

# Historical writing in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland: the Dunfermline compilation\*

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## Abstract

This article examines the first three items in a manuscript housed in the Royal Library in Madrid but written at the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline in Fife, Scotland during the reign of James III (1460–88). It argues that the three items were originally put together during the reign of Alexander III (1249–86) and together formed a compilation which should be viewed as the earliest extant history of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kings of Scots. Interestingly, the Dunfermline compilation did not stress the Irish ancestry of the kings of Scots, as might be assumed, but instead set its subjects against the backdrop of their Anglo-Saxon descent from the house of Cerdic. The article then considers the relationship of the Dunfermline compilation to Turgot's *Vita Sancte Margarete* and Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* and argues that the use of these sources in the compilation suggest that it was put together for a particular political purpose, a purpose for which the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the kings of Scots had particular relevance.

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Historical writing has often been used as a form of 'propaganda', created to support a particular case or cause. A prime example would be William of Poitiers's manipulation of the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the events which led up to it.<sup>1</sup> Little Scottish writing composed before the death of Alexander III in 1286 has fallen into this category. This lacuna is no doubt the result of the perceived weakness of the tradition of historical writing in Scotland before John of Fordun wrote his *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* between early 1384 and late August 1387.<sup>2</sup> Even though recent scholarship has somewhat resurrected this tradition, there is still little substantial historical writing of the central middle ages, extant or not, believed to have

\* This article is a revised version of a paper read to the 'Earlier middle ages' seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. It was jointly awarded the Pollard Prize, sponsored by Wiley-Blackwell, for 2007–8. The author is grateful to John Maddicott, Robert Bartlett, George Molyneux, Richard Sharpe, Chris Wickham and especially Dauvit Broun for commenting on successive drafts. It has also benefited greatly from being presented at medieval history seminars in Glasgow, Oxford and St. Andrews.

<sup>1</sup> *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998); G. Garnett, 'Coronation and propaganda: some implications of the Norman claim to the throne of England in 1066', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., xxxvi (1986), 91–116.

<sup>2</sup> The standard edition is still W. F. Skene, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (Edinburgh, 1871). For John of Fordun's place as the founding father of Scottish historiography, see Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, p. lxxviii; for a similar view point, see also B. Webster, 'John of Fordun and the independent identity of the Scots', in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. P. Smyth (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 85–102.

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been tied to a particular case or issue.<sup>3</sup> This article aims to fill this gap. It examines hitherto understudied pieces of historical writing surviving in a fifteenth-century manuscript originating from Dunfermline abbey in Fife. It is argued that this material was originally written during the reign of Alexander III (1249–86) and was put together for a cogent political purpose: to secure for Alexander and future kings of Scots certain privileges which would place their kingship on a footing equal to the most powerful rulers in Christendom. The material from the Dunfermline manuscript can, therefore, be seen as an exceptional survival of a piece of political propaganda written in thirteenth-century Scotland. This article will demonstrate how this view of historical writing surviving in a fifteenth-century manuscript can be justified.

The existence of a Scottish medieval manuscript in the Royal Library in Madrid (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS. II 2097) has long been acknowledged by historians of the period.<sup>4</sup> Transcribed at the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline in Fife, the manuscript (henceforth the Dunfermline manuscript) can be dated to the reign of James III of Scotland (1460–88) by an incomplete king-list on folio 25v which leaves the reign-length of James III blank, indicating that the manuscript was transcribed before the king's death in June 1488.<sup>5</sup> However, the content of the manuscript itself received little attention until Donald Watt re-examined it during his preparations for the new edition of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, the relevant volume being published in 1995. Watt was interested in the manuscript because it quickly became apparent that Bower himself, abbot at nearby Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth (1385–1449 and abbot 1418–47), had access to an exemplar of the Dunfermline manuscript or, at least, the texts it contained.<sup>6</sup> The Dunfermline manuscript contains five items of particular interest to historians of medieval Scotland: an interpolated version of the *Vita S. Margarete*, the life of Queen Margaret of Scotland (1069–93), originally written by Turgot, prior of Durham and bishop of St. Andrews (c.1050–1115) between 1100 and 1107;<sup>7</sup> a collection

<sup>3</sup> The exception might be the foundation legends written for the bishopric of St. Andrews, particularly Version 'A', for which see D. Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 114–16; D. Broun, 'The church of St. Andrews and its foundation legend in the early 12th century: recovering the full text of Version A of the foundation legend', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles 500–1287*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), pp. 108–14. For the resurrection of the tradition of historical writing in Scotland during the 13th century, see D. Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999); Broun, *Scottish Independence*, particularly pp. 235–68; D. Broun, 'The birth of Scottish history', *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, lxxvi (1997), 4–22.

<sup>4</sup> J. Durkan, 'Three manuscripts with Fife associations, and David Colville of Fife', *Innes Rev.*, xx (1969), 47–58; for a brief history of the manuscript, see also Broun, *Irish Identity*, p. 196; *The Miracles of St. Æbbe of Coldingham and St. Margaret of Scotland*, ed. R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2003), p. xxxiv. See also the note in R. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: an Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1991), p. 209, n. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS. II 2097 (hereafter Dunfermline manuscript) fo. 25v; *Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower in Latin and English, ed. D. E. R. Watt (9 vols., Aberdeen and Edinburgh, 1989–98) (hereafter Bower, *Scotichronicon*), iii, pp. xvii–xviii; Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Bower, *Scotichronicon*, iii, pp. xvii–xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 1r–17v. Turgot's *Life* survives in a further two versions: British Library, Cotton Tiberius D iii fo. 179v–186r (pr. *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, ed. I. H. Hinde (Durham, 1868), pp. 234–54) and a now-lost manuscript at the Cistercian abbey at Vaucelles, printed by Papebroch in *Acta Sanctorum* 'ex membraneo nostro MS Valcellensi' (*Acta Sanctorum* (68 vols., Antwerp 1643–), Junii, ii. 328–35). For the *Life*, see R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), app. E, pp. 395–9; 'Benedictines, Tironensians and Cistercians', in G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the 11th to the 14th Century* (Edinburgh, 2nd edn., 2003), pp. 169–86, at pp. 170–3; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 122–3; D. Baker, "'A nursery of saints': St. Margaret of Scotland reconsidered", in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 119–41, particularly pp. 128–33; cf. L. L. Huneycutt, 'The idea of a perfect princess: the *Life* of St. Margaret in the reign of Matilda II (1100–18)', *Anglo-Norman Stud.*, xii (1989), 81–97, particularly pp. 82–7; also J. Harrison, 'The mortuary roll of Turgot of Durham (d. 1115)', *Scriptorium*, lviii (2004), 67–82.

of historical and legendary miscellany whose compiler was dubbed by Watt the ‘Dunfermline Continuator’;<sup>8</sup> a short chronicle known as the Dunfermline Chronicle;<sup>9</sup> the *Miracula* of St. Margaret;<sup>10</sup> and a version of Jocelin of Furness’s *Vita S. Waldeuui*, written 1207 × 14.<sup>11</sup> Since the publication of Walter Bower’s *Scotichronicon*, historians have made increasing use of the Dunfermline manuscript. Dauvit Broun demonstrated that the so-called Dunfermline Chronicle may have been a source for the compiler of *Gesta Annalia*, once attributed to John of Fordun, while Robert Bartlett has edited the hitherto unknown text of the *Miracula* of St. Margaret.<sup>12</sup> This article is concerned only with the first three items in the manuscript – the *Vita S. Margarete*, the Dunfermline Continuations and the Dunfermline Chronicle – the content of which has been comparatively neglected in the work published thus far.

These three items fill the first twenty-six folios of the manuscript. They are presented as three separate works, although there are a number of interesting and significant cross-references which will be discussed below. The *Vita S. Margarete* ends with the acclamation ‘for the praise and glory of Jesus Christ, our Lord, who, with God the father, lives and is glorified in one with the Holy Ghost, God through all eternity forever and ever, Amen’.<sup>13</sup> The Dunfermline Continuations then begin with the words ‘since the *libellus* on the life of St. Margaret has ended, we have deemed

<sup>8</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 17v–21v; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, iii, p. xviii.

<sup>9</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 21v–26r. For this chronicle, see Bower, *Scotichronicon*, iii, p. xviii; D. Broun, ‘A new look at *Gesta Annalia* attributed to John of Fordun’, in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B. E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 9–30, at p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 26r–41v (pr. Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. 69–145).

<sup>11</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 41v–68r. For the *Vita S. Waldeuui*, see R. Bartlett, ‘The hagiography of Angevin England’, in *Thirteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 37–52; G. McFadden, ‘The Life of St. Waldef and its author Jocelin of Furness’, *Innes Rev.*, vi (1955), 5–13. Also G. J. McFadden, ‘An edition and translation of the Life of St. Waldef, abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness’ (unpublished Columbia University Ph.D. thesis, 1952). A new edition of the *Vita S. Waldeuui*, ed. by John Reuben is forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup> Broun, ‘New look at *Gesta Annalia*’, p. 20. For the text and translation of Margaret’s miracle collection, see Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. 69–145; for the dating of the miracle collection, see pp. xxxiv–xxxvii. It is of note that Aelred of Rievaulx in his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, written in 1153/4, refers only to the *Vita S. Margarete* and not a miracle collection: ‘cuius laudabilem uitam et mortem preciosissimam liber inde editus satis insinuat’ (pr. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (221 vols., Paris, 1844–1903) (hereafter *P.L.*), cxcv, cols. 711–38; text taken from Roger Twysden, *Anglicana Scriptores Decem* (1652), pp. 347–70). The *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* was originally intended to be read with Aelred’s *Vita David*. There is one clear cross-reference to the *Vita David* in the *Genealogia* which makes such a join explicit: ‘quid uero de rege Dauid sentiamus in lamentatione <or descriptione> premissa utcumque digressimus’ (*P.L.*, cxcv, col. 736; Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 19 fo. 68v). Walter Daniel, Aelred’s biographer, writing shortly after Aelred’s death in 1167, stated that Aelred wrote the *Vita David*, then the *Genealogia*, and joined them together ‘in one book’ (*The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. F. M. Powicke (1950), p. 41). See A. Squire, *Aelred of Rievaulx* (2nd edn., 1981), pp. 87–8; cf. E. A. Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150–1220* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 58–9; and Bower, *Scotichronicon*, iii, p. xix. The text printed by Twysden (and followed by Migne) is incomplete: it contains only an abridged version of the *Vita David* which survives in two manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 101 fos. 117r–132v; and the badly burnt Brit. Libr., Cotton Otho D vii fo. 98r. Because the only printed Latin text does not contain Aelred’s complete work, this author will also cite one of the earliest manuscript witnesses to the *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 1–71r, for which see R. W. Hunt and A. G. Watson, *Digby Manuscripts* (Bodl. Libr. Catalogues, ix, 1999), sect. 2, p. 13. For a complete list of the manuscripts of Aelred’s *Genealogia* and the *Vita David*, see A. Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana: a Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St. Aelred of Rievaulx* (The Hague, 1962), pp. 111–14. The author is grateful to Dauvit Broun for his help on the *Genealogia* manuscripts, particularly on those not listed by Hoste.

<sup>13</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 17vb. This acclamation is not found in either of the other two texts of the *Vita S. Margarete*, which both end abruptly with a record of Margaret’s burial (‘she was accustomed to dash that place in vigils, in prayers, with flowing tears and bended knees’); Turgot, *Vita*, in Hinde, *Symeon*, p. 254 and in *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii. 335.

it worthy to add certain things, different to the above, but not contradictory, which were omitted there'.<sup>14</sup> The end of Turgot's *Vita S. Margarete* and the beginning of the Dunfermline Continuations is made explicit. It is rather more difficult to separate the Dunfermline Continuations from the Dunfermline Chronicle. Bartlett placed the two together, believing them both to be 'historical and legendary miscellany'.<sup>15</sup> But the distinct nature of these two works is stressed in this article; they are, in fact, two separate and coherent texts. The Dunfermline Continuations end with a version of a legend known in a variety of different forms as the 'Vision of the green tree'.<sup>16</sup> The text then breaks off and a new rubric announces: 'about St. Margaret, the ancestors from which she was born, how she at last came to Scotland and to which king she was married.'<sup>17</sup> The Dunfermline Chronicle is broken up into twenty-nine short chapters, all with rubricated headings, of which this one concerning Margaret is the first. In general, these headings are short and the text underneath always reflects the title of the chapter itself. For example, the reign of Edmund Ironside is set out in two chapters, one entitled 'de Edmundo Yrnsyde', the other 'de morte eiusdem Edmundi Yrnsyde', which describe clearly Edward's brief reign and gruesome (though legendary) death.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, the subject of the first rubric – St. Margaret – never appears in the text underneath. Instead, we are told about Æthelred II's first marriage, the birth of the future king of the English, Edmund Ironside, then Æthelred's second marriage to Emma of Normandy and the birth of their two children, Alfred and Edward.<sup>19</sup> There is no explicit mention made of Margaret. The impression, then, is that the first rubric of the Dunfermline Chronicle is in fact a title, heralding the beginning of a new work.

But although these three works – the *Vita S. Margarete*, the Dunfermline Continuations and the Dunfermline Chronicle – were seen to be separate, they were not intended to stand alone. It can be shown that they were part of a compilation put together during the thirteenth century. This suggestion receives immediate support from the layout of the manuscript itself. Both the *Miracula* of St. Margaret and the *Vita S. Waldeuui* begin at the head of new columns in the manuscript.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, there is no column break separating the Dunfermline Continuations from the *Vita S. Margarete* or from the Dunfermline Chronicle; the text continues uninterrupted. The only break in the text of these three items comes in the Dunfermline Chronicle, where a brief king-list, running from Alexander III (1249–86) to James III (1460–88) has been transcribed on folio 25r–v and left incomplete. The king-list breaks off at the reign of James III and the rest of the column has been

<sup>14</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 17vb.

<sup>15</sup> Bartlett, *Miracles*, p. xxxii.

<sup>16</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 20ra–21va. For earlier versions of this legend, see below, n. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 21va.

<sup>18</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 21vb; see further 'de rege cnuch', 'de exilio filiorum edmundi', 'de aduentu Willelmi bastard in angliam' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 22va). Chapter headings are also closely followed in the Dunfermline Continuations: 'quomodo in obitu regine donaldus baan castrum puellarum obsedit' (fo. 17v); 'quomodo Edgarus Ethlyng falsam calumpniam de regis prodicionem sustinuit' (fo. 18rb); 'quomodo post mortem malcolmi regis duncanus filius eius sed non legitimus regnauit in Scotia' (fo. 19rb); 'quomodo et casu rex Edgarus dono regio monachos sancti cuthberti ditauerit' (fo. 19va); 'de visione quam uidet sanctus edwardus in extremis agens' (fo. 20ra).

<sup>19</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 21va–b.

<sup>20</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 26rb; the rubricated *incipit* of the *Life* of Waltheof begins at the bottom of fo. 41v but the text itself begins at the top of fo. 42ra. Certainly there is a significant gap in the column between the *explicit* of the *Miracula* of St. Margaret and the *incipit* of the *Life* of Waltheof.

left blank, presumably to be filled in as old kings died and new kings succeeded.<sup>21</sup> The Dunfermline Chronicle then continues to describe the two daughters of Malcolm and Margaret, Mary and Matilda, and gives a short description of the White Ship Disaster in 1120 in which Henry I's son and heir had been killed.<sup>22</sup> This points to the conclusion that the scribe of the fifteenth-century Dunfermline manuscript had as his exemplars three, rather than five, texts: the *Miracula* of Margaret, the *Vita S. Waldeuui* and a text which included the *Vita S. Margarete* as well as two shorter pieces of historical writing.

Textual evidence for the putative existence of this compilation can also be found from examination of the Dunfermline Continuations. This text looks back to material contained in the *Vita S. Margarete* and forward to material contained in the Dunfermline Dynastic Chronicle. At the close of the former, the compiler of the Continuations states that his aim is to tell certain events 'which have been omitted, for the sake of brevity, or for whatever reason', from Turgot's *Vita*.<sup>23</sup> The compiler of the Continuations also made reference to the subsequent Dunfermline Chronicle in his work: after a brief description of the reign of King Edgar (1097–1107) in Scotland, he states that more will be said about Edgar's brothers and ancestors at a later point.<sup>24</sup> These two subjects appear subsequently in the Dunfermline manuscript only in the Dynastic Chronicle.<sup>25</sup> As there are no explicit cross-references made in the other two works, it is clear that the Dunfermline Continuator was also responsible for bringing together the *Vita* of Margaret and the Dynastic Chronicle and intended them to be read together.

The compiler of the Continuations also added material to the *Vita S. Margarete*. The *Vita* contains only one obvious interpolation. After its account of the death of Godwine, earl of Wessex, in 1053, the interpolator announces: 'we shall now return to our narrative from which we departed for a short while'.<sup>26</sup> This is the only occasion in the *Vita* when the interpolator mentions that he has added material to the text; all other interpolations have been made without acknowledgement.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that the account of Godwine's death in the *Vita S. Margarete* is an interpolation made at a later date than those already incorporated into the work. It appears that this later addition was the work of the Dunfermline Continuator. The account of Earl Godwine's death in this version of the *Vita* is the stuff of legend: Earl Godwine, while protesting his innocence in the murder of Edward the Confessor's brother, Alfred, choked on the morsel of bread he was eating and died, thereby proving his guilt in

<sup>21</sup> A good example of this practice would be the king-list transcribed on a fragment inserted as fo. 14 of the Chronicle of Melrose which was then continued into the reign of Alexander III by two separate scribes (see the reproduction in *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: a Stratigraphic Approach*, ed. D. Broun and J. Harrison (3 vols., Woodbridge, 2007–), and the CD-facsimile is *C.M.*, fo. 14).

<sup>22</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 25vb–26ra. The material on Mary and Matilda was intended to be part of the Dunfermline Chronicle. On fo. 23rb, the Chronicler refers to 'Matilda, queen of England, called the Good Queen, and Mary, countess of Boulogne' ('de quibus singulis postea in loco suo dicitur'). This statement is repeated in *Gesta Annalia* I, whose compiler appears to have used an exemplar of the Dunfermline Chronicle in his own work.

<sup>23</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 17vb.

<sup>24</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 20va.

<sup>25</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 20v–25v.

<sup>26</sup> 'nunc ad narrationem nostram reuertamur de qua paulisper digressi sumus' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 6va).

<sup>27</sup> See the silent and extensive insertion of material in the Dunfermline manuscript from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* between fo. 1vb and fo. 7ra.

the murder to all present.<sup>28</sup> The legend is not uncommon but this version has clearly been taken from Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi*, written in 1163, following Edward's canonization in 1161.<sup>29</sup> The account of Godwine's death is the only part of Aelred's *Vita* which can be found in the *Vita S. Margarete* of the Dunfermline manuscript. But Aelred's *Vita* was used by the Dunfermline Continuator.<sup>30</sup> It is thus probable that the author of the interpolation on Godwine's death made in the *Vita S. Margarete* was the Dunfermline Continuator.

The Continuator also made an addition to the Dunfermline Chronicle. After the account in the Chronicle of the marriage of Malcolm III and Margaret, it is stated: 'we believe that it is useful to insert a little about William the Bastard and his sons'.<sup>31</sup> The narrative then continues to describe William and his sons Robert Curthose, William Rufus and Henry I, before resuming its original course with an account of the reign of Malcolm III in Scotland.<sup>32</sup> At the end of this section of the Chronicle in its account of Henry I's marriage to Matilda, elder daughter of Malcolm III and Queen Margaret, in 1100, the text states that 'in this way, the tree returned to its root' ('sic accessit ad radicem arbor'). This statement is surprising: there are no other mentions of trees or roots in the Dunfermline Chronicle. But a context can be found by referring back to the Dunfermline Continuations. The Continuations end with a lengthy account of the vision of the green tree experienced by Edward the Confessor on his death-bed.<sup>33</sup> This vision also appears in a number of texts but, again, this version has been taken from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi*.<sup>34</sup> The vision foretold the destruction which God would wreak upon the English kingdom on Edward's death in the form of the conquering Normans. The king then explained his vision: he had seen a green tree – representing the kingdom and kingship of the English – cut from its root. Glory and prosperity would return to the English only when the tree returned to the root – that is, when the Anglo-Saxon royal house of Cerdic again sat on the English throne. This happened in 1100, when Henry I married Matilda, both daughter of Malcolm and Margaret and great-granddaughter of King Edmund Ironside of England. The original scribe of the addition 'sic accessit ad radicem arbor' clearly recognized the significance of the marriage of Henry I and Matilda and drew attention to it. But it is a statement which can only be understood in the Dunfermline Chronicle by reference to the Dunfermline Continuations, making it probable that its compiler was also the compiler of the Continuations.

<sup>28</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 6ra–6va. See other versions of this legend in *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), bk. vi, c. 23, pp. 378–9. *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (2 vols., Oxford, 1998), i, c. 198, pp. 354–5.

<sup>29</sup> Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita S. Edwardi Regis* (pr. *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 737–90). For a list of the manuscripts of the *Vita S. Edwardi Regis*, see Hoste, *Bibliotheca Aelrediana*, pp. 123–6.

<sup>30</sup> The Dunfermline Continuator used Aelred's version of the vision of the green tree in his work (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 20ra–21va; Aelred, *Vita Edwardi* (*P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 771–4)).

<sup>31</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 22vb.

<sup>32</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 23rb.

<sup>33</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 20ra–21va.

<sup>34</sup> Aelred, *Vita Aedwardi* (*P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 771–4). For earlier versions of the vision of the green tree, see *Vita S. Edwardi* by Osbert of Clare in 1138 (pr. M. Bloch, 'La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana*, xli (1923), 5–131, at pp. 106–9); and the Anonymous writer in 1065–7 (*The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 2nd edn., 1992), pp. 116–26); see also William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, i, cc. 226–7, pp. 414–17. See further Barlow, *Vita Edwardi*, p. 130; also app. B, pp. 131–2.

So when and where did the Dunfermline Continuator put together these three items? It is clear that the compilation as it appears in our fifteenth-century manuscript was copied from an exemplar whose earliest date of composition is 1249. This date comes from the Dynastic Chronicle, the item in the compilation which has the latest *terminus post quem* of 1249.<sup>35</sup> The Dynastic Chronicle changes from a short chronicle to a king-list after recording a brief description of Alexander II's life and reign.<sup>36</sup> This change in form and the grief recorded on Alexander's death – 'a deadly day, a day of grief and sadness' – suggests that its exemplar was composed shortly after that king's demise – that is, during the latter half of 1249.<sup>37</sup> A *terminus ante quem* for the compilation can also be found. It is clear that the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I had access to the compilation, for material from all three items appears in his own work.<sup>38</sup> As *Gesta Annalia* I itself was in existence by 9 April 1285, it follows that the compilation must have existed before this date.<sup>39</sup> It is thus probable that the Dynastic

<sup>35</sup> The Dunfermline Continuators have a *terminus post quem* of 1163, owing to the Continuator's use of Aelred's *Vita S. Edwardi*, written in 1163. The extended and interpolated *Vita S. Margarete* has a *terminus post quem* of 1154, owing to its use of Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, datable to 1153/4. The *Genealogia* was written after the death of David I of Scotland on 24 May 1153 and before the coronation of Henry II of England on 19 Dec. 1154. For more on the identifiable sources of the compilation, see below.

<sup>36</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 25rb: 'de alexandro tercio filio alexandri filii willelmi regis. Alexander tercius filius alexandri filii willelmi regis regnavit. xxxviii annis et genuit duos filios scilicet alexandrum et dauid et unam filiam nomine margaritam'.

<sup>37</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 25ra–b.

<sup>38</sup> The text of the so-called '*Gesta Annalia* I' is printed in Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, pp. 254–309, 406–37. Its original layout is preserved in MS. 'C' of Fordun's Chronicle (see Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.ix.9 fos. 135r–68v). For the evidence supporting C's layout of *Gesta Annalia* I, see Broun, 'New look at *Gesta Annalia*', pp. 15–18. For the most recent list of the manuscripts of Fordun's Chronicle, see Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 20–7. For material from an exemplar of the version of the *Vita S. Margarete* in the Dunfermline manuscript being used by the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I, see pp. 406–15 (from 'sicut in antiquissimis' to 'sui Edwardi regnum'), 415–18 (from 'cernens itaque edgarus Ethelinge, res Anglorum undique perturbari' to 'dixerant nemini loquentes'), 420–1 (from 'ipsam tam uenerabilis uite reginam' to 'Deo sacrificium immolare'). For material from the Dunfermline Continuators in *Gesta Annalia* I, see pp. 422–3 (from 'itaque cum adhuc corpus sancte regine esset in castro' to 'timuit contigit in hunc modum'); also pp. 423–6 (from 'regnante igitur eodem Willelmo secundo' to 'eum multis ditauit honoribus'), 426–7 (from 'cui erga natale solum properanti' to 'ab illo suscipitur et honorifice gubernatur'). For use of the Dunfermline Chronicle, see, e.g., p. 412 (from 'Cum autem rex Edmundus uix annum in regno perfecerat' to 'aue rex solus' and 'sic periit Edmundus regum' to 'Edgarum auum suum'); then pp. 413 (from 'interea mortuo Cnuth et filii eius' to 'apud Wintoniam'), 415 ('audiens autem hec Willelmus . . . unum annum compleverat, amisit'), 419 ('Genuit quoque ex ea sex filios . . . in loco suo dicitur'), 422 (from 'nam primogenitus regis Edwardus' to 'in castrum puellarum'), 423 ('filioque Roberto primogenito . . . nullam terram donauit').

<sup>39</sup> Broun, 'New look at *Gesta Annalia*', p. 16; D. Broun, 'The origin of the stone of Scone as a national icon', in *The Stone of Destiny: Artefact and Icon*, ed. R. Welander, D. Breeze and T. O. Clancy (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 183–97. Broun has recently argued that *Gesta Annalia* I represents the only extant part of a much larger work which he dubbed 'proto-Fordun'. This work used the now-lost chronicle of Richard Vairement, origin-legend material and the Dunfermline compilation (although because of the then state of current research, Broun did not acknowledge the existence of the compilation) and was one of the main sources used by John of Fordun when he wrote his *Chronica* between early 1384 and late Aug. 1387 (see Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 174–9, 216–28, 247–62). When this article mentions *Gesta Annalia* I, therefore, it is referring to the only extant part of proto-Fordun, a putative work which would have been three times as large as *Gesta Annalia* I. The present writer is at the moment unsure whether a separate work ever existed which acted as a continuation of the Dunfermline compilation by narrating the deeds of the 12th- and 13th-century kings of Scots in greater detail than the compilation had done. If such a text had existed, it would have been used by the compiler of proto-Fordun and formed the backbone of the text which is referred to here as *Gesta Annalia* I. These later stages in the use of the Dunfermline compilation after its immediate composition are not directly relevant to this article though the author hopes to expand upon these thoughts on another occasion.

Chronicle, the Dunfermline Continuations and the extended *Vita S. Margarete* were compiled at some point between 1249 and 1285.

It is equally likely that the Continuator was part of the community at Dunfermline abbey. In his account of the struggle for the kingship which erupted on the death of Malcolm and Margaret in 1093, the Continuator mentions that Margaret was taken for burial at the abbey, just as she had ordered during her life.<sup>40</sup> This sentence, along with the entire passage, appears in *Gesta Annalia* I in its account of the events which followed the sudden deaths of the king and queen of Scots.<sup>41</sup> But, having established that Margaret had ordered her own burial at Dunfermline, the Continuator added: ‘for although it was customary for her to venerate all the monasteries of the kingdom with the highest devotion, nevertheless, she was accustomed to visit that church [Dunfermline] with especial delight.’<sup>42</sup> This statement was omitted from the account in *Gesta Annalia* I, which continues to describe the seizure of the throne by Malcolm III’s brother, Domnall, his subsequent deposition by Malcolm’s son, Donnchad (here described as ‘nothus’), and the corresponding flight of Edgar Ætheling, his nieces and nephews from Scotland in 1093 (an account also identical to that in the Dunfermline Continuations).<sup>43</sup> The preference shown by the Continuator for Dunfermline suggests one of three things: first, that the Continuator added Margaret’s devotion to Dunfermline into an extant account (used by the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I) of the burial of Margaret and the flight of Edgar Ætheling because he was working at Dunfermline abbey; second, that the preference for Dunfermline was already present in the source being used and (because he was associated with Dunfermline) the Continuator saw no problem in retaining it in his text (but the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I did); or third, that the Continuator composed the whole account himself and the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I jettisoned the reference to Dunfermline because he was not a member of its community. Certainly, the added emphasis on Margaret’s delight in Dunfermline is similar to that reported to have been shown by David to Melrose abbey in an interpolation made to a king-list composed there between 1165 and 1214. This king-list, known as king-list ‘E’, states that David I was a benefactor of all his religious foundations, ‘but particularly he honoured Melrose above all other churches, and defended it loyally, held it dearly and adorned it with his wealth’.<sup>44</sup> All this suggests that the Continuator was working at the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline in Fife when he drew together the *Vita S.*

<sup>40</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 18ra: ‘fferunt autem quidam a toto itinere illo nebulam subnubilam familiam illam circumdidisse et ab aspectibus hostium miraculose protexisse ut itinerantibus in mari uel arida nichil obfuerit [sed] prospere ad optatum locum, ecclesiam scilicet de dunfermlyn, sicut ipsa iusserat, peruenientes deportauerunt’.

<sup>41</sup> *Gesta Annalia* I (Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i. 422). The reading from the earliest manuscript of *Gesta Annalia* (Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 37223, dated to 1450 X) is: ‘fferunt autem quidam in toto itinere illo nebulam subnubilam familiam illam circumdasse et ab aspectibus hostium miraculose protexisse ut nec itinerantibus in mari uel arida nichil obfuerit sed prospere ad optatum locum ecclesiam uidelicet de dunfermlyn ubi nunc in Christo requiescit sicut ipsa ante iusserat peruenientes deportauerunt’ (fo. 160r). Brit. Libr., Add. MS. 37223 is denoted as ‘MS. G’ in the scholarship on Fordun’s Chronicle.

<sup>42</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 18ra: ‘licet enim omnia monasteria regni summa cum deuocione uenerari consueuisset illam tamen ecclesiam speciali dilectione et frequencie consolacione uisitare solebat’.

<sup>43</sup> *Gesta Annalia* I (Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i. 422–3); MS. G fo. 160r reads, following ‘deportauerunt’, ‘Optinuit autem regnum Scocie idem donaldus et postquam sex menses regnauerat per duncanum filium regis malcolmi filium nothum expulsus est’.

<sup>44</sup> M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1980), p. 256.



*Margarete*, the Continuations and the Dunfermline Chronicle in a compilation during the reign of Alexander III.<sup>45</sup>

What, then, was the purpose of this compilation? In order to ascertain this, it is necessary first to understand its content. Taken together, the three items contained within the compilation offer a coherent and emphatic presentation of the ancestry of the kings of Scots. But each piece in the compilation was a key block in the building of this picture; each item will therefore be examined separately, with particular attention being paid to the complex *Vita S. Margarete*. This *Vita* includes much of the material also contained in its two other manuscripts: British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius D iii and the now lost manuscript of the *Life* once housed at the Cistercian abbey of Vaucelles in northern France but preserved in print in a volume of *Acta Sanctorum*. However, the *Vita S. Margarete* in the Dunfermline manuscript differs significantly from the other two manuscripts in two places. The first is the insertion of five brief legal reforms stated to have been put in place by Malcolm III 'at the queen's urging'.<sup>46</sup> The second variation, which occurs in the chapter detailing Margaret's lineage, is rather more important for an understanding of the purpose of the *Vita* of the Dunfermline manuscript. In both the Cotton and Vaucelles manuscripts, this chapter is brief, noting the queen's descent from King Edmund Ironside. Margaret's kinship with Edward the Confessor (who is the subject of a short panegyric) is briefly emphasized, as is that king's with Richard, duke of Normandy.<sup>47</sup> The *Vita* in the Dunfermline manuscript, in contrast, offers a much richer picture. Here, Margaret's descent from the kings of Anglo-Saxon England is fully set out. This was no mere fabrication: Margaret was the granddaughter of the son of Æthelred II, King Edmund Ironside, and was thus descended from the Anglo-Saxon kings of the royal house of Cerdic.

Margaret's genealogy begins in the extended *Vita* with a shortened version of the West Saxon genealogy, which traces her lineage from Adam, son of God, to Æthelwulf, father of Alfred.<sup>48</sup> From Alfred to Æthelred II, the character and reign of each king of England is assessed and is followed by his reign-length and place of burial.<sup>49</sup> From Æthelred II, the *Vita* emphasizes the short reign and gruesome death

<sup>45</sup> The Dunfermline Chronicle was also written by someone working at Dunfermline. The places of burial of those kings and members of the royal family entombed at Dunfermline are far more detailed than those of kings buried elsewhere. E.g., Edward, eldest son of Malcolm and Margaret, was buried 'next to his father before the altar of the Holy Rood' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 23va); Alexander I was buried 'next to his father and mother and brother before the great altar' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24rb); Malcolm was buried 'to the right of his grandfather, David, before the great altar' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24vb). These should be compared with those members buried elsewhere. Edmund, the second son of Malcolm and Margaret, buried 'at Montacute' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 23vb); about Æthelred, the third son, the chronicler was able to discover 'nothing certain, either where he died or where he was buried' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 23vb); Earl Henry, son of David I, was buried 'at Kelso, which he founded and endowed with many possessions' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24vb); William the Lion was buried 'at Arbroath in the church which he had founded in honour of St. Thomas the martyr' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 25ra).

<sup>46</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 11v. This addition is the subject of a forthcoming article by Robert Bartlett.

<sup>47</sup> Hinde, *Symeon*, pp. 237–8; *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, ii. 328–9.

<sup>48</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 2ra–b. This version of the West Saxon genealogy has been abbreviated from that contained in Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* (see *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 717–18; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 30v–32v). For the transmission of variants of these regnal lists (and the complications surrounding them), see D. N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon regnal list and the chronology of early Wessex', *Peritia*, iv (1985), 21–66; D. N. Dumville, 'The West Saxon genealogical regnal list: manuscripts and texts', *Anglia*, civ (1986), 1–32.

<sup>49</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 2rb–3va.

of Edmund Ironside and recounts the fortunes of his sons in Hungary, rejoicing at the younger son Edward the Exile's eventual return to England as heir of Edward the Confessor and then lamenting his subsequent death.<sup>50</sup> The claims of Edward the Exile's son, Edgar Ætheling, to the English throne are championed on the death of Edward the Confessor: his failure to attain it is explained on the grounds of his youth.<sup>51</sup> Edgar's flight to Scotland following the conquest of England in 1066 is then detailed, as is his sister Margaret's meeting and marriage to Malcolm III (an event not described in the other two manuscripts of the *Vita*).<sup>52</sup> This lengthy addition terminates with an exciting description of Malcolm single-handedly repelling an assassination attempt, to show 'what a great-spirited man Margaret was married to'.<sup>53</sup> All this takes up seven of the seventeen folios devoted to the *Vita* of Margaret in the Dunfermline manuscript.<sup>54</sup> It has often been remarked that Margaret's 'descent from the Wessex line is stressed' in Turgot's *Vita*;<sup>55</sup> in this version contained in the Dunfermline manuscript, it is not so much stressed as utterly dominant. The *Vita S. Margarete* preserved in the Dunfermline manuscript offers a presentation not only of the queen's character and deeds but also of Margaret as the latest descendant of an illustrious line of kings which not only stretched back to Alfred but, in the end, to Adam, son of the living God.

Much of this material appears to have been taken from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, written between 6 May 1153 and 19 December 1154.<sup>56</sup> Often this material has been abbreviated and/or paraphrased. Comparison of the descriptions of the reign and character of Edgar, king of the English from 959 to 975, demonstrates clearly how the interpolator edited Aelred's text when inserting it into the *Vita S. Margarete*.

<sup>50</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 6vb: 'quem rex maximo cum honore suscepit atque secum ut regni sui futurum heredem honorifice detinuit'.

<sup>51</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 6vb–7ra.

<sup>52</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 7ra–8ra.

<sup>53</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8ra–vb.

<sup>54</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 2rb–8vb.

<sup>55</sup> R. Bartlett, 'Turgot (c.1050–1115)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27831>> [accessed 2 Jan. 2008].

<sup>56</sup> The *terminus post quem* comes from the Treaty of Winchester, for which see J. C. Holt, '1153: the Treaty of Winchester', in *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, ed. E. King (Oxford, 1994), pp. 291–316. The *terminus ante quem* comes from the accession of Henry II to the kingship. The *Genealogia* was completed before Henry became king of England: Aelred addresses Henry as 'illustrissimo duci Normannorum et Aquitanorum et Comiti Andegauensium H.' (*P.L.*, cxcv, col. 711; Bodl. Libr. MS. Digby 19 fo. 1v). For the use of Aelred's *Genealogia* in the Dunfermline manuscript's text of the *Vita S. Margarete*, see from 'ut cum uiderimus quanta fuerit antecessorum suorum' to 'nouus quidem herodes emersit' (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 1vb–3ra; from *P.L.*, vol. cxcv, cols. 716–25; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 29v–47v); then 'iste edgarus erat filius edmundi nobilissimi regis' to 'reliquens heredem' (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 3va–4ra; to be compared with *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 726–30; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 48r–56v); then 'de cuius mirabili fortitudine quicquid dicerem minus esset' to 'salue rex. Salue solus rex' (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 4ra–5va; *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 730–33; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 56v–62r); then 'Mortuus est itaque strenuissimus rex Edmundus' to 'qui in Normannia exulabat' (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 5va–6ra; *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 733–4; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 62r–63v); then 'in angliam primo ueniens rex Edwardus' to 'sinistro omine regnum optinuit' (Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 6va–7ra; to be compared with *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 734; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 64r–65r); then 'audiens itaque Willelmus' to 'in qua natus fuerat conabatur' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 7r; to be compared with *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 734; and Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 65v).

**Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* (*Patrologia Latina*, cxcv, cols. 726–7; Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 19 fos. 48v–50r)**

Defunto igitur rege Edwino, frater eius Edgarus successit. Erat enim filius Edmundi nobilissimi regis, qui fuit Edwardi senioris Christianissimi principis, qui fuit Elfredi uictoriosissimi ducis. Iste Edgarus cunctis predecessoribus suis felicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suauitate prestancior, quasi stella matutina in medio nebule et quasi luna plena in diebus suis luxit. Iste Anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cyrus Persis, Carolus Francis, Romulusque Romanis. Hic enim regnum Anglorum celesti quadam pace composuit, et multarum linguarum gentes unius federe legis coniunxit, unde ei cum Salomone commune uocabulum fuit ut pacificus quod Salomon interpretatur communi omnium uoce diceretur. Nec mirum. Ipso enim natiuitatis sue tempore angelos concinentes beatus Dunstanus audiuit: pax anglorum ecclesie huius pueri qui nunc natus est tempore.

The interpolator also edited Aelred's text to make its content suitable for the ancestry of a queen of Scots. The clearest example of the presence of his editorial hand is in the *Vita's* description of the reign of Eadred, king of the English from 946 to 955:

**Aelred, *Genealogia* (*P.L.*, cxcv, col. 727; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 47r)**

Successit ei in regnum frater suus Edredus et ambulauit in uis fratris sui beati dunestani consiliis in omnibus obediens et iustissimis legibus subditos regens. Erat eciam tante probitatis ut rebellantes sibi Northimbros et Scottos facile uicerit et in pristinam subiectionem sine magno labore redegerit. Huius laudabilem uitam mors preciosa conclusit.

Aelred's description of King Eadred was thus copied almost verbatim into the *Vita S. Margarete* of the Dunfermline manuscript, but with one crucial omission: the middle sentence which details Eadred's casual subjection of the Northumbrians and Scots is missing. It is perhaps not difficult to imagine why, in a work which stressed the

***Vita S. Margarete, Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 3rb–va***

Iste Edgarus erat filius edmundi nobilissimi regis qui fuit edwardi senioris Christianissimi principis qui fuit aluredi uictoriosissimi ducis. Erat eciam anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cyrus Persis, Karolus Francis. Romulus Romanis. In ipsius natiuitate audiuit beatus Dunstanus angelos cantantes et dicentes: pax anglorum ecclesie huius pueri [fo. 3va] qui natus est tempore.

***Vita S. Margarete, Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 3ra***

Successit illi in regnum frater suus Ethredus et ambulauit in uis patris sui edwardi et fratrum suorum. In omnibus beati Dunstani consiliis adquiescens atque mandatis. Huius uero laudabilem uitam mors preciosa conclusit.

Anglo-Saxon ancestry of Margaret, queen of Scots, this particular sentence was chosen to be cut from an otherwise close following of Aelred's text.

There are also five occasions when the Dunfermline manuscript version of the *Vita S. Margarete* expands significantly on material taken from Aelred's *Genealogia*. The last but not most significant of these is the exciting account of Malcolm III's (1058–93) encounter with a would-be assassin.<sup>57</sup> Malcolm, on discovering a plot against his life, rather bravely arranged to partner the chosen assassin on the forthcoming hunt. When the rest of the group had departed, the king challenged the assassin to fight him on the spot, commanding that he act like a knight, like a man ('age potius quod militis, age quod uiri'), and kill him openly, rather than murder him secretly, like a coward. The version in the *Vita S. Margarete* is much longer than that in Aelred's *Genealogia*, giving more detail about the reconciliation of the assassin with Malcolm and providing a fuller rendition of the shaming speech made by the king to his enemy.

**Aelred, *Genealogia* (P.L., cxcv, col. 735; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 67v)**

Hactenus uix ille sustinuit et mox uerbis eius quasi graui percussus fulmine de equo corruit, proiectis armis ad pedes regios cum lacrimis ac tremore cucurrit. Cui rex: Noli inquit, timere, nihil a me patieris mali. Qui cum ei de cetero fidelem se et amicum prestito sacramento nominatisque obsidibus promisset, tempore opportuno reuertuntur ad socios que fecerant uel dixerant nulli loquentes.

***Vita S. Margarete, Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8va–b***

Hactenus uir ille nequissimus hec uix sustinuit. et mox uerbis eius quasi graui percussus fulmine. de equo cui insidebat citissime descendit. proiectisque armis ad pedes regis corruit cum lacrimis atque tremore cordis ita dixit. Domine mi rex ignoscat michi ad presens hoc meum uelle iniquum regia potestas tua et si usque modo aliquid super huiusmodi traditione tui corporis cor meum malignum conceperit. amodo delebitur et in futuro contra omnis fidelissimum [fo. 8vb] in omnibus me tibi futurum. deo [cum] sua genitrice teste promitto Cui ait rex Noli amice timere noli paruere. a me nichil nec per me mali pro re ista sustinebis. Obsides tamen in pacis pignere iubeo ut michi nomines atque adducas. Quibus nominatis et adductis in regis uerbo tibi dico. res ante promissa stabit. Ille uero autem proditor regis uoluntati in hiis que premisimus satisfaciens in tempore oportuno. et sic reuertuntur ad socios. que fecerant uel dixerant nemini loquentes

In this instance, either Aelred has abbreviated a longer text later used by the interpolator of the *Vita* or the latter has expanded upon Aelred's text, thus creating his own longer version. The latter option is probably the case. The text of the *Vita*

<sup>57</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8ra–8vb; Aelred, *Genealogia* (pr. P.L., cxcv, col. 735; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 66r–67v).

contains four further expansions of Aelred's text. On all four occasions, the members of the royal house of Cerdic (Margaret's ancestors) are presented in a better light than even Aelred had managed in the *Genealogia*. While Aelred reported that 'the king as much as the people' had rejoiced in the arrival of Edward Ætheling in 1057, the Dunfermline manuscript version of the *Vita* added that 'the king received him <Edward> with honour and kept him with him honourably as the future heir of the kingdom'.<sup>58</sup> It is therefore probable that the additional attention devoted to Malcolm's courage and mercy when faced with an assassin in the Dunfermline manuscript version of the *Vita* was one of a series of expansions made by the interpolator to provide an even more favourable picture of his subjects than their depiction in his source, the *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*.

There is also one further significant addition to the text of the *Vita* in the Dunfermline manuscript which was not taken or expanded from Aelred's *Genealogia*. The interpolated *Vita* contains a lengthy account of the meeting and marriage of Malcolm III and Margaret in c.1069.<sup>59</sup> A narrative of this meeting is a notable absence in the version of the *Vita* in the Cotton manuscript and that printed in *Acta Sanctorum*. It is only mentioned in passing, when Margaret experienced a vision informing her that she would be 'joined in marriage to Malcolm, most powerful king of Scots, son of King Duncan' and a vague reference is made to the time 'after she had risen to the height of honour'.<sup>60</sup> The account of the marriage in the Dunfermline *Vita S. Margarete* is similar in its essentials to that inserted into manuscript D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under its annal for 1067: both stress Margaret's reluctance to marry Malcolm, although A.S.C. MS. D adds that her brother, Edgar Ætheling, only acquiesced to Malcolm's demands because he 'dared not do anything else', a bit of bullying absent from the Dunfermline manuscript which elsewhere describes Malcolm as 'magnanimus et benignus'.<sup>61</sup> But most strikingly, the account of the marriage in the Dunfermline manuscript has three sentences and phrases identical to those in Turgot's *Vita* as its text appears in the Cotton and Vaucelles manuscripts. These are tabulated below:

<sup>58</sup> *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 734; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 64v; Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 6vb. See further Emma's circumvention of Cnut's trickery to ensure her son's and her safe departure from England (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 4ra: 'sed morte non dum proplata' to 'quicquid dicerem minus esset'; cf. *PL*, cxcv, col. 730; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby fo. 56v). The treachery of Edmund Ironside's slayer is given greater attention in Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 5rb–5va: 'hiis ita gestis et hiis cum maximo amore et honore' to 'cum auo suo edgaro pacifico in glastengbery sepelitur'; cf. *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 733; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 62r). There is also slight emphasis given to the pity and generosity of the king of the Swedes towards the exiled sons of Edmund Ironside in Dunfermline Manuscript, fo. 5vb: 'ac filios edmundi ferire pre pudore metuens' to 'informandos et instruendos' (*P.L.*, cxcv, col. 733; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 63r–v).

<sup>59</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 7ra–8ra; for the meeting of Malcolm and Margaret, see Duncan, *Scotland*, pp. 119–20.

<sup>60</sup> Turgot, *Vita*, in Hinde, *Symeon*, p. 238 and in *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, ii. 329. Neither of these references to the marriage appears in the *Vita S. Margarete* of the Dunfermline manuscript.

<sup>61</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle D, s.a. 1067; translations cited from D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Revised Translation* (1961), pp. 146–8, at p. 147. For the description of Malcolm as 'magnanimus et benignus', see Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8ra.

**Turgot, *Vita Sancte Margarete, in Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, ed. I. H. Hinde (Gateshead, 1868), pp. 234–54**

Cum ergo in lege Domini die ac nocte meditaretur, et tamquam altera Maria secus pedes Domini sedens, audire verbum illius declaretur, suorum magis quam sua voluntate immo Dei ordinatione, potentissimo Regis Scotorum Malcolmo, Regis Duncani filio, in conjugium copulatur. (p. 238)

Qui quoniam perfecte Anglorum linguam eque ut propriam noverat, vigilantissimus in hoc concilio utriusque partis interpres extiterat. (p. 243).

On her deathbed, Margaret commanded that ‘illam, quam nigram Crucem nominare’ be brought to her. (p. 252).

***Vita S. Margarete, Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 7v–8r***

At ubi margaretam uiderat eamque de regio semine simul et imperiali esse didicerat ut eam in uxore duceret petiit et optinuit. tradente eam edgaro etheling fratre suo, magis tamen suorum quam sua uoluntate, immo Dei ordinatione.

Rex autem Malcolmus audiens anglos illos esse et ibi adesse in propria persona illos uisitat et alloquitur et unde uenerunt aut quo uadant plenius explorat. Anglicam enim linguam simul et romanam eque ut propriam perfecte didicerat.

Margaret recorded to have brought with her from England ‘many saints’ relics more precious than any gold or stone’, among which was ‘crux quam crucem nigram nominant’.

The account also describes the Scots as a ‘barbarous people’ (‘barbara scotorum gens’), a judgement found elsewhere in Turgot’s *Vita* when the customs of the Scottish church before the arrival of Margaret were described as a ‘barbarous rite’ (‘ritu barbaro’).<sup>62</sup> These verbal parallels suggest that the author of the account of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret may in fact have been Turgot.<sup>63</sup> At first glance, it is possible to find corroborative evidence for this suggestion from an unexpected place: Aelred’s *Genealogia*. The *Genealogia* contains the first sentence of the account of the marriage found in the Dunfermline manuscript: ‘cernens autem Edgarus Edeling res Anglorum undique perturbari, ascensa mari cum matre et sororibus reuerti in patram in qua natus fuerat conabatur sed orta in mari tempestate in Scocia applicare compellitur’ and then continues to note that ‘hac occasione actum est ut Margareta regis Malcolmi nuptiis traderetur’.<sup>64</sup> It might therefore be assumed that Aelred summarized the account of the marriage in a single sentence. Aelred’s use of a version of the *Vita S. Margarete* in his *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* has rarely received attention. But he clearly knew of the *Vita*; indeed, he referred to it immediately after his acknowledgement of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret. Following his statement ‘on this occasion, it happened that Margaret was handed over in marriage to King

<sup>62</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 7r; Turgot, *Vita*, in Hinde, *Symeon*, p. 244 and *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, ii. 331.

<sup>63</sup> A suggestion put forward prematurely in A. Taylor, ‘Robert de Londres, illegitimate son of William, king of Scots, c.1170–1225’, *Haskins Soc. Jour.*, xix (2008), 99–119, at p. 109.

<sup>64</sup> *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 734–5; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 65v–66r; the first sentence of the account in the *Vita S. Margarete* of the Dunfermline manuscript reads: ‘Cernens itaque Edgarus etheling res anglorum undique perturbari. ascensis nauibus cum matre sua et sororibus reuerti in patriam in qua natus fuerat conabatur’.

Malcolm', Aelred writes of Margaret 'about whose praise-worthy life and too-soon death, the book published on this declares fully'.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, Aelred himself made use of one of Turgot's choice phrases from the *Vita* in his description of Edward the Confessor. For both Turgot and Aelred, Edward was a king who 'protected his kingdom better in peace than in war' and had a soul 'victorious over anger, despising of avarice, immune from pride'.<sup>66</sup>

However, despite the textual parallels between the account of the marriage and Turgot's *Vita*, and Aelred's clear use of a version of the *Vita*, it is improbable that Turgot was the author of the narrative of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret or that the account was originally attached to a version of the *Vita* before its appearance in the text of the Dunfermline manuscript. To take the latter issue first, the account appears in the Dunfermline manuscript at the heart of the interpolation of Aelred's *Genealogia* into the text of the *Vita*. It occurs after the interpolator has narrated the invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066 and the subsequent flight of Edgar Ætheling from England and before his account of the assassination attempt on Malcolm III. Logically, therefore, this is an unlikely place for the interpolator to introduce an account attached to Turgot's original text of the *Vita*. Furthermore, the account has a thematic similarity with an addition to the text of the *Vita* probably made by the interpolator himself. The description of the marriage emphasizes that Margaret had many riches which Edward the Confessor had given to her father, Edward Ætheling, as his heir.<sup>67</sup> The interpolator places slightly more stress on Edward Ætheling's position as heir to the kingship of the English, than Aelred does in the *Genealogia*.<sup>68</sup> This suggests that the verbal parallels between the account of the marriage and the *Vita* as contained in the Cotton and Vaucelles manuscripts were a result of the interpolator borrowing phrases from the original version of Turgot's *Vita*.<sup>69</sup>

Who added and expanded the material from the *Genealogia* into the version of the *Vita S. Margarete* in the Dunfermline manuscript? A possible candidate might be thought to be the Dunfermline Continuator. The Continuator knew Aelred's *Genealogia*, for he inserts its description of Edgar, king of Scots (1097–1107), into his own work.<sup>70</sup> But if the Continuator had interpolated the *Vita S. Margarete*, it does not necessarily follow that he would have done so when putting together the Dunfermline compilation. It has already been noted that the Continuator made one obvious interpolation to the text of the *Vita S. Margarete* in the Dunfermline manuscript.<sup>71</sup> This occurred in the middle of the material taken from Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* and told the story of the deserved death of Godwine, earl of Wessex. It is possible that the Continuator wished to draw attention to the fact that he was now using a source other than the *Genealogia* – the *Vita S. Edwardi* – and that the story represented a significant diversion from the text. But given that nowhere else in the Dunfermline *Vita* is the interpolator's hand acknowledged, this would be surprising, particularly as the interpolation of the material from Aelred's *Genealogia* in itself represented a serious diversion from the *Vita*'s narrative as it appears

<sup>65</sup> Aelred, *Genealogia*, in *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 735; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 66r.

<sup>66</sup> Turgot, *Vita*, in Hinde, *Symeon*, p. 237 and *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, ii. 328; cf. Aelred, *Genealogia*, in *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 734; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 64r.

<sup>67</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8ra.

<sup>68</sup> See the quotation from the Dunfermline manuscript given on p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> See also the mention of the riches given by the Holy Roman Empire, 'just as we said a short while before' (Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 8ra).

<sup>70</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 20ra.

<sup>71</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 6ra–6va.

in the Cotton manuscript and *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>72</sup> It is thus probable that had it been the Continuator who added the material from Aelred's *Genealogia* to the *Vita*, he would have done so before he drew together the Dunfermline compilation. If this were the case, the interpolated *Vita S. Margarete* (minus the diversion recounting Godwine's death) would briefly have had an existence independent of the Dunfermline compilation. The text of the *Vita* as it appears in the Dunfermline manuscript may therefore have been through two separate stages of editing. The first of these may have been the addition and expansion of material from Aelred's *Genealogia* and the account of Malcolm's marriage to Margaret. This stage may have occurred before the Continuator put together the Dunfermline compilation so could theoretically have happened any time between December 1154 (the *terminus ante quem* of the *Genealogia*) and April 1285 (the *terminus ante quem* of the Dunfermline compilation).<sup>73</sup> A second stage would have been the addition of material from Aelred's *Vita S. Edwardi* by the Dunfermline Continuator, who was putting together the Dunfermline compilation at some time between 1249 and April 1285.

We may now return to the Dunfermline compilation. The Dunfermline Continuations pick up from where the interpolated *Vita S. Margarete* leaves off. They narrate Domnall Bán's seizure of the Scottish kingship following Malcolm III's death in 1093 and the subsequent flight of Malcolm's and Margaret's children to England.<sup>74</sup> The problems Edgar Ætheling encountered in England because 'the kingdom of England was owed to him by hereditary right' are then recounted: Edgar was challenged to a duel for treachery against William Rufus by a certain Englishman before being reconciled with the king, becoming his 'fidelissimus' and 'amicissimus' companion.<sup>75</sup> The Continuations then detail the establishment of Edgar – Malcolm's and Margaret's son – as king of Scots with the help of William Rufus, Edgar Ætheling and St. Cuthbert.<sup>76</sup> The Continuations end with a version of the vision of the green tree experienced by Edward the Confessor on his deathbed, taken from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi*.<sup>77</sup>

This motley collection of narratives in the Dunfermline Continuations was, in fact, put together for two very clear aims: to establish the children of Margaret and Malcolm as the legitimate heirs to the kingship following Malcolm's death in 1093 (in particular, to emphasize Edgar the younger's successful attempt to gain that kingship); and to stress the prominent role that their uncle, Edgar Ætheling, played in bringing about their establishment as kings of Scots. Domnall Bán besieged Edinburgh castle

<sup>72</sup> The compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I, who appears to have used an exemplar of the Dunfermline compilation, often cited the sources he was using, attributing some of his material to Aelred and some to Turgot (for citation of Aelred in *Gesta Annalia* I, see Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i. 412 and for citation of Turgot, i. 420, 421; for an incorrect citation of Turgot by the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I, see Skene, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, i. 406).

<sup>73</sup> Indeed, these relative stages of the compilation of the extended and interpolated *Vita S. Margarete* may be significant for the dating of the other main addition to the text of the *Vita*: the legal reforms attributed to Malcolm III. Given that the earliest Scottish legal manuscript is late 13th-century – the so-called 'Berne' MS. (N.A.S., PA5/1) – if these legal reforms can be dated to a stage of the composition of the *Vita S. Margarete* in the Dunfermline manuscript, they could be counted among the earliest datable Scottish legal texts of the middle ages.

<sup>74</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 17vb–18ra.

<sup>75</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 18rb–19rb, at fos. 18rb, 19rb.

<sup>76</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, 19rb–20ra. The material on St. Cuthbert also appears in the *Brevis Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto* (see Hinde, *Symeon*, i. 232–3; referenced in A. A. M. Duncan, 'Yes, the earliest Scottish charters', *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, lxxviii (1999), 1–38, at pp. 19–20).

<sup>77</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 20rb–21va.



in 1093 because he knew ‘the right and lawful heirs of the king’ to be inside (*‘regis rectos et legales contineri sciebat heredes’*).<sup>78</sup> When Edgar the younger was fearing the failure of his mission to gain the kingship of the Scots, St. Cuthbert appeared in a vision and told him ‘it pleases God to give the kingdom to you’ (*‘quia placuit deo dare tibi regnum’*).<sup>79</sup> Following a successful campaign, Edgar entered the ‘kingdom of Scotland which was owed to him’ (*‘regnum sibi Scocie debitum ingreditur’*).<sup>80</sup> Throughout all this, Edgar Ætheling is presented as the protector and aide of the heirs to the Scottish kingship. It was Edgar who feared for the safety of his nieces and nephews were they to be entrusted to their uncle, Domnall, while he held the kingdom on their behalf: he thus smuggled them to England to be brought up.<sup>81</sup> It was Edgar Ætheling again to whom William Rufus entrusted the campaign to Scotland (indeed, Edgar the younger, future king of Scots, is sidelined in the account of the preparations).<sup>82</sup> It was to Edgar Ætheling that Edgar the younger first recounted his vision from St. Cuthbert; and it was Edgar Ætheling again who ordered the saint’s instructions to be carried out, thereby ensuring a successful outcome.<sup>83</sup> Even the lengthy narrative recounting Edgar Ætheling’s challenges in England makes sense within the context of these two aims: they allowed Edgar – the legitimate heir to the English kingship – to be reconciled with the then king of England, William Rufus, freeing William to support the campaign into Scotland, and eventually resulting in Edgar the younger’s establishment as king of Scots.

Two clear aims can also be discerned behind the Dunfermline Chronicle: first, to present a brief sketch of the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the Scottish kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and, second, to present these kings as worthy successors to such illustrious ancestors. The Chronicle opens with an account of the reign of Æthelred II, and briefly traces the descendants of Edmund Ironside through to Margaret’s marriage to Malcolm III.<sup>84</sup> The consanguinity of these figures with Edward the Confessor is stressed throughout its narrative. Much of this repeats material set out in the interpolated life of Margaret; the purpose of this repetition will be explained shortly. The Chronicle then continues to describe the fortunes of Malcolm’s and Margaret’s children and their heirs as the successors to the Anglo-Saxon kings of England of the eleventh century.

These kings of Scotland were therefore described by the Dunfermline Chronicler in words befitting the descendants of the West Saxon house of Cerdic. Edgar, who reigned from 1097 to 1107, was ‘a sweet and lovable man, similar in all things to his kinsman King Edward [the Confessor]’.<sup>85</sup> Edgar’s brother, Alexander, who reigned from 1107 to 1124, was a ‘literatus’, ‘who would work in all ways for his men’ and whose piety was such that ‘nothing delighted him more’ than caring for

<sup>78</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 17vb.

<sup>79</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 19va.

<sup>80</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 19va.

<sup>81</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 18ra: ‘Interea edgarus etheling frater iam sancte regine, timens illud quod generaliter dictum est suis nepotibus posse euenire, nulla fides regni sociis, ideo tucius eos ad tempus esse credidit subtrahere quam auunculo secum regnatos committere. Omnis enim in errore consortem sibi querit in regno autem nullus. Quam ob rem filios et filias regis et regine caute congregatos in Angliam secum secrecius traduxit’.

<sup>82</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 19rb.

<sup>83</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 19va.

<sup>84</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fos. 21ra–26ra.

<sup>85</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24ra. This description originates from Aelred’s *Genealogia* (see *P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 735–6; also Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 67v–68r).

the poor.<sup>86</sup> But even Alexander's virtues were surpassed by those of his younger brother David, who ruled after him from 1124 to 1153. For the Chronicler, David I was 'as powerful as a king could be'.<sup>87</sup> His account of the reign of William the Lion was equally enthusiastic: it was so obvious 'how gloriously, how peacefully, how vigorously' William had ruled Scotland that he felt no more needed to be said on the matter.<sup>88</sup> William's son, Alexander II, was 'an unconquerable defender of his kingdom, a comforter of the needy, a helper of orphans . . . and, to the church, another Peter'.<sup>89</sup>

Taken together (as the Continuator intended), these three items set out a coherent history for the kings of Scots of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were, of course, the 'recti et legales heredes' of Malcolm III; nevertheless, their ancestry was that of the West Saxon house of Cerdic. Hence the importance given to Edgar Ætheling by the Dunfermline Continuator who put together the compilation. In 1066, Edgar was the sole direct male representative of that line: only through his help were the kings of Scots established in their own kingship. Above all this, however, stretched the overarching figure of Margaret, Edgar's sister. As mother to kings Edgar, Alexander and David, great-grandmother to Malcolm IV and William the Lion, and great-great-grandmother to Alexander II, she provided the direct link to this Anglo-Saxon ancestry, one made even more glorious by virtue of the pious and charitable life she herself led. It must be stressed that the compilation was not designed as a story of Margaret, despite her prominence in the text and the space devoted to reproducing a version of her *Vita*. This can be seen by examining the transmission of a portion of text from Aelred's *Genealogia* to the Dunfermline compilation. In his introduction to the *Genealogia*, Aelred stated that his purpose was to recount the 'lineage of kinship' ('lineam cognationis') which stretched from Henry II ('a te ipso uirorum clarissime') to Adam, father of all mortals ('ad ipsum adam patrem cunctorum mortalium').<sup>90</sup> The same statement in the Dunfermline manuscript has been reworked: its purpose was to show how the line 'of this holy generation', that is, the kings of Scots, descended from Adam, father of all mortals.<sup>91</sup> It is of note that the sentence has again been rewritten in *Gesta Annalia* I, despite its compiler's dependence on the Dunfermline compilation. Here, *Gesta Annalia* I states that its intention is to tell how 'the line of this holy queen', that is, Queen Margaret, descended from Adam, father of all mortals.<sup>92</sup> Had the Dunfermline Continuator wished to put Margaret, rather than the kings of Scots, at the forefront of his work, this sentence would have been the place to state his intention emphatically, much like the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I was to do.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24ra–b; this description is also taken from the *Genealogia* (see *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 736; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 68r).

<sup>87</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24rb.

<sup>88</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 24vb: 'qui quam gloriose quam sancte quam pacifice quam strenue regnum socie tenuerit omnibus manifestum est'.

<sup>89</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 25ra.

<sup>90</sup> *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 716; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 30r.

<sup>91</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 2ra.

<sup>92</sup> Brit. Libr., Additional MS. 37223 fo. 152r; Skene, *Fordun*, i. 406.

<sup>93</sup> The stress on the 'holy generation', rather than Queen Margaret, might suggest that the Continuator was the first interpolator of the *Vita*. This is not necessarily the case: the text in *Gesta Annalia* I may represent the original text of the *Vita S. Margarete* and the Dunfermline Continuator merely re-worked the sentence in the *Vita* when he came to put together the compilation. Certainly there are small but significant differences between the text of the Dunfermline compilation of the Dunfermline manuscript and *Gesta Annalia* I, the most striking being the absence of Margaret's devotion to Dunfermline (noted above). It is therefore possible that the compiler of *Gesta Annalia* I knew of the *Vita* at the stage of its first interpolation, when the material from Aelred's *Genealogia* was added and expanded into it.

But all this provokes the question: why were the three items compiled? It might be thought that the prominence given to Queen Margaret within the compilation suggests that it was put together during the campaign by the abbot and convent of Dunfermline for her canonization, finally granted by Pope Innocent IV in 1249.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, a letter from the pope, dated 27 July 1245, instructed the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane to conduct an enquiry into Margaret's life and miracles.<sup>95</sup> Given that it is possible that the interpolated *Vita S. Margarete* existed before its inclusion in the Dunfermline compilation,<sup>96</sup> it is entirely plausible (though not provable) that the *Vita* was put together as part of this process, in progress by 1245. Indeed, we learn from a fragment entered in the Utrecht Legendary that an account of Margaret's life was submitted to Innocent IV during the canonization proceedings in 1249.<sup>97</sup> But although the canonization proceedings may provide the context for the compilation of the interpolated *Vita*, it is impossible that they should do the same for the Dunfermline compilation, the *terminus post quem* for which is not until July 1249. Moreover, an altogether different purpose appears to have lain behind the creation of the Dunfermline compilation, one which can be revealed by examining the Dunfermline Continuations. The Continuations are in any case the first place to look: after all, the Continuator was responsible for putting the compilation together.

The last three chapters of the Continuations have been taken from Aelred of Rievaulx's *Vita S. Edwardi*, written in 1163. These outline the vision of the green tree experienced by Edward on his death-bed, mentioned above. In general, Aelred's text appears identically in the Dunfermline Continuations. But there is an exception. Towards the end of his account of the Confessor's vision, Aelred stated that the seed of the green tree represented the royal line which descended from Alfred to Edward the Confessor.<sup>98</sup> This sentence appears verbatim in the Continuator's text.<sup>99</sup> Aelred then continued to say in the *Vita S. Edwardi* that Alfred was the first king of the English to have been anointed and consecrated in the kingship by the pope.<sup>100</sup> But, rather than using this sentence, the Continuator instead inserted the full account of Alfred's journey to Rome and subsequent consecration which is found in Aelred's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*.<sup>101</sup> The account of the consecration in the *Genealogia* is much more detailed than that in Aelred's *Vita S. Edwardi*. It states that Alfred's father, Æthelwulf, wished Alfred to be blessed by the pope because he was his favourite son. On his arrival, Pope Leo IV, seeing the presence of divine majesty in Alfred, consecrated him in the kingship 'as Samuel had to King David'.<sup>102</sup> The Vulgate text reads: 'tulit igitur Samuhel cornu olei et unxit eum in medio fratrum eius' ('and so

<sup>94</sup> Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; Baker, "'A nursery of saints'", pp. 120–1.

<sup>95</sup> *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, ed. C. N. Innes (Edinburgh, 1842), no. 281.

<sup>96</sup> As discussed above.

<sup>97</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii, ii. 338.

<sup>98</sup> Aelred, *Vita S. Edwardi*, in *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 774: 'Radix ex qua totus honor iste processit regium semen fuit quod ab Alfredo . . . recta linea successionis usque ad sanctum Edwardum descendit'.

<sup>99</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 21rb, although Alfred's patronymic is added for clarity.

<sup>100</sup> Aelred, *Vita Ædwardi*, in *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 774: 'quod ab Alfredo, qui primus Anglorum a summo pontifice unctus et consecratus in regem fertur'. The story of Alfred's anointing is discussed in J. L. Nelson, 'The problem of King Alfred's royal anointing', *Jour. Eccles. Hist.*, xviii (1967), 145–63; and 'The Franks and the English in the 9th century reconsidered', in J. L. Nelson, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald and Others* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 141–58.

<sup>101</sup> Aelred, *Genealogia* (*P.L.*, cxcv, cols. 711–38, at col. 718; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fos. 33v–34r).

<sup>102</sup> *P.L.*, cxcv, col. 718; Bodl. Libr., MS. Digby 19 fo. 34r.

Samuel brought a horn of oil and anointed him in the presence of his brothers').<sup>103</sup> The Continuator's preference for the longer account in the *Genealogia* over that in the *Vita S. Edwardi* – otherwise his predominant source for this passage – indicates that his intention here was to emphasize Alfred's anointing by the pope.<sup>104</sup>

But why did the Continuator wish to emphasize this? After his lengthier account of Alfred's journey to Rome, the Continuator then returned to the narrative of the *Vita S. Edwardi*, copying its sentence: 'the tree was cut from its trunk and, when the kingdom was separated from the royal stock, the seed was transferred to another'.<sup>105</sup> At this point, the Continuator ceases to follow the *Vita S. Edwardi*, ending his work abruptly with the words: 'and the seed was transferred to another' ('ad aliud semen est translatum'). This sentence is then immediately followed in the Dunfermline manuscript by the Dunfermline Chronicle which details the lives of Margaret, her ancestors and successors. The intention of the Continuator is made clear: the seed of the Anglo-Saxon royal line was transferred to the kings of Scotland through the figure of Queen Margaret. This also explains why the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the Scots kings was stressed briefly in the Dunfermline Chronicle despite its emphatic demonstration in the interpolated *Vita*: it offered a brief reminder of how far back their lineage stretched. As the interpolated *Vita* would have been read before the Continuations and the subsequent Dunfermline Chronicle, it would have been known that Margaret was a direct descendant of King Alfred. The added emphasis on the rite of unction purported to have been bestowed upon Alfred makes it clear that the Continuator wished to portray the twelfth- and thirteenth-century kings of Scots as the descendants not only of King Alfred but also of a line of kings who had long been anointed on their assumption of the kingship.

The first ten years of Alexander III's reign saw repeated attempts to gain the rites of unction and coronation from the papacy, first by his minority government and then by Alexander himself in May 1259 when he was in full control of the kingdom.<sup>106</sup> Acquiring these rites would no doubt have strengthened the Scottish kingship, steered for the most part by a minor. Alexander was only seven years old at his inauguration in 1249 and his minority rule was stained by such factional wrangling as to cause even

<sup>103</sup> 1 Samuel 16:13 (Vulgate: 1 Reg. 16:13).

<sup>104</sup> The account in the *Vita Edwardi* contains the phrase 'inungitur et consecratur', while its replacement from the *Genealogia* only uses 'consecratur'. Is this problematic? *Consecrare* can be interpreted both in the narrow sense of anointing and in the more general sense of the ceremonial setting-up of a king by an ecclesiastic. The problem does not end there: the compiler of the Continuations has removed the phrase containing the word *unctio* from the *Genealogia*'s account of Alfred's anointing ('regis unctionis sacramento preveniens'). Does this mean that the Continuator actually had the *opposite* aim? *Sacrare* and *Consecrare* were, certainly by the 12th century, used to mean coronation and unction. Eadmer puts forward the reasons against Edward's succession to Edgar in 975 as: 'quia matrem eius licet legaliter nuptam in regnum tamen non magis quam patrem eius dum eum genuit sacramentum fuisse sciebant' – 'sacramentum' being translated as 'anointed' (Eadmer, *Vita Dunstani*, in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (London Record Soc., lxiii, 1864), p. 214). Roger of Howden used it in *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* to describe Henry the Young King's anointing in 1170 (and not *ungo* or *inungio*): 'fecit rex Henricus filium suum Henricum majorem coronari et in regem consecrari apud Westmonasterium' (Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, in *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., 1867), i. 5). Further, the key is 'consecrated him in the kingship as the holy Samuel had to the boy David'. The Vulgate account of this uses the verb *ungo* (1 Samuel 16:13: 'tulit igitur Samuhel cornu olei et unxit eum in medio fratrum eius'): there is no doubt that anointing is implied in the Continuations. Indeed, Samuel's anointing of David was used as an example by Innocent III in *Cum venisset*, his bull on unction (*P.L.*, ccxv, col. 285).

<sup>105</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 21va: ('Abscisca est arbor a trunco quando regnum a genere regali diuisum, ad aliud semen est translatum').

<sup>106</sup> Duncan, *Scotland*, pp. 554, 556–8, 559–60, 576.

*Gesta Annalia* I (usually an unambiguous champion of its kings) to cry: ‘Væ regno, ubi rex est puer’ (‘Woe to the kingdom where the king is a boy!’).<sup>107</sup> This lack of ecclesiastical confirmation for the kingship of the Scots was noted by contemporaries: Gerald of Wales acknowledged that ‘the rulers (‘principes’) of the Scots are called kings . . . nevertheless they were not accustomed to be crowned nor anointed’ in his *De Principis Instructione*, written between 1190 and 1217.<sup>108</sup> The minority government of Alexander III took it upon themselves to rectify this imbalance. They were ultimately unsuccessful (the first king of Scots to be crowned and anointed was David II in 1329), but there can be no faulting the tenacity with which these rites were pursued. In 1926, Marc Bloch noticed an entry in the *Summa Aurea* of the canonist Hostiensis – Henry, bishop of Ostia – written between 1250 and 1261, noting that ‘if anyone wishes to be anointed for the first time (‘de nouo’), he obtains the rite (‘consuetudo’) by petitioning the pope, as the king of the Aragonese does and the king of Scotland insists upon daily’.<sup>109</sup> Their persistence clearly worried Henry III of England who tried repeatedly to block the attempts made by the minority government to obtain these rites: Henry received a letter from Innocent IV, dated 6 April 1251, informing him ‘that we do not care to grant your [request] that our dearest son in Christ, the king of Scotland, should not be crowned or anointed without your consent’.<sup>110</sup> Nor was the papal court the only arena where attempts to gain the rite of unction could be enacted. The description of Alexander’s inauguration ceremony in 1249 in *Gesta Annalia* I, once thought to have been ‘derived from an entirely pre-twelfth century situation’,<sup>111</sup> is now argued to have contained several innovations, such as its performance by a cross set up in the graveyard of Scone abbey and the nobles laying their cloaks at the new king’s feet (an act similar to that in the making – and anointing – of Jehu as king of Israel in the Book of Kings), which aimed to present Alexander as a divinely ordained king for the very purpose of seeking confirmation of this from the papacy.<sup>112</sup>

The aim of the Dunfermline Continuator to present Alexander’s predecessors as successors of kings who had long been anointed should be seen in the context of the repeated attempts to gain such rites for Alexander himself and the subsequent kings of Scots. The date range of the compilation – between 1249 and 1285 – supports this proposition. Indeed, if this is accepted, then its *terminus ante quem* can be tentatively adjusted to 1259, the last date at which Alexander III is recorded to have attempted

<sup>107</sup> *Gesta Annalia* I, in Skene, *Fordun*, i. 297. The quotation is adapted from Ecclesiastes: ‘vae tibi terra cuius rex est puer et cuius principes mane comedunt’ (Ecc. 10:16: ‘Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a boy, and thy princes eat in the morning’); see further Duncan, *Scotland*, pp. 558–76.

<sup>108</sup> Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, ed. G. F. Warner (1891), p. 138.

<sup>109</sup> M. Bloch, ‘An unknown testimony on the history of coronation in Scotland’, *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, xxxiii (1926), 105–6; noted also in P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Spain* (Oxford, 1993), p. 441.

<sup>110</sup> The National Archives of the U.K.: Public Record Office, SC 7/20/11; *Registres d’Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger (4 vols., Paris, 1884–1920), ii, no. 5211; pr. in E. L. G. Stones, *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1970), no. 9, p. 58.

<sup>111</sup> J. Bannerman, ‘The king’s poet and the inauguration of Alexander III’, *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, lxxviii (1989), 120–49, at p. 133.

<sup>112</sup> Broun, ‘Origin of the stone of Scone’, p. 192; A. A. M. Duncan, ‘Before coronation: making a king at Scone in the 13th century’, in Welander, Breeze and Clancy, pp. 139–68, at p. 164. See now Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 179–83. The anointing of Jehu as king of Israel was also cited in Innocent III’s bull on unction, *Cum venisset* (pr. *P.L.*, ccxv, col. 285). See also G. G. Simpson, ‘Kingship in miniature: a seal of minority of Alexander III, 1249–57’, in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays presented to G. W. S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 131–9, particularly pp. 135–8.

to hold a coronation ceremony during his reign.<sup>113</sup> Certainly, the connection between the request for unction and the emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon ancestry does explain a rather curious feature in the Dunfermline compilation: following Matilda's marriage to Henry I in 1100, the claims of the kings of Scots to the English kingdom are never put forward. The claims of Edgar Ætheling are stressed, certainly: indeed, the account of Edgar smuggling his nieces and nephews over into England informs us that he 'feared that the Normans who had, at that time, invaded England, might strive to bring evil upon him or his own for the reason that the kingdom of England was owed to them ('eis') by hereditary right'.<sup>114</sup> But, after the marriage of Henry I and Matilda, the Dunfermline Continuator made it clear that 'the tree returned to the root' and no more mention is made of the claims of the Scottish kings.<sup>115</sup> This differed from other writers who referred to the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the kings of Scots: Jocelin of Furness emphasized briefly not only this ancestry but also its significance in the prologue to his *Vita S. Waldeuui*, addressed to William, king of Scots, and written between 1207 and 1214. Jocelin informed William that the current kings of Scots would have been 'rulers of the English kingdom by hereditary right through the straight and direct lines of unbroken generations, had not the violent depredations of the Normans with God permitting, prevented until the preordained time'.<sup>116</sup> What the Dunfermline compilation does stress at length is the descent of the Scottish kings from Alfred to Edward the Confessor. Indeed, the kings of Scots owed their position to this ancestry: only through Edgar Ætheling's help were they established in the kingship. It is thus probable that the purpose of the Dunfermline compilation was to demonstrate to the papal curia that the kings of Scotland were worthy of divine sanction by virtue of their descent from the kings of the West Saxon house of Cerdic, who had long benefited from these rites.<sup>117</sup> Certainly, Hostiensis informs us that the kings of Scots were petitioning the pope daily ('quotidie') for the rites of coronation and unction: from the textual evidence of the Dunfermline compilation, it may be that part of the evidence these petitioners presented in support of their application was the compilation produced at Dunfermline between 1249 and 1285 (possibly × 1259).

<sup>113</sup> This is a letter dated 14 May 1259 from Henry III to Alexander III saying that it was an unsuitable time for the king of Scots to be crowned. The letter is calendared in J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* (1881), i, no. 2157.

<sup>114</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 18rb.

<sup>115</sup> Dunfermline manuscript, fo. 23ra.

<sup>116</sup> *Vita de S. Watheno abbate ordinis Cisterciensis in Scotia. Vita auctore Jordano uel Joscelino monacho Furnesiensi* (pr. *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug., i (1733), pp. 248–76, at p. 248). For a wonderful translation of the prologue to the *Vita S. Waldeuui*, see D. Howlett, *Caledonian Craftsmanship: the Scottish Latin Tradition* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 126–9, upon which the above translation is based. It is rather amusing that these two different perspectives on the Anglo-Saxon ancestry presented in Jocelin of Furness's *Vita S. Waldeuui* and the Dunfermline compilation both ended up in the Dunfermline manuscript.

<sup>117</sup> There had been a notable shift in the papal attitude towards the status of the king of Scots during the first half of the 13th century. In 1221, Alexander II had requested the grant of coronation and unction from the legate of Pope Honorius III, James of St. Victor. The pope's response to his legate was clear: as 'that king is said to be subject to the king of England', the pope would do nothing unless 'the king of England and his counsellors consent' (bull calendared in *Calendars of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, ed. W. H. Bliss (3 vols., 1893), i. 83). Innocent IV's response when Henry III later requested confirmation of this procedure in 1251 was the opposite: although he did not deny that the king of Scots was Henry's *homo ligius*, he would not grant Henry's request because 'we do not care to grant anything prejudicial to kingly dignity ('regie dignitatis')' (Stones, no. 9, pp. 58–9). For Alexander II's attempts to gain the rites of coronation and unction, see Duncan, *Scotland*, p. 526.

But if the object of the Dunfermline compilation was to gain the rites of coronation and unction, why were other ceremonies of anointing of Anglo-Saxon kings not stressed? In 973, Edgar enjoyed a second coronation and anointing in Bath before journeying north and receiving the subjection of the neighbouring lesser kings.<sup>118</sup> In either 978 or 979, Æthelred II was anointed at Kingston by ‘two archbishops and ten diocesan bishops’.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, it seems strange that Alfred’s was the only consecration stressed if the purpose of the Dunfermline compilation was to secure the rights of coronation and unction by emphasizing the Scottish kings’ West Saxon descent. Two reasons present themselves immediately. First, the parallels between Alfred and Alexander III must have been clear to contemporaries. Alexander was seven when he was inaugurated as king at Scone; Alfred was supposedly five when anointed by Pope Leo IV. Alfred was held to be the first anointed king of the English, an accolade which would have been awarded to Alexander III in respect of the Scots had the attempts to gain unction been successful. Second, it may be that the especial significance of Alfred’s anointing was its performance by the pope, not by an English archbishop. In contrast, subsequent kings had only been anointed by members of the English episcopate: Edward the Confessor, for example, was anointed at Winchester by Archbishop Eadsige of Canterbury in 1043.<sup>120</sup> By the time the Dunfermline compilation was being put together and the kings of Scots were requesting the rites of coronation and unction from the papacy, the Scottish church had become the ‘special daughter’ of the Roman church with no intermediary. This was established by the papal bull *Cum Uniuersi*, issued in 1192, which freed the Scottish church from its subjection to the archbishopric of York.<sup>121</sup> If all consecrations and anointings of the West Saxon kings had been stressed in the Dunfermline compilation, it might have again raised rather difficult questions about the independence of the Scottish church vis-à-vis the English. After all, despite *Cum Uniuersi*, Henry III asked Innocent IV for a tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Scotland at the same time as asking him to reject Alexander III’s petition for coronation and unction.<sup>122</sup> For Henry III, the two – ecclesiastical independence and royal rites – were clearly still entangled with the same issue: the relative position of the kings of Scots and the king of England.<sup>123</sup> For this reason, the monks of Dunfermline may have felt it prudent to centre their claims only on the anointing of their kings’ royal ancestor, Alfred, by Pope Leo IV.

<sup>118</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle DE, *s.a.* 973, although here only six kings are recorded to have been present. John of Worcester says that eight kings submitted to Edgar and provides a list of their names (John of Worcester, *s.a.* 973). For the most recent account of the assembly at Chester, see D. E. Thornton, ‘Edgar and the eight kings, A.D. 973: *textus et dramatis personae*’, *Early Medieval Europe*, x (2001), 49–79.

<sup>119</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C, *s.a.* 978; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle CDE, *s.a.* 979; for the archbishops and bishops, see Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C, *s.a.* 979.

<sup>120</sup> Anglo-Saxon Chronicle C, *s.a.* 1043.

<sup>121</sup> *Scotia Pontifica*, ed. R. Somerville (Oxford, 1982), no. 156 (pr. Howden, ii. 234–5). The privilege of being a ‘special daughter of the Roman church’ had first been granted only to Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow (1175–99) (see *Scotia Pontifica*, nos. 135, 136; pr. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. C. N. Innes (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1843), i, nos. 62, 69). See further Broun, *Scottish Independence*, pp. 125–57.

<sup>122</sup> Stones, no. 9, pp. 58–9.

<sup>123</sup> Henry III was not the only king of England to associate Scottish ecclesiastical independence with Scottish political independence. His grandfather, Henry II, had, in 1174 and 1175, caused William the Lion to perform homage to him and recognize his political superiority. The treaty which confirmed this act – the so-called Treaty of Falaise – also stipulated that the clergy perform homage to the English king and that ‘the church in England shall also have the right in the church of Scotland which it ought to have by law (*de iure*)’ (pr. Stones, no. 1, pp. 4–5); for the ceremony at St. Peter’s, York when William performed homage to Henry II, see Howden, i. 94–9; for the Council of Northampton in 1176, when the issue of Scottish ecclesiastical dependence was supposed to be confirmed, see the account in Howden, i. 111–12.

A brief note must be inserted here about the role of the convent of Dunfermline in the attempt to gain the rite of unction. The compilation was put together at Dunfermline and should be seen as part of the resurrection of the abbey as the premier centre for the kings of Scots, accelerated during the minority rule of Alexander III. Both William I and Alexander II had chosen to be buried at monastic churches other than Dunfermline (in William's case, Arbroath; in Alexander's, Melrose).<sup>124</sup> Dunfermline itself had also declined as a centre for royal business following an administrative overhaul during the eleven-nineties.<sup>125</sup> The minority government were keen to restore Dunfermline, once described by William of Newburgh as 'renowned for the sepulchres of its kings' ('regum sepulturis insignem'), as the premier royal centre and the monks themselves must have been no less keen.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, it seems probable that the unusual position of the abbot of Dunfermline, Robert of Kenleith, as the king's chancellor following the death of William de Bondington, bishop of Glasgow, in 1247, was a cause of Dunfermline's prominence in the papal campaign. After all, Robert had overseen the canonization of Queen Margaret in which the young king was heavily involved.<sup>127</sup> In July 1250, Alexander, his mother, Queen Marie, all the bishops, abbots, earls and barons and 'all other honourable men' gathered at Dunfermline to see the translation of Margaret's relics from a stone tomb to a shrine covered in gold and precious jewels.<sup>128</sup> This suggests that Dunfermline played a key part in raising the status of the kingship of the Scots during the mid thirteenth century, first, by negotiating Margaret's canonization and, second, by appearing to be the venue for the kings of Scots to receive the rites of coronation and unction. This attempt was no doubt designed to strengthen the Scottish kingship at a time when its head was weak during a period of minority; that Dunfermline was the place of composition for the compilation is indicative of the abbey's role in championing the rights and status of its royal patrons, and confirmation of its place as the guardian of the kingship of the Scots in this period.

In the event, the attempt to gain unction was unsuccessful. The prevarications of and obstacles set by Henry III were at the heart of the failure of the kings of Scots to be granted these rites during the thirteenth century. In 1221, Alexander II had written to Honorius III to request these rites.<sup>129</sup> Only the pope's response survives: he would do nothing unless 'the king of England and his counsellors consent'.<sup>130</sup> In

<sup>124</sup> See further S. Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. R. Fawcett (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 139–53.

<sup>125</sup> *Regesta Regum Sctorum*, ii: *the Acts of William I, 1165–1214*, ed. G. W. S. Barrow with W. W. Scott (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 29. The witness-lists of royal *acta* suggest that the kings of Scots ceased to cause their charters to be drawn up in large assemblies during the 1190s: places such as Perth (near Scone), Dunfermline and St. Andrews declined concurrently while the administrative centres at Edinburgh and Stirling continued to be the venues at which royal *acta* were authenticated throughout William's reign. The author will be addressing this subject in A. Taylor, 'Aspects of kingship, government and obligation in Scotland during the central middle ages' (unpublished University of Oxford D.Phil. thesis, forthcoming), ch. 15. For concurrent changes in the diplomatic of royal charters in the mid 1190s, see D. Broun, 'The absence of regnal years from the dating clauses of the charters of the kings of Scots 1195–1222', *Anglo-Norman Stud.*, xxv (2003), 47–63.

<sup>126</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (4 vols., 1884–9), i. 148.

<sup>127</sup> See Duncan, *Scotland*, p. 559.

<sup>128</sup> *Gesta Annalia I*, in Skene, *Fordun*, i. 295.

<sup>129</sup> For the presence of the papal legate James dealing with the Scottish claims for coronation and unction during this period, see P. C. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios and Judges-Delegate* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 87–8.

<sup>130</sup> W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Letters sent to Great Britain and Ireland* (3 vols., 1893), i. 83.



May 1259, Henry was to write to Alexander informing him that it was neither a convenient nor useful time to be seeking these privileges from the papacy.<sup>131</sup> The year 1259 was the last occasion on which Alexander is recorded attempting to secure the rites of coronation and unction for the Scottish crown, rites which would have given the kings of Scots a status equal to the most powerful kings in western Christendom. It has been argued here that the first three items in the fifteenth-century Dunfermline manuscript made up a compilation put together between 1249 × 85. This compilation may have formed part of the written evidence drawn up in support of the requests of the kings of Scots to the papacy to be of a status worthy of receiving the ecclesiastical rites of coronation and unction. The justification of the claim to such rites seems to have been the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the Scottish kings: by virtue of being descended from kings of the English who had long been crowned and anointed, the kings of Scots may have hoped to persuade the papacy that they too should be crowned and receive unction. In this sense, the Dunfermline compilation can be seen as the earliest surviving significant piece of political propaganda written for the kings of Scots, designed to help them in obtaining rites which the kingship did not then possess. These rites were not granted during Alexander III's reign, despite repeated attempts by him and by members of his minority government. However, the Dunfermline compilation was not neglected following its part in the failure to obtain Alexander's recognition as a fully-fledged Christian king. It was to have a vibrant influence on the most comprehensive piece of extant historical writing produced during his reign – the so-called *Gesta Annalia* I. Examination of *Gesta Annalia* I and its use of the Dunfermline compilation can reveal a live tradition of historical writing in Scotland during the thirteenth century which stressed the Anglo-Saxon ancestry of the Scottish kings and in so doing continued to present them as the equal of their English counterparts. But these subjects must be left for another occasion.

<sup>131</sup> *Close Rolls* 1256–9, p. 477.