i>Philippo</i></p> <p><i>Philippus</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p> <p><i>Jerosolimitano</i></p> <p><i>Philippus</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p>
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		<p><i>Richardus</i></p> <p><i>Anglie</i></p> <p><i>comitatum Pictavie</i></p> <p><i>rex Anglie</i></p> <p><i>Normannia</i></p> <p><i>Philippus</i></p> <p><i>Francie et Anglie</i></p> <p>Left-margin - there is a bracket (accompanied by a <i>nota</i>) beside the passage:</p> <p><i>Item in magnis cronicis notatum repperi qualiter rex Francie Philippus omnes histriones, mimos et joculariores de regno suo exulendo expulsit, affirmans quod melius esset pauperibus erogare quod talibus periditum erogatur</i></p>
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117v (VI.32)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Richardus</i></p> <p><i>Ludovicum</i></p> <p><i>Philippi</i></p> <p><i>Henricus</i></p> <p><i>Richardus</i></p> <p><i>Richardus</i></p>
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117v (VI.33)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Mors Henrici regis Anglorum’</i></p> <p><i>‘Richardus Ruffus</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Richardi</i></p> <p><i>Philippus</i></p>
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	<i>rex Anglie'</i>	<i>Nongent</i> <i>Castelli Bernardi</i> <i>Cenomanentem</i> <i>Henricum</i> <i>Tenonem Castrum</i> <i>Richardus comes Pictavie</i> <i>Philippi</i> <i>Frenteaulx</i> <i>Ricardo Ruffo</i> <i>Henrico</i> <i>Richardus</i> <i>Westmenstr</i> <i>Philippum</i> <i>Turonensi</i> <i>Cenomensis</i> <i>Castello Radulphi</i> <i>Philippum</i> <i>Richardus</i> <i>Crariaci</i> <i>Auvergina</i> <i>Henrici</i>
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118r (VI.33)	Left-margin: <i>'Castella de Roxburgh et de Berwick reddita regi Willelmo per rege Richardus</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Scotorum Willo Castella sua de Roxburgh et Berwick libere restituit, Castello Puellarum</i>
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	<i>Anglorum'</i>	<i>Willelmi</i> <i>acceptit ab eo decem millibus marcarum</i> Left-margin - there is a bracket (accompanied by a <i>nota</i>) beside the passage: <i>regibus praecedentibus Anglie, quam aliter quibuscunque et qualitercunque, ipsum regem Willelmum, regnum et incolas imperpetuum absolvit, omnesque obsides hac de causa patri suo datas sibi liberos in regnum Scocie remisit; regems que ac suos successores, regnum et incolas eciam ab omni jurisdictione et diminii subjeccione imperpetuum publice declaravit ac liberum</i>
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119r (VI.35)	Right-margin: <i>'Rex Scocie Willelmus regi Anglie Richardi duo millia marcarum de thesauru ab Scocia'</i> <i>'De Saladino Soldano'</i>	
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119v (VI.35)	Left-margin: <i>'Philippus rex Francorum Normaniam intrans et vastanus'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Clackmannan</i> <i>Margaretam</i> <i>De Hicunsun</i> <i>Isabellam</i>
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		Roberto de Broyes
119v (VI.36)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>'Richardus rex Anglorum fecitem homagium regi Francorum pro Normania, Pictavia et Andegavenia'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Normanie</i></p> <p><i>Pictavie et Andegavensis</i></p> <p><i>Castrum Milonis infra ducatum Bituricensis</i></p>
120r (VI.36)	<p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>'...filii Heraldi infidelis regi Scotorum'</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Willelmus</i></p> <p><i>Cathaniae</i></p> <p><i>Harrado Harraldo</i></p> <p><i>domini m c nonagesimo septimo, Herraldus</i></p> <p><i>Herraldum</i></p> <p><i>Moraviam, Cathaniam, Sutherlandiam</i></p> <p><i>Roxburgh</i></p> <p><i>Tarfunum</i></p> <p><i>genitalibus abscisis et oculis evulsis</i></p> <p><i>m c nonogesimo</i></p> <p><i>Willi</i></p> <p><i>Berthomaei</i></p> <p><i>Hadyngton</i></p> <p><i>Margareta</i></p>

120r (VI.37)	Right-margin: <i>'Ictem baliste in fossatus rex Richardus hoc Lemonicas in Gallia'</i> <i>'Johannes succedit in regno Anglie'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Richardus</i> <i>Lemonicas</i> <i>Calow</i> <i>Richardus</i> <i>Fontem Ebrardi</i> <i>Richardo</i> <i>Johannes</i> <i>Johannes</i>
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120v (VI.37)	Left-margin: <i>'Arthurus dux Britannie nepos regis Anglie homagium fecit regi Francorum'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Westmester</i> <i>Normanniam usque ad civitate Cenomanciam</i>
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120v (VI.38)	In between the columns of text: <i>'Homagium fecit per regem Willelmum regi Anglie et [?] possidebat in Anglie'</i> <i>'Rex Francie Normannie subingavit...pro ducatu Aquitannie et comitatus Pictavensi et Andegavensi...'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Ludovico</i> <i>Auvergniam, Berriannensem</i> <i>Comitatum de Evreux</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Lincolniam</i>
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121r (VI.38)	Left-margin: <i>'Comitatus</i>	The following text is underscored:
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	<i>Pictavinus et Andegavensis ducati...lxliii Arthuro duci Britannie'</i> <i>'Arthurus neptus pro regem Anglie'</i>	<i>Cathanie</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Johannes legatus</i>
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121r (VI.39)	Right-margin: <i>'Arthurus dux Britannie...'</i> <i>'Normannia, Pictavia et Andegavia...'</i>	
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121v (VI.39)		The following text is underscored: <i>Willelmus</i> <i>ob desiderium Berwicum</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Johannes</i> <i>Willelmo</i> <i>ad Norame</i> <i>flumen de Tuede</i> <i>Willelmus</i> <i>Willelmo</i>
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122r (VI.40)		The following text is underscored: <i>Vallie</i> <i>de Winton</i>
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122v (VI.41)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Margaretam</i></p> <p><i>Ricardo</i></p>
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123r (VI.42)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>in posterum reges Scocie dictis regibus Anglie aut eorum regni succesoribus pro dictis terris homagium faceret, sed tantum ille qui heres regni tempore fuerit pro dictis terris homagium faceret</i></p> <p><i>Secundario vero predictae</i></p>
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124r (VI.44)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Divisio sigilli Scocie et dictum de Strivelli’</i></p> <p><i>‘Rosa nussa in sceptro regi Scocie pro papam’</i></p> <p>Right-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Willelmus rex de unam filiarum de comiti Bolonie, et unam Robertus de Broyes aliam [nuptos?]</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Nevbotil</i></p> <p><i>Strivelyn</i></p> <p><i>de Striveling</i></p> <p><i>pontem castrum Strivelense</i></p> <p><i>regios ad curiam accedentes et per nuncios apostolicos a curia rosam auream mirifice fabricatam et valde</i></p>
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126r (VII.1)	<p>Left-margin:</p> <p><i>‘Rex Anglie Johanne capta civitate Andegavia funditus muros evertit’</i></p>	
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126r (VII.2)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Andegavia</i></p> <p><i>Johanne rege</i></p> <p><i>in Pictavia</i></p> <p><i>Marie Magdalenen</i></p> <p><i>Peronam</i></p> <p><i>Turniacensem</i></p> <p><i>Flandrenenses</i></p> <p><i>Philippum</i></p> <p><i>pontem Boninum</i></p> <p><i>rege Johanne</i></p>
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126v (VII.2)		<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Francie</i></p> <p><i>dux Lovanie</i></p> <p><i>Lamburgh</i></p> <p><i>Bolonie</i></p> <p><i>comes Flandree</i></p> <p><i>tribus comitibus Elemanie</i></p> <p><i>Francie</i></p> <p><i>Philippus</i></p>
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126v (VII.3)	<p>In between the columns of text:</p> <p><i>‘Johannes rex</i> <i>Anglie</i> <i>excommunicatum</i></p>	<p>The following text is underscored:</p> <p><i>Johannes</i></p> <p><i>regem Francie</i></p>
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	<i>per Romanum pontificem et...clerici et laici ab eius fidelite et homagio'</i>	<i>regem Francie</i>
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127r (VII.3)	Left-margin: <i>'Manipulum in humeris sacerdotum Anglorum notanum missus insignum apostasie'</i> <i>'Johannes rex Anglie fecit fidatoria regna Anglie et Hibernie Romano pontificii'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Propter quod, in signum apostasie manipulum in humeris sacerdotum infigendum in omnibus eorum missis cantandis, sacerdotibus omnibus reliquerunt Angelis imperpetuum'</i> <i>Johannes</i>
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128v (VII.5)	In between the columns of text: <i>'Robertus de Broys desponsavit Isabella filiam David comite de Huntyngton fratrem Willi regis Scotorum'</i>	The following text is underscored: <i>Hastingis</i> <i>Lundoris</i>
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PluscardenD. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 8

Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity by R³⁴

<u>FOLIO / (BOOK / CHAPTER)</u>	<u>LOCATION OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>	<u>INTEREST OF POINTER SYMBOL</u>
85r (VI.17)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (also beneath the columns of text):</p> <p><i>‘De Willo Comyn episcopo Eboracensis per morte [infectus?]</i>’.</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Eodem vero anno Willelmus Cumyn Eboracensis archiepiscopus, post recepcionem eucharistie in missa, prodicione suorum clericorum infra ablucionem liquorum letali pocione infectus, extinctus est’</i></p>
86r (VI.19)	Beneath the columns of text	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (also beneath the columns of text):</p> <p><i>‘De discordia de cardinales’</i>.</p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>‘Hiis eciam temporibus facta est discordia inter cardinales post mortem Adriani pape, per quod magnum in ecclesia Christi sciasma exortum est; et tres scismaticos, instigacione diabolice</i></p>

		<i>fraudis electos, Alexander papa, tunc canonice electus, excommunicatos apostolica autoritate, ab ecclesia Dei omnino expulsi'</i>
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86v (VI.20)	Above the columns of text	<p>Directed at a marginal comment (also above the left column of text):</p> <p><i>'Willelmus frater Malcolmi custos Scocie proclamatus est'.</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'Propter quod a suis in tantum habitus est in scrupulo et indigacione quod Willelmus, frater ejus junior, qui semper postquam Angli suum abstulerunt dominium, comitatum s. Northumbrie, ipsis Anglis satis infestus erat et implacabilis inimicus effectus, quod tocus regni Scocie, rege quasi invito ac seipso eciam Willelmo, custos proclamatus est et constitutus, fratre suo juniore David, comite de Huntyngton eo tunc existente'</i></p>
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88r (VI.25)	Right-margin	<p>Directed at a marginal comment:</p> <p><i>'De oracionem consecravit'</i></p> <p>In context:</p> <p><i>'In Anglia eciam quaedam pestis eodem tempore ruens, multos inficiens</i></p>
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		<i>extinxit quadam tusse; contra quiam pestem hanc sequentem oracionem consecravit, viz: Christe, tuum plasma constringit tussis et asma; Asmatis et tussis, Christe, medicus michi tu sis. Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina mei. Conditor et redemptor corporis et anime, tu sis michi medicus utriusque'</i>
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95v (VI.42)	Left-margin	Directed at a marginal comment: <i>'Et de pacis confederaciones de regibus apud Northam'.</i>
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COMPARATIVE TABLE OF READER ACTIVITY IN BOOK
VIII OF BOWER'S SCOTICHRONICON

<u>CHAPTER</u> <u>NUMBER</u> <u>S AND</u> <u>TITLES</u> <u>IN BOOK</u> <u>VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
1 'Malcolm the Maiden king of Scots'				✓		
2 'How the under-king of Argyll rebelled against his king'					✓	✓
3 'King Henry II of England and Malcolm king of Scots'					✓	
4 'The same King Malcolm'					✓	
5 'Further concerning [the pope's] complaint, and how the higher the position a man holds the more completely he is enslaved'						✓
6 'How King Malcolm vanquished Somerled and refused to marry'					✓	✓
7 'Exile of St Thomas of Canterbury'			✓	✓	✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
8 'How the cardinals were corrupted, and supported the king of England against St Thomas'				✓		
9 'How the king vented his fury upon the archbishop's relatives. Fierce attacks by wolves'						
10 'The cruelty of this Henry of England [and the Devil in the shape of a horse]'						
11 'The vision of a cleric who spoke to the king in verse, and the king's replies to each of his questions'					✓	
12 'King William, the brother of the aforesaid King Malcolm'					✓	
13 'How King William set out for France against the wishes of his own people'				✓	✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
14 ‘How the elder Henry had his son Henry crowned to spite St Thomas’					✓	
15 ‘Roger [arch-] bishop of York tries to make the church of Scotland subject to him’				✓		
16 ‘The life of St Thomas’				✓		✓
17 ‘How the [arch-] bishop resisted the unjust decrees’						
18 ‘How Thomas went into exile and was given strength to bear that exile by a verse [of Cato]’						
19 ‘His martyrdom, and the discord between father and son etc.’				✓	✓	
20 ‘The holding of two bishoprics at one and the same time’						

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
21 ‘The same topic’		✓			✓	
22 ‘Here King William is captured’				✓	✓	
23 ‘The agreement between the two Henrys, father and son’					✓	
24 ‘The freeing of King William from captivity, and some good examples which advance our argument’				✓	✓	
25 ‘The fickleness of the men of Galloway; and the attempt by the English to make the Scottish church subject to them’				✓	✓	
26 ‘The reply of Gilbert the noble Scots cleric to the English who were reproaching him with his own words’					✓	
27 ‘Some events’					✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
28 ‘How the same Philip could endure in his kingdom neither usurpers of the liberties and property of churches nor despotic rulers’				√	√	
29 ‘Some events’						
30 ‘Various events’						
31 ‘The expulsion of the Jews from the kingdom [of France]’						
32 ‘The punishment meted out to mercenaries by the same king’						
33 ‘Peace made in a miraculous way between those who were at variance with each other’						
34 ‘How the king caused Paris to be embellished with paved ways of stone’						

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
35 ‘The complexion of the sin of simony and its danger’						
36 ‘Still the same topic’						
37 ‘The punishment inflicted on women guilty of simony’						
38 ‘How the earth engulfed the monastery’						
39 ‘The mutual slaughter and wars in the kingdom at the time of the king’s captivity’				✓	✓	
40 ‘How the king of England began to support the men of Galloway, and other events’					✓	
41 ‘Some events’						
42 ‘How the most Christian King Philip expelled jongleurs, actors and [dice players]’					✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
43 'The loss of the Holy Cros and of Jerusalem, and the birth of Louis son of Philip'		✓				
44 'Philip king of France and Henry king of England take the cross along with many others'						
45 'The breach of the treaty between the two kings, Philip and Henry, by Count Richard son of the said Henry'					✓	
46 'The flight and death of King Henry Fitz Empress, and the beginning of King Richard's [reign]'					✓	
47 'How blood oozed from the nostrils of the dead king because of his anger towards his ungrateful son'					✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
48 ‘The restoration of our castles and the abandonment of the claim to overlordship by the English’				√	√	
49 ‘A copy of the letter of renunciation of claims over the kingdom etc.’						
50 ‘Other events, and King Philip’s will’						
51 ‘The kings of France and England, Philip and Richard, travel across the seas to bring aid to the Holy Land’						
52 ‘The death of the emperor while journeying to Outremer, and other events’						
53 ‘King Philip’s return to France’						

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
54 ‘King Richard’s return to England, and the choice of Henry as king of Jerusalem’				✓		
55 ‘The concord established between the kingdoms, and the death of Saladin’	✓			✓	✓	
56 ‘The war between the two kings and an amazing storm’				✓	✓	
57 ‘How King Richard did homage to King Philip [and concerning Maurice the good bishop of Paris]’					✓	
58 ‘Miraculous events’						
59 ‘The legate and King William’				✓	✓	

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS AND TITLES IN BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
60 ‘The death of Richard king of the English; [and his brother John]’					✓	
61 ‘A peace treaty agreed between the kings [of France and England] but soon broken’				✓	✓	
62 ‘How King William checked the tyrannical rule of the earl of Orkney; and concerning a self-indulgent bishop and ordinary etc.’						
63 ‘How the monk Helinand wittily mae a fool of a bishop [who was the ordinary for his monastery]’					✓	
64 ‘The castles captured by Philip’						
65 ‘How Philip king of rance subdued the whole of Normandy and Poitou’						

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>						
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴	
66 ‘Various events’			✓	✓			
67 ‘The privilege of the Scottish church that it be subject to no one except the Roman pontiff’							
68 ‘A similar privilege granted to the same king by [pope] Celestine’				✓			
69 ‘The obstinacy of John king of the English arising from the encouragement given him by his relative the emperor Otto’				✓	✓		
70 ‘The difficult nature of the negotiations between the kings’				✓			
71 ‘The agreement made between the kings of the Scots and the English’						✓	
72 ‘The fuller agreement entered into between them’				✓	✓		

<u>CHAPTER NUMBERS</u> <u>AND</u> <u>TITLES IN</u> <u>BOOK VIII</u>	<u>LATE-MEDIEVAL READERS OF THE MSS</u>					
	R ¹⁷	R ¹⁹	R ²¹	R ²³	R ²⁵	R ³⁴
73 ‘Other events of this year’				✓		
74 ‘The unjust rule of King John in Ireland. His conquest of the country’						
75 ‘How the Irish submitted to the king of Ireland’						
76 ‘How King William sent an army into Ross against MacWilliam’				✓		
77 ‘John subdued Wales and renewed his treaty with William’						
78 ‘How the king of England planned through trickery to have King Alexander [in his power] so that thereby he might get control of Scotland for himself’				✓		
79 ‘The death of King William’					✓	

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