Copper, Parchment, and Stone

Studies in the sources for landholding and lordship in early medieval Bengal and medieval Scotland

edited by

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and
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VII

The genealogy of the king of Scots as charter and panegyric

Dauvit Broun

When we think of genealogies in medieval Scotland our minds might turn at once to Gaelic, the Celtic language that was spoken in the Middle Ages from the southern tip of Ireland to the northernmost coast of Scotland.[1] This is not unnatural. Texts that trace the ancestry of a notable individual step by step through many generations survive in their hundreds from the medieval Gaelic world. They are found today almost exclusively in late-medieval Irish manuscripts. Some genealogies originated in collections made as early as the tenth century.[2] Presumably there were once many Scottish manuscripts containing genealogies, too. A reason why they would not have survived is that, in the Scottish kingdom during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Gaelic learned orders who would have had a primary interest in writing and copying this material declined in significance and ceased to participate in Gaelic literate culture.[3] This chapter will

[1] I am extremely grateful to Joanna Tucker for her comments and discussion, and for numerous key points and improvements. I am also very grateful to Geraldine Parsons for commenting on the section on genealogy as panegyric, and to John Davies for his editorial patience and perspicacity. All errors are my own.

[2] See below, 228–9.

[3] Dauvit Broun, 'Gaelic literacy in eastern Scotland between 1124 and 1249', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. Huw Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), 183–201. For the judicial role of the learned orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and their declining significance, see Alice Taylor, *The Shape of the State in Medieval Scotland, 1124–1290* (Oxford, 2016), 121–32; G. W. S Barrow, 'The *judex*', in G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots. Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2003), 57–67.

open with a brief survey of medieval genealogical texts relating to the Scottish kingdom, followed by a closer discussion of the limited number that are known to have existed between about 995 and 1250. Thanks to some recent insights about the physicality of texts, and the example of Bengal copper-plates, a new approach to this material will be developed that offers a fresh perspective on the role of genealogy as a written expression of kingship and lordship.

What are genealogies?

Gaelic genealogies in the central and later Middle Ages typically trace the descent of an individual through a number of significant figures who serve to establish his identity. If, for example, the genealogy is of the ruler of Cenél nGabráin ('Kindred of Gabrán'), then Gabrán, from whom Cenél nGabráin are named, will feature in his genealogy, along with all Gabrán's supposed ancestors. The Gaelic learned orders who wrote and preserved these texts developed a sophisticated fictional scheme which was designed to show how every major kindred in the Gaelic world related to each other. This scheme, in turn, was rooted in the genealogical framework provided for humankind in the Bible. This meant that it was notionally possible for an individual's genealogy to be taken generation by generation back to 'Adam son of the living God'. One example of this (noted below) runs to over 140 generations.[4] In practice it appears that only those who held a position of authority had their genealogy written out or recited in public.[5] This could be at the level of local landholding.[6]

[4] The genealogy of William the Lion noted under (3) at 213 (below).

[5] Studies of genealogies focus chiefly on understanding changes involving significant ancestors rather than on the conventions governing the choice of individuals at the head of a pedigree. For an exception (limited to the study of a single tract) see Dauvit Broun, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* revisited', in *Sacred Histories: a Festschrift for Máire Herbert*, ed. J. Carey, K. Murray and C. Ó Dochartaigh (Dublin, 2015), 63–72.

[6] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past: the early Irish genealogical tradition' (Carroll Lecture 1992), *Peritia* 12 (1998), 177–208, at 180–1; also 182–3 (summarising Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Uí Chobthaigh and their pedigrees', *Ériu* 30 (1979), 168–73).

Only the most important would have had their pedigree traced deep into the past. The only texts of Scottish genealogies that survive from about 750 to about 1350 are those of kings.[7]

All Scottish genealogies (with one exception) take the form 'A son of B son of C' and so on.[8] This means that, when the genealogy was first composed, 'A' was head of his kindred (and, in the case of the royal genealogy, was king at that time). Every link in the chain is male. There was, however, a lone woman in the line of descent of the kings of Scots. Her fate in copies of the Scottish royal genealogy is instructive. For example, in medieval Gaelic, the ancestry of David I (1124–1153) should have read:

> *Dabíth mac Maíl Choluim meic Donnchada meic Bethóice ingen Maíl Choluim meic Chinaeda …*
>
> 'David son of Mael Coluim (Malcolm III, ruled 1058–1093) son of Donnchad (Duncan I, 1034–1040) son of Bethóc daughter of Mael Coluim (Malcolm II, 1005–1034) son of Cinaed (Kenneth II, 971–995) …'.

You will look for Bethóc in vain, however, in all versions of the genealogy but one. It was so unusual to have a woman as one of the generations in a genealogy that her naming was avoided by saying either 'Donnchad (Duncan I) grandson of Mael Coluim (Malcolm II)', or 'Donnchad son of the daughter of Mael Coluim'. The next step was to deny the possibility of her existence by saying 'Donnchad (Duncan I) *son* of Mael Coluim (Malcolm II)' (as in the text edited and translated in the Appendix below), or by converting her into a male by reading *meic ingen*, 'of the son of the daughter' as *meic Fingen*, 'son of Fingen'.[9] These changes were evidently made by scribes who

[7] There are earlier, more extensive genealogies relating to Dál Riata (a kingdom roughly equivalent to modern Argyll in the west of Scotland and the north of Antrim in Ireland). See below, 228–30.

[8] The exception is *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban*: see below, 228.

[9] NLS, Adv. MS 72.1.1 (known as 'MS. 1467') fol. 1ra4, transcribed by Máire and Ronnie Black on line at http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/ (accessed 10 July 2017); *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies, Leabhar Mór na nGenealach, compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*, ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–4), II, 142; III, 486.

were so used to writing an undisturbed sequence of male names that they were moved to 'correct' the text in this way.

Summary of medieval genealogical texts relating to the Scottish kingdom

Genealogies have in the past tended to be regarded as primarily an oral form which was occasionally committed to writing. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, however, in his seminal work on the vast genealogical corpus in Irish manuscripts, has compellingly argued that these should be understood as accumulations of written material transmitted over many centuries.[10] In this chapter my ultimate concern will be to think about genealogies as something written on parchment, focusing on the genealogy of the king of Scots in particular.

The genealogical texts relating to the Scottish kingdom in the Middle Ages can be grouped as follows:

(1) The earliest texts: two tracts on Dál Riata, one datable to around 730 or 733, the other with possibly seventh-century material.[11]

(2) Genealogies of kings of Scots in Gaelic found in Irish manuscripts. These all derive in the end from a collection that also included the two early tracts on Dál Riata (which I shall discuss in more detail later on).[12] This collection eventually included two versions of the royal genealogy: one headed by Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III) (995–997), and another headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (1005–1034), updated to Mael Coluim's descendant, David I

[10] Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', esp. 187–94; see also Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Irish origin legends and genealogy: recurrent aetiologies, in *History and Heroic Tale: a Symposium*, ed. Tore Nyberg, Piø Iørn and P. M. Sørenen (Odense, 1985), 51–96, at 52–85. Another important discussion is David E. Thornton, 'Orality, literacy and genealogy in early medieval Ireland and Wales', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. Huw Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), 83–98. See also Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Welsh and Irish Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), 111–25.

[11] See below, 230, 228.

[12] See 228–9, below.

(1124–1153). An edition and translation of this updated version is given in the Appendix.

(3) A copy of the genealogy of William the Lion (1165–1214) back to Adam 'son of the living God'.[13] This formed part of a collection of miscellaneous historical pieces relating to the Scottish kingdom compiled during the reign of William the Lion.[14] Although the genealogy is ostensibly in Latin, the names are spelt according to medieval Gaelic conventions from Mael Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm III) onwards (1058–1093). The rendering of Mael Coluim's son David I (1124–1153) as 'Dauid', however, is perfectly plausible as a medieval Gaelic spelling.[15] It is possible, therefore, that this was originally a Gaelic text headed by David I.

(4) A version related to this, but with names often badly garbled.[16] This is found (i) from Fergus son of Erc to Noah in the *Original Chronicle* written in Scots verse by Andrew of Wyntoun sometime between 1408 and 1424;[17] (ii) in Latin, from Fergus son of Erc to Adam, in the commonplace book of James

[13] A critical edition of the first 97 generations is in Dauvit Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1999), 176–180; for the whole text see Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1980), 256–8.

[14] The collection is edited in Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 240–60: see 236 for its date. It survives uniquely in a manuscript from near York datable to about 1360: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 4126, fols 26va–32ra. For the manuscript, see Julia C. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, vol. III, *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989), 256–61.

[15] eDIL s.v. *Dauíth*, at dil.ie/14769.

[16] Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 181–2; Broun, 'Gaelic literacy', 191–2. See Dauvit Broun, 'The most important textual representation of royal authority on parchment 1100–1250?', *Feature Article no.3: September 2015. Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government 1100–1250*: http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/blog/royal-authority-on-parchment/ (accessed 14 February 2016) for the garbling.

[17] Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 96 and note 40. For Wyntoun's version of the genealogy see *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours, Scottish Text Society, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1903–1914), vol. II, 114–17, 210–13, 349, 351.

Gray, secretary of two archbishops of St Andrews in the late fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.[18]

(5) A Latin genealogy headed originally by David I with names rendered so that they could be pronounced by someone unfamiliar with medieval Gaelic spelling conventions.[19] It survives because it was incorporated into a number of historical works: (i) the *Imagines Historiarum* of Ralph of Diss (died *c.* 1200), where it is updated to William the Lion, and runs back to Noah;[20] (ii) as an addition to the account of Alexander III's inauguration in a history of Scotland referred to by scholars as *Gesta Annalia* I, where it runs from Alexander back to the legendary first king of Scots in Scotland;[21] and (iii) in book V chapter 50 of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, running from David I to Noah. It is said there to have been taken from a copy that belonged to Cardinal Walter Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow (died 1387).[22]

(6) Finally, there are several genealogies of Highland kindreds, in the Gaelic language, of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some are found among the great corpus of genealogies in Irish manuscripts.[23] The most important extant

[18] NLS, Adv. MS 34.7.3, fols 17v–19r. For Gray, see Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 64.

[19] Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 180–1; Broun, 'Gaelic literacy', 190–1.

[20] Edited in Broun, 'The most important textual representation'.

[21] Edited in Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 183–7. On *Gesta Annalia* I, see Dauvit 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), 9–30.

[22] *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. William F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871), 251–2. Both *Gesta Annalia* I and Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* were incorporated, along with their copies of the royal genealogy, into Bower's *Scotichronicon*: D. E. R. Watt (gen. ed.), *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, vol. V, *Books IX and X*, ed. Simon Taylor and D. E. R. Watt with Brian Scott (Aberdeen, 1990), 294–5; vol. III, *Books V and VI*, ed. John and Winifred MacQueen and D. E. R. Watt (Edinburgh, 1995), 170–3.

[23] W. D. H. Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuari pedigrees in MS. 1467', *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland Island Historical Research*, Series 1, 28 (March 1986), 3–15; id., 'MacDougall pedigrees in MS. 1467', *Notes and*

copy is a discrete collection found on the first folio of Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS. 72.1.1,[24] a manuscript written by Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail in Ormond (in the south of Ireland) in 1467 (hence its designation as 'MS. 1467').[25] Martin MacGregor has shown that a significant part of this collection can be dated to about 1400, and that it had passed through the hands of a MacLachlan historian before reaching Dubhghall Albanach.[26] In 'MS. 1467' the first item is the genealogy of the king of Scots, headed by David I (1124–1153), derived ultimately from a collection of Scottish genealogies in Ireland (discussed below). This acts as a stem which most of the other genealogies join as branches.

New perspectives

Donnchadh Ó Corráin has characterised genealogies as 'socio-cultural instruments devised to serve social ends: title, inheritance, status in church and in secular society'.[27] There is here a potential overlap with charters as records of landholding and lordship, and with panegyric poetry praising a patron's position, power and prestige. Genealogy, charter, and praise poetry, however, were distinct types of text. The inclusion of genealogical and panegyric elements within the record of a donation in the copper-plates of Bengal has no clear parallel among medieval Scottish (or British) documents. But was there potential for genealogies to perform functions similar to charters and panegyric? These are new questions which arise directly out

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Queries of the Society of West Highland Island Historical Research, Series 1, 29 (August 1986), 3–18. There is also important genealogical material in later manuscripts, such as NLS, Adv. MS. 72.1.50, written by Niall MacMhuirich about 1658: this also includes (fol. 12r) a copy of the genealogy of David I.

[24] See Máire and Ronnie Black's description and transcription at http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/index.html (accessed 16 February 2016), at 131–2.

[25] Colm Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms in a manuscript of 1467', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 15 (1988), 122–39.

[26] Martin MacGregor, 'Genealogies of the clans: contributions to the study of MS. 1467', *Innes Review* 51 (2000), 131–46, at 137–43.

[27] Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', 189.

of comparison with the Bengali copper-plates. This has the potential to offer a novel perspective on material familiar to historians of the medieval Gaelic world.

My main task in this chapter will be to identify genealogical texts originating in Scotland, focussing of necessity on the genealogy of the king of Scots. This will suffice for considering the potential for crossover from panegyric to genealogy. The idea that genealogy might share aspects of a charter, however, will hinge on seeing them not only as primarily written rather than oral, but also as a form of writing with a physical dimension that no longer survives. This is the most fundamental and challenging new viewpoint to develop from the comparison with Bengali copper-plates. Its roots lie not only in recognising the potential importance of studying texts as objects, but also in recent work where the physical evidence has become an inherent element of our approach to text.[28]

The physical context of charters can readily be appreciated. The copper-plates of Bengal are manifestly artefacts as well as texts. Scottish (and British) charters were artefacts too. The authenticity of charters was indeed enhanced by their existence as individual sheets of parchment with seals attached; by the thirteenth century this was essential if they were to have legal force.[29] There was no requirement, of course, for genealogies to be on single sheets of parchment, or for them to be sealed. It

[28] Elena Pierazzo and Peter Stokes, 'Putting the text back into context: a codicological approach to manuscript transmission', *Codicology and Palaeography in the Digital Age 2,* ed. F. Fischer, C. Fritze and G. Vogeler (Norderstedt, 2011), 397–430, at 401–20, summarise a range of work which shows that, 'in order to say "what a text really is", one must deal with the physical embodiment of that text' (p. 420). Pierazzo and Stokes highlight the need for an editorial or analytical methodology that integrates the physical evidence as an inherent feature of the text. Although their focus is on digital representations of text, the need is general. This integration has been achieved more recently by Joanna Tucker in her methodology for analysing manuscript growth in cartularies: see n. 30, below.

[29] For an awareness of this aspect of charters I have benefitted specifically from Joanna Tucker's insights on the relationship between cartularies and archives of originals arising from her research on two medieval Scottish cartularies (see next note). I am very grateful to her for discussions about this.

seems natural therefore to discuss them simply as texts – all the more so given that they only survive in collections within manuscript-books. How might it be useful, therefore, to think of genealogies as having a physical dimension? Joanna Tucker in her work on piecemeal growth in cartularies has shown the value of keeping in the foreground the fact that writing had simultaneously a physical and textual presence.[30] As a result, it is not only individual charters on their original sheet of parchment which have a physical dimension that needs to be taken into account; she has shown that charters in the fundamentally different context of a manuscript book also benefit from being understood within the dynamic of their physical setting. Joanna Tucker's method will not be used directly in this chapter to investigate the nearest genealogical equivalent of cartularies – namely the manuscripts that include collections of genealogies. Instead her insights into the value of keeping the physicality of text constantly in mind will be applied to think afresh about the smallest constituent elements of the corpus of genealogies, reaching beyond the level of earlier collections of material to the genealogy of the king of Scots in particular.

The genealogy of the king of Scots in practice

In records of donations of land in medieval Scotland the donor's identity was given with little fuss. Their name plus a simple

[30] Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies. Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth: A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey*, Studies in Celtic History (Woodbridge, 2020). Her methodology takes us beyond the current limits of codicology and textual criticism. J. Peter Gumbert, 'Codicological units: towards a terminology for the stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex', *Segno e Testo* 2 (2004), 17–42, is an important discussion of the significance of combining an awareness of text and manuscript, but focuses on codicology; compare also Dauvit Broun, 'Editing the Chronicle of Melrose', and 'Charting the chronicle's physical development', in Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: a Stratigraphic Edition*, vol. I, *Introduction and Facsimile Edition* (Woodbridge, 2007), 29–39, 125–73, where the focus is on what this offers for editing a text. Joanna Tucker's methodology in analysing manuscript growth in cartularies is the first where both dimensions are fully integrated and given equal weight.

designation, such as a title or patronymic, was sufficient. In the case of royal charters between 1107 and 1214 written by the king's scribes, the king's name was even reduced to its initial letter, as in, *D. rex Scot'*, Latin *Dauid rex Scottorum*, 'David king of Scots' (David I, 1124–1153).[31] Yet all secular persons of high status would have been acutely aware of their ancestry. In some cases this is apparent in the surname. That of Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale, for example, drew attention to the family's origin in *Bruis* (now Brix) on the Cotentin peninsula in western Normandy.[32] From the thirteenth century onwards ancestry could be displayed in heraldic designs. So far as records of landholding were concerned, however, the donor's and beneficiary's pedigrees were typically invisible. Once lordship came to be defined primarily as holding 'land' rather than leading a kindred, genealogy ceased to be the principal written form of explaining and upholding the highest authority in local and regional society. It remained important, but was not part of the ceremony establishing a person's lordship, which now focused on being put in possession of 'land' on the instructions of a superior authority.[33]

Kingship was different. The king's genealogy was no mere statement of family prestige. It served to define royal authority itself when the king was enthroned. The most detailed account of an inauguration is a largely contemporary account of Alexander III's that took place in the cemetery at Scone Abbey on 13 July 1249. There it is said that, once he had been enthroned, consecrated, and all the lords had spread their cloaks at his feet,

[31] John Reuben Davies, 'The standardisation of diplomatic in Scottish royal acts down to 1249. Part 1, brieves', *Feature Article no.6: December 2015. Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government 1100–1250*: http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/blog/standardisation-brieves/ (accessed 22 August 2017).

[32] Ruth M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland 1100–1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), 5–6. Blakely explains (p. 7) that by the late twelfth century the descendants of the first of the family, Robert de Brus (died 1142), to arrive in Britain had ceased to have a practical connection with Brix.

[33] On this see Dauvit Broun, 'The presence of witnesses and writing of charters', in *The Reality Behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain*, ed. Dauvit Broun (Glasgow, 2011), 235–90, at 254–7, and sources cited there.

> … a certain highland Scot, kneeling suddenly before the throne, greeted the king in the mother tongue, bowing his head, saying: *Bennachd Dé rí Albanach Alexanndar mac Alexanndair meic Uilleim meic Énri meic Dabíth* ('Blessings of God, oh king of Scots, Alexander son of Alexander son of William son of Henry son of David'), and by proclaiming in this way read the genealogy of the kings of Scots to the end.[34]

The 'mother tongue' was Gaelic; the person who read the genealogy can therefore be identified as a member of the established learned orders with expertise in historical knowledge – either the king's *senchaid* ('historian') or *ollam* ('poet').[35] It was not enough simply to hail the new king by his name.[36] Each generation of his ancestry, father to son, had to be announced 'to the end'. In this way he was recognised as the living embodiment of the ancient royal line not simply because of his ancestry (which, before primogeniture, would have been a quality shared by other potential kings), but because he was now enthroned and

[34] *... quidam Scotus montanus ante thronum subito genuflectens materna lingua regem inclinato capite salutauit dicens: Benach de Re Albanne Alexander mac Alexander mac Uleyham mac Henri mac Dauid, et sic pronunciando regum Scottorum genealogiam usque in finem legebat.* (In the translation the indiscriminate use of nominative forms in the genealogy has been emended.) For a discussion of the sources, see Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007), 170–9, and esp. 177–8 for a reconstruction of the account quoted here. See also A. A. M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292. Succession and Independence* (Edinburgh, 2002), 133–50, esp. 147–9. See also John Bannerman, 'The king's poet and the inauguration of Alexander III', *Scottish Historical Review* 68 (1989), 120–49.

[35] This text is the earliest example of 'highland Scot' as a label for Gaelic speaker; it is probably an addition by the scholar who compiled the history in which this account was incorporated, completing his work probably in 1285: see Dauvit Broun, 'Attitudes of Gall to Gaedhel in Scotland before John of Fordun' in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, ed. Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (Glasgow, 2009), 49–82, at 73–7.

[36] In later medieval Ireland, hailing the ruler's surname served essentially the same function as reading the genealogy in Alexander III's inauguration: see Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords. The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987), 32–5.

in full possession of the kingdom.[37] The royal genealogy, with Alexander III at its head, was a written record of his kingship.

There is no account of any previous royal inauguration with a similar degree of detail, and therefore no simple way to say how many (if any) before 1249 featured the reading out of the king's genealogy. The only other indication that this occurred is the seal of Scone Abbey. This depicts a royal enthronement – almost certainly Alexander III's, which took place in the cemetery of Scone Abbey; if so, it is evidently independent of the written account.[38] Among the figures portrayed around the king is someone with what could be a scroll of parchment, and another person crouching behind cradling a triangular object.[39] John Bannerman identified these as the king's poet (*ollam líg*) holding the scroll and a harper behind him with his *clàrsach* (a Scottish

[37] Primogeniture (at its simplest) meant that succession was by the eldest son of the previous king; this was not firmly established until 1201 (or 1205, when David earl of Huntingdon, King William the Lion's younger brother, recognised William's underage son, Alexander, as heir to the throne). See Dauvit Broun, 'Contemporary perspectives on Alexander II's succession: the evidence of king-lists', in *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49*, ed. Richard D. Oram (Leiden, 2005), 79–98. Although primogeniture usually meant that there was no doubt about succession to the throne, there were difficulties where female descent was involved: see Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292*, 165–71. For an understanding of how succession to kingship operated previously, see Charles-Edwards, *Early Welsh and Irish Kinship*, 89–111.

[38] Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 172–3. The seal survives attached to a document of 1296, but its matrix could be significantly earlier. It has been argued that the shields under the figures placing Alexander III on the throne identify them as the earls of Strathearn and Atholl, and that the scene is therefore a depiction of John Balliol's inauguration of 1292: G. W. S. Barrow, 'Observations on the coronation stone of Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review* 76 (1997), 115–21, at 116–17. The shield attributed by Barrow to the earl of Atholl, however, corresponds with an extant representation of the arms of Colbán, earl of Fife (1266–*c.*1270): Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292*, 136–7 and 137 note 40. Barrow's further observation that the seal's design seems later in date than 1249 may be met by supposing that its matrix was created sometime later (perhaps based on a written account?).

[39] Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292*, plate 3; Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 172; Bannerman, 'The king's poet', 121, 133–4; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland. The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 555–6.

harp). He suggested that the scroll was the royal genealogy, and that the harpist would have accompanied the poet when he sang a panegyric ode for the new king at the end of the inauguration ceremony.[40] Unfortunately it is not unknown for scrolls to be used pictorially to represent speech; the fact that someone is depicted holding a scroll, therefore, is not on its own clear evidence that the genealogy was read out (as opposed to being recited poetically, for example).[41] For that we depend on the prose account of Alexander III's inauguration.

It seems natural to suppose that a eulogy would be performed at an inauguration; it also might be expected that some statement of the new king's ancestry – perhaps in summary form – would be made in the ode, or announced separately. The reading out of the genealogy as a plain list of over a-hundred male names, however, has no direct parallels.[42] It has been argued that the ceremony in 1249 included new elements that, in the face of the pope's denial of coronation and anointment, served to emphasise the novel idea of sovereign kingship.[43] If the detail of Alexander III's inauguration was unusual, then this could help to explain why it was depicted so vividly in prose and on Scone Abbey's seal. It is difficult, however, to see how reading out the king's genealogy would have been one of the new elements that made up for the lack of coronation and anointing.

The reference to reading out Alexander III's pedigree at his inauguration is central for the discussion of genealogy in this chapter. There are texts of extensive pedigrees of kings of Scots that can, without too much difficulty, be envisaged as originating on single sheets of parchment. Some, headed by David I (1124–1153) and William the Lion (1165–1214), have been mentioned

[40] Bannerman, 'The king's poet', 123, 134–5.
[41] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066–1307* (3rd edn, Chichester, 2013), 269.
[42] Bannerman, 'The king's poet', 132, refers to Martin Martin's account of the inauguration of the Lord of the Isles in which the poet 'rehearsed a catalogue of his [the Lord's] ancestors'. They are not, however, said to have been read out; in any event, Martin Martin was writing a couple of centuries after there had ceased to be a Lord of the Isles (albeit he had access to lost written material).
[43] Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 179–82.

already. Others, headed by Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III), who ruled between 995 and 997, and by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II), who became king in 1005, will be discussed in due course. On the face of it there is no apparent reason for assuming that any of these texts could have been derived ultimately from a scroll read out during these kings' inaugurations. Indeed, given that Gaelic versified genealogies (and king-lists, too) existed, the recitation of a long list of names without any embellishment is hardly likely to have had much impact as a performance.[44] It will be argued, however, that the genealogy itself was partly rewritten to introduce a panegyric element; this, in turn, suggests that it was, indeed, recited in a public forum. It might be surmised that this is unlikely to have been at an ordinary public occasion, moreover, where a poetic version might be expected – unless it was in a specific context, such as an inauguration, where it was not simply the genealogy itself, but the nature of the occasion which gave it particular significance. All this would be no more than delicate speculation, however, were it not for the account of the reading of the king's pedigree at Alexander III's inauguration. There can be little doubt that the genealogy was read from a single sheet of parchment on that occasion. The rewriting of the text apparently to introduce a specifically panegyric element, for its part, is the only specific indication that reading out the royal genealogy was a long established feature of the ceremony.

In search of copies of the inaugural genealogy

No single sheet of parchment with only the royal genealogy survives, of course. If the reading out of the genealogy was a long established feature of the ceremony, then it is more than likely that copies were made. Here we should make a distinction

[44] See, for example, John Carey, 'Early Irish dynastic poetry', in *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Medieval Ireland and Wales*, ed. John T. Koch in collaboration with John Carey (Malden Mass., 1995), 41–7. For versified king-lists, see briefly Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 44–5, and works cited there; a similar versified Scottish king-list, except in Latin, is edited in *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots*, ed. William F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1867), 177–82.

between the genealogy when it appears as part of a collection of pedigrees (as in Irish manuscripts), and the genealogy as a standalone text that has been incorporated into a more general historical work. In our hunt for potential copies of the inaugural scroll, the most promising are a couple of texts from the late twelfth century, both of which appear to be updated versions of genealogies that were probably originally headed by David I.[45] These are (3) and (5) in the summary of Scottish genealogical texts given above.[46] It may be recalled that in one the proper names were written according to Gaelic spelling conventions, while in the other the orthography was adapted so that the names could be pronounced by readers unfamiliar with Gaelic.[47] Perhaps the first was derived from a copy of what was read out at David I's inauguration in 1124. It is unlikely, however, that the 'adapted' version was created in order to be read out when David's successor, Mael Coluim IV (1153–1165), was enthroned. It will be recalled that the version of this text in Book V chapter 50 of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* is headed by David I.[48]

The earliest surviving witness of this 'adapted' version of the royal genealogy is in Ralph of Diss's own manuscript of his historical works (London, Lambeth Palace MS 8), whose original core (including the genealogy of the king of Scots) can be dated to sometime in late 1185 or early 1186.[49] Ralph of Diss was dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London (1180–*ca* 1200), and had no apparent links with Scotland or any particular interest in Scottish history. Could Ralph have found it in the archive of St Paul's? It is conceivable that it reached there through Robert de Sigillo, bishop of London (1141–1150), who had close links with David I. They were both prominent supporters of Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and her son Henry II, in the struggle for the English

[45] Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 175–87.
[46] At 213–14.
[47] Broun, 'The most important textual representation of royal authority'.
[48] See 214, above.
[49] The genealogy is on fol. 107va32–b28. According to my unpublished analysis of the manuscript, the earliest section was written 1 December 1185 × 10 March 1186.

throne following Henry I's death in 1135. Robert is known to have been on a diplomatic mission to David I in Scotland in 1140.[50] It is not too fanciful, therefore, to suppose that Robert was given a copy of David I's genealogy at some point while on official business. Whatever the case may have been, the chief point of interest is that the names have been adapted at some stage during David I's reign so that they could be read aloud by someone ignorant of Gaelic spelling conventions.[51] Perhaps there were formal occasions when someone without literacy in Gaelic would have read out the genealogy in a public forum. It is conceivable that, in a context where a Gaelic versified genealogy would not have been understood, a public reading out of the prose pedigree would have had to suffice.

This adaptation for a non-Gaelic context was the principal text known in Scotland after 1249, surviving in two versions (mentioned in (5) in the summary of texts given above).[52] It was also used to provide the chronological backbone of the history of the Scots from their ancient origins to the (then) present day, datable to 1285, that was Fordun's principal source.[53] The text in Gaelic orthography, by contrast, can only be traced in Scotland in two garbled versions that were probably derived from an exemplar kept at St Andrews;[54] its survival in more recognisable form is thanks entirely to a manuscript produced in northern England around 1360.[55] It is possible, therefore, that when the king's *senchaid* or *ollam* read the genealogy in Gaelic in 1249, the names on the scroll were in the new orthography.[56]

[50] G. W. S. Barrow, 'Witnesses and the attestation of formal documents in Scotland, twelfth thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Legal History* 16 (1995), 1–20, at 12–13.
[51] Broun, 'The most important textual representation of royal authority'.
[52] One in Book V chapter 50 of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (datable to 1384×1387), and the other added to the account of Alexander III's inauguration itself in *Gesta Annalia*. See 214, above.
[53] Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain*, 215–34.
[54] See (4) in the summary of texts: 213–14, above.
[55] See above, note 14.
[56] All copies of this version use Latin *filius* for Gaelic *mac*, but it would have been simple for a Gaelic speaker to make the translation, either when writing the copy on the scroll, or when reading it out.

The corpus of genealogies in Irish manuscripts

How unusual was the genealogy of the king of Scots as an individual pedigree on a single sheet of parchment? The main context where genealogies survive today is when they were written down in their hundreds in a few major Irish manuscripts.[57] These contain much more than pedigrees of the type 'A son of B son of C' (and so on); for example, some include tracts on whole kingdoms as well as a few king-lists and genealogical poems. The earliest extant manuscript with an impressive collection of genealogical material is Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 502, produced in Leinster in the second quarter of the twelfth century.[58] A little later is another Leinster manuscript (known appropriately as 'The Book of Leinster') – Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1339 (H.2.18), plus Killiney, Franciscan House of Studies, MS. A.3[59] – written in various stages during the second half of the twelfth century.[60] Later manuscripts have even more extensive genealogical collections, including some earlier material omitted from the twelfth-century manuscripts. The most impressive are the 'Book of Lecan' (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.P.2 (535) plus Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1319/2/6 (H.2.17)), written in northern Connacht in the early fifteenth century,[61] and the 'Book

[57] Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', 178–9.

[58] The genealogies are edited in *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. I, ed. M. A. O'Brien, with intro. by J. V. Kelleher (Dublin, 1976) (hereafter *CGH*, I). It is sometimes dated to 1130 (Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', 178). Digital images are available at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/ef3d5b49-c77b-4602-bc12-7a217b2d977d (accessed 4 October 2019).

[59] Edited in *CGH*, I, as supplementary to the genealogies of Rawlinson B. 502, and in *The Book of Leinster formerly Lebor na Núachongbála*, vol. VI, ed. Anne O'Sullivan (Dublin, 1983).

[60] W. O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (1966), 1–31. (For a website with digital images of Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1339, see next note.)

[61] *The Book of Lecan, Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacain*, ed. Kathleen Mulchrone, Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish Manuscripts 2 (Dublin, 1937). Digital images of this and other medieval Irish manuscripts in (chiefly) Irish libraries and archives are available on the *Irish Script on Screen / Meamram*

of Ballymote' (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 23.P.12 (536)), written sometime in or between 1383 and 1397, also in northern Connacht.[62] Other late-medieval manuscripts with notable genealogical collections are Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1298 (previously H.2.7) of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and Oxford, Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 610, written chiefly in 1453 and 1454. The latter has been shown to be largely a copy of a compilation made originally in Armagh in the eleventh century, which was in turn a source for material in Rawlinson B. 502.[63] Only the genealogical material in Rawlinson B. 502 and the Book of Leinster has been published in a modern edition. This amounts to 440 pages.[64] It has been estimated that the remaining medieval Irish corpus would fill another four or five volumes of similar proportions.[65] There is also the likelihood that material from lost manuscripts (or lost parts of surviving manuscripts) is preserved in later compilations.[66]

Páipéar Ríomhaire (ISOS) website (School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies): https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html (accessed 4 October 2019).

[62] *The Book of Ballymote*, ed. Robert Atkinson, facsimile edition (Dublin, 1887); Tómás Ó Concheanainn, 'The Book of Ballymote', *Celtica* 14 (1981), 15–25. (See previous note for website with digital images of this manuscript.)

[63] Kuno Meyer, 'The Laud genealogies and tribal histories', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8 (1911 = 1912), 292–338, 418–19; John [Eoin] Mac Neill, 'Notes on the Laud genealogies', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8 (1911 = 1912), 411–18; R. I. Best, 'Bodleian MS. Laud 610', *Celtica* 3 (1956), 328–9; Myles Dillon, 'Laud Misc. 610', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 64–76. Digital images of Laud Misc. 610 are at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/f14978b7-527a-4e9b-9e86-99b5a5037b5f (accessed 4 October 2019).

[64] *CGH*, I (see note 58 above).

[65] *CGH*, I, ix. The final example of a version of the corpus is the magnum opus of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (died 1671), the last of the historians who belonged to the medieval learned orders. The edited text runs to over 1,000 pages in its modern edition, *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, ed. Ó Muraíle, vols. I–III.

[66] For example, Nollaig Ó Muraíle has shown that Mac Fhirbhisigh's version of the collection of Scottish genealogies was based partly on a lost section of the Book of Uí Mhaine: Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Leabhar Ua Maine alias Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin', *Éigse* 23 (1989), 167–95.

Scholars working on this corpus have observed how there are many instances of outright contradiction, even within the same genealogical tract. It is not uncommon for these differences to be highlighted in the text itself. This reinforces a fundamental facet of genealogy in a society where kinship is the predominant metaphor for rulership and lordship at any level. They are not primarily statements of biological reality; one of their chief functions was to articulate and explain the relative status of kindreds and kingdoms.[67] Genealogy painted a precise picture of the place of kindreds within a polity (such as a local kingdom), and of the relationships between polities. The propensity for contradiction within the same text has been termed 'genealogical schizophrenia', especially where the same family is given alternative ancestries.[68] It should be emphasised, however, that this is primarily a phenomenon of the written tracts rather than reflecting a ruler or lord's split personality. The professional kindreds who occupied the roles of cleric, poet and lawman (sometimes in combination) formed a literate elite who, through their learning, sanctioned those who held positions of preeminent social authority within a locality (and beyond).[69] It was not unnatural for some of them – perhaps those who were specifically designated as a historian (*senchaid*)[70] – to keep a meticulous record of the genealogical variants thrown up by the ebb and flow of relationships between kindreds and kingdoms over the centuries. It is in this light that we should read the collection of Scottish genealogical material found in Irish manuscripts. Only once it is understood as a collection will it be

[67] See the works referred to in note 10 above. This is not to say that most are not 'prosaic and basically historical accounts of the descent of kings and aristocrats', merely that this was not the primary concern: see Ó Corráin, 'Irish origin legends and genealogy', 83–5 (quotation at 83).

[68] Thornton, 'Orality, literacy and genealogy', 87–8.

[69] Thomas Charles-Edwards, 'The context and uses of literacy in early Christian Ireland', in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. Huw Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), 62–82, at 70–4, emphasises that in the early middle ages high status kindreds included lords and also poets, judges or clerics. Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', 188–9, emphasises that, in the central middle ages, clerics could also be poets and historians.

[70] Ó Corráin, 'Creating the past', 188–9.

possible to consider how some of this material originated, thinking about its earliest elements not simply as text, but as pieces of parchment.

Scottish genealogies in Irish medieval manuscripts

At its greatest extent the collection of Scottish genealogies consisted of the following.[71] (**Bold** indicates items that were definitely part of the original collection, datable to no earlier than the reign of Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III) (995–997).[72])

1. *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban* ('Explanation of the history of the men of *Alba*').

A particularly contradictory account of the genealogies of Dál Riata (an early medieval kingdom roughly equivalent to Argyll in western Scotland and part of Antrim in northern Ireland). It focused on three *cenéla* ('kindreds'): Cenél nGabráin ('kindred of Gabrán'), Cenél Loairn ('kindred of Loarn') and Cenél nOengusa ('kindred of Óengus').[73] The text also contains surveys of military strength and 'houses'. It seems to include material from as early as the seventh century; but its title (signalled by the Latin word *incipit*) helps to confirm a suspicion that it assumed its current form no earlier than the tenth century, when the Scottish kingdom began to be referred to regularly in Gaelic as *Alba*.[74]

[71] For a more detailed textual analysis, see Dauvit Broun, 'The genealogical 'tractates' associated with *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban*', *Northern Scotland*, 26. This volume (nominally for 2006) has yet to be published. This includes material from NLS Adv. MS. 72.1.1 ('MS. 1467'), fol. 1a1–b28, as well as in medieval Irish manuscripts.

[72] See below, 235–6.

[73] John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974), 27–68; see now David N. Dumville, 'Ireland and north Britain in the earlier Middle Ages: contexts for *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban*', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*, ed. Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire (Aberdeen, 2002), 185–211.

[74] On this, see now Dauvit Broun, 'Britain and the beginning of Scotland', *Journal of the British Academy* 3 (2015), 107–37, at 119–30.

2. **Genealogy of Causantín mac Cúiléin (King Constantine III) (995–997)**

This is in the standard 'A son of B son of C' form. Causantín was descended from Aed (died 878), son of Cinaed mac Ailpín (died 858); the text also included the branch of the royal dynasty descended from Cinaed mac Ailpín's son, Causantín (King Constantine I, died 876). Fourteen generations down from Causantín the genealogy arrives at Gabrán, eponym of Cenél nGabráin. It then proceeds for a further thirty-four generations.

3. Genealogy of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (1005–1034) (Malcolm II), later updated to King David I (1124–1153).[75]

An edition and translation is given in the Appendix. This is the same below Cinaed mac Ailpín as in the genealogy of Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III), except for three differences. One is that the eponym of Dál Riata is given as Eochaid Riata rather than as Cairpre Rí-fota (Cairpre 'Tall-king'), as in Causantín's genealogy.[76] Another is that the section between Eochaid (or Eochu) Muin-remar (Gabrán's great-great-grandfather) and the eponym of Dál Riata (Eochaid Riata) has been rewritten. (This will be examined closely in due course.) Finally, there are statements about where a few other major kindreds in the Scottish kingdom join the royal genealogy. For example, after twelve generations of Mael Coluim's pedigree, we find:

> son of Eochu Buide
>
> > The Clan of One-eyed Fergus son of Eochu Buide (i.e., the people of Gowrie) and the Clan of Maimed Conall son of Eochu Buide (i.e., the men of Fife) at this point meet the royal line (i.e., the Clan of Cinaed son of Ailpín).
>
> son of Aedán

This will be discussed shortly.

[75] The place of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) originally at the head of the genealogy is established by the earliest manuscript, Rawlinson B. 502 (on which see 225 above): *CGH*, I, 328 (fol. 162c44), It was not originally part of the collection: see below, 237.

[76] *Ríg-fotai* (genitive of *Rí-fota*) would have sounded like *Riata* because the *F* was silent.

4. *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, 'the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata'

Datable to either around 730 or 733.[77] This consisted of

(a) An introductory couple of sentences;

(b) A branch of Cenél nGabráin. The tract presumably originally contained a stem genealogy of Cenél nGabráin – almost certainly a pedigree of Eochaid son of Eochu, king of Dál Riata, died 733 – but this would have repeated what had just been given in (2) and (3), the genealogies of Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III) (995–997) and (originally) Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (1005–1034) (Malcolm II), who were descendants of Eochaid son of Eochu; it would have been natural, therefore, for a scribe to omit it.[78]

(c) A stem genealogy of Cenel Loairn (headed by Ainbcellach, died 719, and king of Dál Riata 697–698).

(d) A branch genealogy of Cenel Loairn (headed by Morgán, who is otherwise unknown).

(e) A genealogy of Cenél Comgaill.

(f) A genealogy of Cenél nOengusa.

5. (a) A genealogy of Mael Snechta (died 1085), son of Lulach (king of Scots, 1057–1058) (see Table, below).

(b) A branch headed by Mac Bethad (Macbeth, king of Scots, 1040–1057), a cousin of Lulach.

No manuscript has all these items; all except for the branch headed by Mac Bethad (5b), however, are found together in this order in the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan.[79]

The original core of the collection (no earlier than 995) was (2) the genealogy of Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III) (995–997) and (4) *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, 'the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata', datable to either around 730 or 733. The

[77] David N. Dumville, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000), 170–91; Broun, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* revisited'.

[78] Broun, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* revisited', 66–8.

[79] The branch headed by Mac Bethad is found in highly reduced versions of the collection in Rawl. B. 502 and the Book of Leinster (*CGH*, I, 330), as well as in 'MS. 1467': http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/transcript%20all%20recto.html (accessed 16 February 2016).

reason for combining these was presumably because the kings of Scots traced their ancestry to the most prominent of the four chief kindreds: Cenél nGabráin. It is conceivable that the collection also originally contained (1) *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban* ('Explanation of the history of the men of *Alba*'), although this is not a necessary speculation and is inherently uncertain. The genealogy headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (1005–1034), but later with his great-great-grandson, David I – (3) above – was inserted at some point between 1005 and about 1130 (the date of the earliest manuscript: Rawl. B. 502). Another addition before about 1130 was (5), the genealogy of Mael Snechta (died 1085) with a branch headed by his cousin Mac Bethad (Macbeth, king of Scots, 1040–1057).

The collection is, first-and-foremost, a witness to the scholarship of Irish historians. Although none of the manuscripts include the collection in its entirety, the scribes who wrote and supervised the copying and editing of this material saw it as part of the huge corpus of genealogies which they assembled for future reference. The Scottish material, however, formed only an exceptionally tiny part of the overall corpus that they curated. An important insight into the nature of the collection is revealed by the genealogy headed by Mael Snechta (see Table, below) with a branch headed by Mac Bethad (Macbeth). The accession of Mac Bethad as king of Scots in 1040 brought a new family to power in Scotland, albeit for only a short period: Mac Bethad was succeeded in 1057 by his cousin, Lulach, who was Mael Snechta's father. Lulach was killed a few months later by Mael Coluim (Malcolm) III (1058–1093), son of Donnchad (Duncan I); Donnchad had reigned between 1034 and 1040. In order to include this new royal kindred in the collection, however, a genealogy has been constructed by splicing together a couple of pedigrees in the tract on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata datable to about 730 or 733.[80]

TABLE

[80] This was first noted in H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland: The Picts, the Scots and the Welsh of Southern Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), 96 note 1.

The pedigree of Mael Snechta in the Irish collection of Scottish genealogies

Text in Book of Ballymote (facsimile 149c9–17) with major variants noted from the Book of Lecan (facsimile 110rc20–30) and Rawlinson B. 502 (fol. 162e1–11) in *CGH*, i, 329.[81] Underlining indicates names shared by Mael Snechta's genealogy and Cenél Loairn pedigrees in the tract of the 'four chief kindreds of Dál Riata'. Item numbers relate to the summary on p. 230.

ITEM 5a	ITEM 4c	ITEM 4d
Maelsnechta mac[82] Lulaig meic Gilli Comgain meic Maelbrigde meic Ruaidri <meic Domnaill>[83]		
	Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata ('Four chief kindreds of Dál Riata') Cenél Loairn pedigrees[84]	
meic Morgaind meic Domnaill[86] meic Cathmal		Mo<r>gan[85] mac Domnaill meic Cathmai<l>[87]

[81] It is also found in the Book of Leinster, but the first six names are illegible: *CGH*, I, 329. Legibility is also an issue for the copy in NLS, Adv. MS. 72.1.1 ('MS. 1467'), fol.1a2–23: see the transcription by Máire and Ronnie Black at http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/ (accessed 10 July 2017). For the facsimile of the Book of Lecan and Book of Ballymote, see notes 61 and 62, above.

[82] *mac*, 'son' (genitive *meic*).

[83] Omitted in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, but present in Rawl. B. 502 fol. 162e6 and in the branch headed by Mac Bethad (fol. 162e23–27; also in the Book of Leinster: *CGH*, I, 329–30), and in 'MS. 1467' (apparently as 'mornaill'): http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/ (accessed 10 July 2017).

[84] See note 77 for edition and commentary.

[85] Most MSS have either 'Mongan' or 'Mogan' (the Book of Ballymote has 'r' added): Dumville, '*Cethri prímchenéla*', 179–80. Insular 'r' can readily be misread as 'n'.

[86] Omitted in Rawl B. 502, but present in the Book of Leinster (*CGH*, I, 329) as well as in 'MS. 1467', http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/ (accessed 10 July 2017).

meic Ruaidri		meic Ruadrach[88]
meic Airchellaich[89]	Ainbcellach	meic Ferchair
meic Ferc<h>air Fhoda	mac Ferchair Fhoda	meic Muredaig
	↓	meic Bædain (joins Item 4c here)
	4 names	
	↓	
	meic Bædain	
	meic Echach	
	meic Muredaig	
	meic Loairn Máir (eponym of Cenél Loairn)	

This suggests that whoever sought to update the Scottish collection did not have access to the text of Mac Bethad's genealogy that belonged to the king's *senchaid* or *ollam* (and which may have been read out at his inauguration). The simplest explanation is that the collection was already in Ireland, and that the genealogy was concocted by an Irish historian in order to show where he thought the new royal kindred fitted into the overall scheme represented by the other Scottish pedigrees. He decided to make the connection as remote as possible by identifying Mac Bethad and Mael Snechta as descendants of Loarn, eponym of Cenél Loairn, one of the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata. The only information he seems to have had from Scotland was Mael Snechta's and Mac Bethad's line of descent from a certain Ruaidrí mac Domnaill, Mac Bethad's grandfather. The rest of the genealogy before Ruaidrí's father, Domnall, has

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[87] There is no reason to doubt that the final 'l' was originally present. Some manuscripts also render the minims of 'm' as 'ni': Dumville, '*Cethri prímchenéla*', 179–80.

[88] An alternative form of *Ruaidrí* (genitive).

[89] Evidently a variant of *Ainbcellaich*, with 'n' mistaken for insular 'r'. Ainbcellach son of Ferchar Fota (died 719) was king of Dál Riata (697–698).

been created by adding the branch pedigree of Cenél Loairn in the tract on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata on top of the stem pedigree (as shown in the underlined names in the Table, above). The fact that this constructed genealogy begins with Mael Snechta, son of the last king of this short-lived dynasty (Lulach, 1057–1058), and was tacked onto the end of the collection, also suggests that this attempt at updating was made rather late in the day, and more with the intention of making sense of the family's success in the past rather than as a reflection of current political reality. Although it is tempting to read Mael Snechta's genealogy as evidence that he may have been regarded as king of Scots, this is not a necessary inference, given the academic nature of the genealogical collection – all the more so if the genealogy was added to the collection after Mael Snechta's death.[90] Mael Snechta and Mac Bethad were included because they represented the past, and what this might mean for the future, not because either of them was regarded as king of Scots at the time when an Irish scholar created these genealogies.

The genealogy of Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III)

This raises the pressing question of how far the collection relates to anything written or copied by anyone in the Scottish kingdom in the tenth or eleventh centuries. As it stands it would appear to be essentially an academic exercise by Irish scholars. In order to grapple with the problem of identifying material that may have been written in the Scottish kingdom, it is useful to think of the

[90] In Rawl. B. 502 (fol. 162e1) Mael Snechta's genealogy is titled *Item ríg Alban*, 'Likewise, of the king of Scotland' (it follows the genealogy headed by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda which has the rubric *Genelach ríg Alban*, 'Genealogy of the king of Scotland'): *CGH*, I, 329. In the Book of Leinster Mael Snechta's genealogy is titled *Genelach Clainde Lulaig*, 'Genealogy of the kindred of Lulach'. Clann Lulaig (i.e., descendants of Mael Snechta's father) must refer to a generation or two after Mael Snechta himself: for branch pedigrees in a collection headed by someone deceased who represents an unnamed living descendant, see Broun, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* revisited', 68–72. It is possible that Mael Snechta's genealogy (with the branch headed by Mac Bethad) was added to the collection during the lifetime of Oengus son of the daughter of Mael Snechta who, like Mael Snechta, was king of Moray. He was killed at the Battle of Stracathro in 1130.

history of these texts in their physical form. As it stands, they are found in manuscript books; a codex or booklet can readily be envisaged as the original habitat of texts which were created in a purely academic context. This would include *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban*, whose contradictions and statements of alternative descents reveal the scholarly origin of the text as it survives today. Also, by the time *Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata*, 'the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata', was combined with the genealogy headed by Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III), it was over two and a half centuries old, and is likely therefore to have survived in a scholarly setting. The fact that two fairly minimal texts with such a gulf in age have been joined together fairly crudely, with only one line of descent from Dál Riata, bespeaks a lack of interest in Scottish genealogy that would be hard to attribute to a *senchaid* or *ollam* associated with the Scottish kingship. There is no difficulty in seeing this as the work of a *senchaid* or *ollam* in Ireland. Furthermore, it may be recalled that a careful examination of the pedigrees headed by Mael Snechta and Mac Bethad has shown that they, too, are likely to have been created in Ireland in an academic context; they would also therefore appear to have originated in a scholar's codex or booklet. This leaves Causantín's pedigree and the genealogy headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II).

The pedigree headed by Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III) traces a simple male-to-male line of descent, extending deep into prehistory, with more than two-thirds devoted to the ancestry of Gabrán, eponym of Cenél nGabráin, one of the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata. Judging by what we are told in the account of Alexander III's enthronement, this is exactly the kind of text that would have been read out in the royal inauguration. It would appear to have originated as a standalone text that has been joined with the tract on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata in a codex or booklet.[91] With Causantín at the head of the pedigree, it

[91] There is a formal possibility that most of Gabrán's ancestors in the text as we have it were copied from the stem pedigree for Cenél nGabráin in the tract of about 730 or 733 on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata, rather than from the text of Causantín's pedigree transmitted from Scotland. There is no independent evidence, of course, for what Causantín's pedigree looked like before it was

is a statement of his kingship, and could only have assumed this form during his reign – that is, between 995 and 997. It could, however, have been acquired later as a copy by the scholar who added it to the tract on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata. If we ask what physical form the genealogy headed by Causantín would have taken when it was acquired by that scholar, presumably in Ireland, it can only – as a standalone text – be envisaged as a single sheet of parchment. The only plausible alternative is that it was transmitted orally. Although remarkable feats of memory are likely to have been part of any historian's or poet's training, Causantín's genealogy would only presumably have been familiar to those historians and poets closest to the Scottish kingship who needed to know it. Feats of memory, moreover, were easier to accomplish when material was packaged in poetic form.[92] If, as seems likely, Causantín's genealogy was transmitted to a scholar who was some distance from the Scottish realm, then it would be natural for him, as a *literatus*, to have acquired it as a single sheet of parchment. If it was acquired as a single-sheet copy of a text that originated as a statement of Causantín's kingship, then it is not too difficult to envisage that the original text could itself have been a scroll read out at Causantín's inauguration in 995. There is, however, no specific link between the text and the inauguration. Without the reading out of Alexander III's pedigree at his enthronement in

combined with the tract of the chief kindreds of Dál Riata. If (for the sake of argument) it ran no further than a couple of generations beyond Gabrán, eponym of Cenél nGabráin, but by contrast the pedigree of Eochaid son of Eochu (died 733) – omitted because it repeated Causantín's – gave Gabrán's descent deep into prehistory, then the scholar who put these texts together might naturally have transferred the descent of Gabrán from Eochaid's pedigree to Causantín's. It is conceivable, therefore, that some of Gabrán's ancestry in Causantín's pedigree may in fact be a text written about 730, not 995.

[92] It has been suggested, for example, that the extended versified Irish king-lists written in the eleventh century were composed for students to memorise: John Carey, *The Irish National Origin-Legend: Synthetic Pseudohistory*, Quiggin pamphlets on the sources of mediaeval Gaelic history 1 (Cambridge, 1994), 20; see also Peter J. Smith, 'Early Irish historical verse: the evolution of a genre', in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin, 2002), 326–41, at 326–7.

1249, there would be no reason to suppose that an earlier single-sheet copy of the royal genealogy would have been used for this purpose.

The genealogy of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II)

The second version of the royal genealogy in the collection, headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (but updated to David I), also traces his ancestry male-to-male into prehistory. Although the nodal points of this ancestry are the same as in Causantín's pedigree, there is (as we will see in due course) a significant difference in detail in one section. There can be little doubt that this genealogy, in its earlier form headed by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda, is a later insertion into the combination of Causantín's genealogy and the tract on the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata. Mael Coluim was more recent than Causantín, and so would be expected to have stood at the beginning if his pedigree had originally been part of the overall text, rather than being treated as a branch. Again, if we imagine what its original physical form is likely to have been, it is easy to see it as a single sheet of parchment.

In the later medieval manuscripts which give the fullest account of the collection of Scottish genealogical texts (as outlined above in Irish manuscripts) there are a few brief statements in this genealogy about where some leading kindreds joined the royal line of descent.[93] The text is given below in the

[93] The pedigree was almost certainly longer originally: as it stands it stops where it would have become identical with the first royal pedigree headed by Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III). There is a formal possibility that it was abbreviated in other ways when added to the collection (probably) in Ireland. Perhaps the other kindreds had pedigrees of their own (as in the tract on the 'four chief kindreds of Dál Riata') rather than merely mentioning where they joined the main stem. Whoever added the text to the collection, however, presumably did so when copying out the other items, in which case they would have been happy to leave the 'four chief kindreds' as a series of pedigrees rather than merely stating where they joined the royal genealogy. Overall, it is likely that, apart from the truncation of the pedigree itself to avoid overlap with the one headed by Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III), the text of the genealogy originally headed by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) arrived

Appendix. Perhaps these brief statements were glosses added to the genealogy at some stage before it was acquired by the scholar who added Mael Coluim's genealogy to the collection. If a scholar had added them after the genealogy was included in the collection, then it is difficult to see why he chose to gloss this genealogy rather than the one in primary position headed by Causantín. These glosses stating where the descent of some kindreds joined that of the king might make this seem less likely to have originated ultimately as Mael Coluim's inaugural scroll-genealogy. Let us look at this in more detail.

It will be recalled that genealogies were not so much records of biological reality as statements about the relative standing of leading kindreds. Seen in this light, this text can be read as a snapshot of the balance of power within the Scottish kingdom at some point during Mael Coluim's reign (1005–1034). Rather than being written as an academic record of the past, it is a portrayal of current political reality, with fictional interconnections to the fore. The 'royal line' (*in rígrad*) is itself identified in the text as *Clann Chinaeda meic Ailpín*, 'descendants of Cinaed mac Ailpín' (died 858), who is portrayed in the genealogy as a descendant of Gabrán (and therefore of the Cenél nGabráin). The closer a family's relationship to the royal kindred, the more powerful it is likely to have been.

Seen in this light, Cenél Comgaill, who join the main stem at Domangart (king of Dál Riata, died 673), are represented as nearest to the kingship. (All other sources place Comgall as son of a more distant Domangart.)[94] Cenél Comgaill here probably stands for the men of Strathearn, referred to on one occasion as the *Comgellaig*.[95] Not far behind – two generations away – are *Clann Fergusa Guill* ('the descendants of one-eyed Fergus'),

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from Scotland in the form in which it is found in the manuscripts (with the updating to David I a later addition in Ireland).

[94] For Comgall as brother of Gabrán (eponym of Cenél nGabráin), see Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, 76–7.

[95] The evidence for identifying Strathearn with descendants of Comgall (i.e., Cenél Comgaill) is a tract on the mothers of saints where Culross is described as 'in Strathearn in Comgellaig': Pádraig Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), §722.106.

who appear to be the leading kindred of Gowrie,[96] and *Clann Chonaill Chirr* ('the descendants of Maimed Conall'), the leading kindred of Fife. Neither Fergus nor Conall appear in other texts as sons of Eochu Buide, even though eight are named elsewhere.[97] Again, their place in the genealogy is almost certainly ahistorical. A further generation away brings us to *léithrind Conaing*, perhaps the 'apical link of Conaing', with Conaing as a common ancestor for unnamed kindreds which (in one manuscript) are identified with the 'northern half'; this may be a reference to the region north of the Mounth, a range of mountains that ran through the middle of the kingdom, but this is uncertain.[98] The final branches to be mentioned are the four chief kindreds of Dál Riata, who join together at Erc son of Eochaid/Eochu Muin-remar. This contradicts the placing of Cenél Comgaill higher up the pedigree, however. It agrees with the genealogical scheme of the tract on the four chief kindred of Dál Riata (datable to about 730 or 733), and so could simply have been added at some stage once the genealogy headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (1005–1034) had become part of the collection.

Through this genealogy we can glimpse how the highest levels of social authority were conceptualised by the learned orders. The kingship is identified with a particular leading kindred: *Clann Chinaeda meic Ailpín* (the descendants of Cinaed mac Ailpín, died 858). Fife is identified with its leading kindred, and Gowrie probably likewise. It may be assumed that this was true of every province, although *Comgellaig*/Strathearn might be an exception in the text.[99] Only Fife, Gowrie and Strathearn,

[96] If we follow W. J. Watson in taking *Gabranaig* to be Gowrie: W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 112.

[97] Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, 41, 48. The epithets 'One-eyed' and 'Maimed' are the opposite of kingly qualities (see below, 245), and may therefore be signalling that these kindreds were portrayed as being excluded from the kingship.

[98] See note 203, below (Appendix). Conaing appears elsewhere as a son of Aedán: Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, 41, 48.

[99] It has been argued that the head of a province's leading kindred held the position of *mormaer*, who led the province when there was a threat to its peace

however, are linked directly to the royal line in the genealogy. These form a cluster in the southern third of what was regarded as the kingdom 'proper'.[100] The remainder (or perhaps only those provinces in the 'northern half') are generalised as being related to the royal line a little more distantly. All in all, each level of leadership is represented as a kindred, allowing a distinction to be made between an inner core of named provinces and the rest. As such, the genealogy gave written expression not only to provincial authority, but to a favoured relationship between the king and the heads of some provinces. This could potentially have had practical consequences through offering preferential treatment (for example, in arrangements for the levying of common obligations or compulsory hospitality, *coinnmed*).[101]

If we return to the question of whether this text could ultimately have originated as an inaugural scroll, it is notable that it is only the leading kindreds of provinces nearest to Scone (the earliest attested site of royal inaugurations) – Fife and Gowrie, as well as (implicitly) Strathearn – whose descent is singled out individually. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that this text was read out at Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda's inauguration in 1005. It is, however, all too easy to suppose that the brief comments on where leading kindreds joined the royal genealogy originated as glosses that were added when a single-sheet copy of Mael Coluim's pedigree was produced – especially, perhaps, if the copy was made at the request of a scholar in Ireland, who would naturally be interested in such information. There is, however, one other aspect of this text that points potentially to a clearer association with the ceremony of royal inauguration. It is possible that it was partly rewritten in order to introduce an element of panegyric. This would at least suggest that its original context may have been a public occasion. A very long list of

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and security: Dauvit Broun, 'Statehood and lordship in 'Scotland' before the mid-twelfth century', *Innes Review* 66 (2015), 1–71, at 19–32, 59–67.

[100] For the 'kingdom proper', see now Dauvit Broun, 'Kingdom and identity. A Scottish perspective', in *Northern England and Southern Scotland in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Keith J. Stringer and Angus Winchester (Woodbridge, 2017), 31–85, at 32–5.

[101] Broun, 'Statehood and lordship', 31 and note 117.

names would, on the face of it, seem a rather prosaic text for a public celebration of the genealogy; a poetic recitation would seem more in order (even if that was largely a sequence of names).[102] If we need to think of an occasion when a plain prose genealogy might have been required, our minds turn at once to the reading of the king's pedigree at his inauguration, as witnessed at Alexander III's enthronement in 1249.

Genealogy as panegyric?

One obvious way that kings and lords are likely to have been aware of genealogy is through the poems sung in their honour. Their descent from significant ancestors could have been highlighted, especially those who were celebrated in literature. In this minimal sense genealogy overlapped with panegyric textually as well as (potentially) in being produced for a patron. There was also an opportunity for an element of panegyric to appear in the generations between these significant ancestors. In literature it was not necessary, of course, to use known personal names when creating a character: for example, Fróech mac Idaith, 'Heather son of (?)Wild Cherry Tree', who is the central figure in the tale *Táin Bó Fraích* ('The Cattle-raid of Fróech'), is plainly an invention.[103] There was an opportunity for similar freedom when creating a series of names in a genealogy. It was possible, therefore, for an ancestor to be fashioned who, through their patently manufactured name, highlighted a particularly praiseworthy quality. For example, *meic Tréin meic Rothréin*, 'son of Strong son of Very Strong', appears in the remoter parts of the pedigree of the kings of Ulster in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 610.[104]

The section of the royal genealogy between Eochaid/Eochu Muin-remar and the imagined eponym of Dál Riata (known as

[102] See above, 222 and note 44.
[103] As suggested by David Greene, cited in Fergus Kelly, 'The Old Irish tree-list', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 107–24, at 115, note 3.
[104] *CGH*, I, 322, note w, where it is also noted that in the Book of Leinster this is *meic Trír meic Rothrír*, with *tríar* ('trio') replacing *trén* ('strong'). This may be translated (rather awkwardly) as 'son of Trio son of Very Trio'.

either Eochaid Riata or Cairpre Rí-fota) provided an opportunity to compile a series of fictional ancestors that related exclusively to the Scottish kingship. Beyond Eochaid Riata/Cairpre Rí-fota the ancestry was shared with other Gaelic polities. In the pedigree of Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III) the names in this section are fairly unremarkable. In the earliest manuscript with Causantín's genealogy deep into prehistory, this reads,[105]

mc Echach Muinremar
mc Ōengusa
mc Fergusa Ulaig
mc Fiachach Tathmail
mc Fedlimid Lamdoit
mc Cingi
mc Guaire
mc Cindtai
mc Corpri Rigfotai

The only noteworthy feature is that three after Eochu Muinremar are given epithets: Fergus Ulach ('Bearded Fergus'), Fiachu Táth-mál ('Fiachu Annexing-prince'), and Fedlimid Lámdóit ('Fedlimid Fist-hand').[106] This section has been heavily rewritten at some point with some striking epithets and invented names, as reflected in all the copies found in Latin and Scots,[107] including the standalone genealogy with names in Gaelic orthography (possibly headed originally by David I).[108] Once some simple errors have been corrected (signalled by angled brackets), the latter reads,[109]

[105] Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1298 (previously H.2.7): see above, 226. The genealogy is edited in Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, 65–6, which is quoted here, with capitalisation added.
[106] For *lámdóit* as 'fist-hand' see William Gillies, 'The invention of tradition, Highland-style', in *The Renaissance in Scotland. Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, ed. A. A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan (Leiden, 1994), 144–56, at 154 (referring to a name in a Campbell genealogy: see 150 for the reconstructed text).
[107] See the summary above, 213–14, (3), (4) and (5).
[108] (3) in the summary at 213, above.
[109] Broun, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*, 177.

filii[110] Echach Muinremuir 25
filii Oengusa Phir[111]
filii Fedil<m>the[112] Aislingig
filii Oengusa Buid<ni>g[113]
filii Fedil<m>the Ruamnaich[114]
filii Senchormaic 30
filii Cruitluide[115]
filii Find Fece
filii Achir Cir[116]
filii Achach Antoit[117]
filii Fia<c>rach Cathmail[118] 35
filii Echdach Riada

It has to be admitted that not all of this is immediately intelligible. Occasional help is offered by the version adapted to be read out by someone unfamiliar with Gaelic orthography, as well as by the version in Irish manuscripts (including the one edited and translated in the Appendix). Most reconstructed forms (below) present no significant difficulties. Two ('Buidnig' as *Búaidgnige*, and 'Antoit' as *Án-dóit*) require some emendation in order to be convincing; the detail is given in the footnotes to the text, and signalled by ? in front of each word. Only 'Cruitluide' is especially problematic: it is discussed in due course. Taking all this on board, the rewritten section between Eochu Muin-remar and Eochaid Riata can be understood as follows (with medieval Gaelic names in normalised spelling in the nominative):

[110] The only Latin in the text after David I is *filii*, genitive of *filius*, 'son'.
[111] 'Oengusaphir' MS.
[112] 'Fedilinthe' MS.
[113] 'Oengusabuiding' MS.
[114] 'Fedilintheruamnaich' MS. (Anderson has 'Fedilinther Uamnach', *Kings and Kingship*, 257).
[115] Anderson read 'Cruithinde', *Kings and Kingship*, 257.
[116] 'Achircir' MS.
[117] 'Achachantoit' MS.
[118] 'Fiaerachcathmail' MS (Anderson has 'Fiacrachcathmail' in *Kings and Kingship*, 257).

son of True Óengus (*Óengus Fír*)
son of Visions Feidlimid (*Feidlimid Aislingid*)[119]
son of Beautiful Óengus (*Óengus* [?]*Búaidgnige*)[120]
son of Feidlimid Long-hair (*Feidlimid Ruaimnech*)[121]
son of Ancient Cormac (*Sen Chormaic*) 30
son of Edgy-mover (?*Cruith-lúithe*)[122]
son of Bright Highest-point (*Find Féice*)[123]
son of Fierce Crooked (*Aicher Cerr*)[124]
son of Eochu Glorious Upper-arm (*Eochu* [?]*Án-dóit*)[125]

[119] eDIL s.v. *aislingid* at dil.ie/2498; related to *aislinge* ('vision', 'dream'). The appearance of the final *d* as *g* has a parallel in the Gaelic property records in the Book of Deer (on which see Joanna Tucker's chapter above, 154, 162): see Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic: a reassessment of the language and orthography of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. Katherine Forsyth (Dublin, 2008), 179–274, at 227.
[120] eDIL s.v. ?*búaignige* at dil.ie/7235 gives *búaidgnige* is a variant of *búaignige*, 'beautiful (?)'. The final syllable, however, is absent in 'Buidnig' and in the text in the Appendix ('Buaidnich' or 'Buaidind'). It may be detected, however, in 'Butini' or 'Buthini' in the earliest manuscripts of the genealogy adapted into a non-Gaelic orthography (see Broun, 'The most important textual representation'), assuming that '-t(h)in-' represents *dgn* (with palatalised *g*).
[121] I am grateful to Thomas Owen Clancy for suggesting *ruaimnech* in eDIL s.v. *rúaimnech* at dil.ie/35623.
[122] See below, 245–6. O'Brien regarded the nominative form as uncertain (*CGH*, I, 571).
[123] 'Fece' would seem to be *féice*: see dil.ie/21457, 'highest point', 'summit'. As applied to individuals, see the death-notice for Aodh Buidhe Ó Néill in *Annala Rioghachta Eireann, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, III, ed. John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1856), 438 (1283.1), and the death-notice of Brian mac Matha Meg Tigernáin in *Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster, otherwise, Annala Senait, Annals of Senat*, II, ed. B. Mac Carthy (Dublin, 1893), 518 (1365.7); note also Osborn Bergin, 'A dialogue between Donnchad son of Brian and Mac Cosse', *Ériu* 9 (1921/1923), 175–80, at 178 §13 line 4.
[124] I am grateful to Thomas Clancy for pointing out that a person called Acher Cerr is mentioned in the *Dindshenchas* ('place-name lore') poem on *Liamuin* (stanza 11), on line at http://celt.ucc.ie/published/T106500C/text007.html (accessed 10 July 2017). *Cír* (genitive *círe*) 'teeth', rather than *Cerr* might be suggested by 'Akirkirre' in the version adapted to be read by someone ignorant of Gaelic orthography; see Broun, 'The most important textual representation'.
[125] 'Echach Antoit' in the Appendix. *Dóit* involves emending the text; note, however, 'Andoth' in the version adapted to be read by someone ignorant of Gaelic spelling conventions. *Dóit* is a variant of *doé*, 'upper arm', 'hand': see

son of Fiachra Battle-prince (*Fiachra Cath-mál*)

Many of these epithets and invented names can readily be recognised as referring to kingly attributes: 'truth', battle-worthiness, beauty, and manly physique.[126] If 'visions' and longevity are associated with wisdom, then the key personal qualities of a king found in medieval Irish literature – form, martial prowess and wisdom – can readily be recognised in this section of the genealogy.[127] Admittedly *cerr* ('crooked') seems to cut across this; it was, however, applied to actual kings.[128] The most problematic 'name', however, is 'Cruitluide'. In Rawl. B. 502 and the Book of Leinster this name is 'Croithluithe' and 'Cruithluithe' respectively;[129] in the version edited in the Appendix it has been changed to 'Laith Luaithi' (which may be recognised as genitive of *láth luáithe*, 'warrior swiftness').[130] It may be guessed that 'Cruithluithe' (or 'Cruithluide') was replaced by the similar sounding *láth luáithe* because a medieval Irish scholar found it unintelligible; if so, the chances of understanding what someone highly literate in the language and steeped in this material found impenetrable seems remote. In

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eDIL s.v. 1 *doé* or dil.ie/17513. *Antoit* is attested in Rawl. B. 502 as the epithet of a son of Niall Noígiallach: see *CGH*, I, 133 (139b52).

[126] See, for example, Kim McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth, 1990), 121–4. Long hair was an attribute of kingship in Merovingian France; see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London, 1962). *Rúaimnech*, however, refers to a single long hair.

[127] McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present*, 121–2; at 122 he comments that 'The ideal king in ancient Ireland was supposed to excel in the three basic areas of military prowess, mental discernment and physical beauty'.

[128] A notable example is Aed Cerr (died 595), progenitor of Uí Máil kings of Leinster: T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Oxford, 2000), 622. Another is Connad Cerr, probably a joint-king, who led Dál Riata to victory in 627 and was killed in battle in 629: *The Chronicle of Ireland*, transl. T. M. Charles-Edwards, 2 vols (Liverpool, 2006), II, 134 (627.1) and 135 (629.1).

[129] *CGH*, I, 328 (162d12 and note f); in the oldest manuscript of the version adapted to non-Gaelic spelling conventions it is 'Cruithlinthe' (the exemplar therefore probably had 'Cruithluithe'): Broun, 'The most important textual representation' (line 30 of the genealogy).

[130] See eDIL at dil.ie/29625 and dil.ie/30813.

order to make progress, it is necessary to move to the fringes of the known lexicon. 'Cruith-' brings to mind the adjective *cruith*, referred to in the text known as *Sanas Cormaic* or 'Cormac's Glossary'.[131] There it is equated with *cailg* ('anything pointed'), *glicc* ('acute'), and *córdae* ('fierce').[132] Perhaps *cruith* might therefore be translated as 'edgy'. The second element, '-luithe' or '-luide', suggests a link with the verb *luïd*, 'moves': *lúithe* as a noun of agency is attested as a name for an engine of war;[133] if this also had a more abstract usage as 'mover', then this 'invented name' could be analysed as *cruith-lúithe*, and translated rather literally as 'edgy-mover'.[134] Perhaps this was meant to bring to mind a highly strung, energetic individual, capable of vigorous and spontaneous action, with perhaps a tendency to violence.

It is possible, therefore, to read this section of the genealogy as highlighting physical and personal qualities that served as a form of panegyric to the king whose pedigree was being recited. Although the exact interpretation of some of the names and epithets poses difficulties, it is clear that this section has been comprehensively rewritten so that every individual either has an epithet or a name created from nouns or adjectives. By contrast, the earlier version represented by the genealogy of Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III) has seven names in this section, three with epithets, and two regular names without epithets; the remaining two names, Cinge and Cindtae, are obscure, but seem not to be nouns or adjectives (or, at least, are unrecognisable as such in the manuscripts).[135] There can be little doubt, therefore,

[131] For the text with links to images of its earliest manuscript, see http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/irishglossaries/texts.php?versionID=9&readingID=17361#17361.
[132] For the full range of the meaning of these words, see or dil.ie/7728 and dil.ie/10494 (for *cailg*), dil.ie/26087 (for *glicc*), and dil.ie/13060 (for *córdae*).
[133] To quote from eDIL at dil.ie/31055 for *lúaithe*.
[134] I am extremely grateful to Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for suggesting that I might consider *cruith* and *lúithe*; I am responsible for any lack of awareness of difficulties that might arise, or lack of nuance in my discussion.
[135] Perhaps Cindtae might be related to *cinnte*, which can mean 'certainty': see eDIL at dil.ie/9154. Cinge brings *cing* ('champion, warrior') to mind (see eDIL at dil.ie/9128), but the genitive of *cing* is *cinged*, not *cingi*.

that a deliberate attempt has been made to recreate this section of the genealogy into an unbroken series of nouns or adjectives plus names with epithets, almost all of which can be interpreted as appropriate for a king. In short, it has been rewritten to enhance the impact of the genealogy as a statement of kingship. It is difficult to see how this could have occurred in a purely academic context. On the other hand, it is hard to envisage when the genealogy might have been recited in public in its plainest form as a list of names, without even minimal versification.[136] This did, however, occur as a key moment in inaugurating the king of Scots in 1249. If this was already a regular part of the ceremony, then it would readily provide a context for introducing a new panegyric element into the text.

When did this occur? This fresh panegyric section is part of the genealogy headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (1005–1034) that is found in the collection of Scottish material in Irish manuscripts. This means that both versions appeared in the collection: the older unremarkable version in the genealogy of Causantín mac Cúiléin (Constantine III) (995–997), followed by the more panegyric version in the genealogy headed by Mael Coluim (and subsequently updated to David I, edited and translated below). Given the likelihood that the genealogy headed by Causantín mac Cúiléin was known in the Scottish kingdom, then it would seem likely that the rewritten panegyric section was created sometime between the beginning of Causantín's reign in 995 and the end of Mael Coluim's in 1034. It could therefore have been written for either the inauguration of Mael Coluim in 1005 or his predecessor, Cinaed mac Duib, in 997.

Genealogy as charter?

On the face of it a genealogy and a charter have nothing in common. This is only true, however, if we think of them as texts without taking account of their physical context. The genealogy of the king of Scots was a text written on a piece of parchment that was read out once the king had been placed in full

[136] For versified king-lists and genealogies, see note 44, above.

possession of the kingdom. This is what happened at the inauguration of Alexander III in 1249; as we have seen, the rewriting of a section probably as a form of panegyric suggests that reading the genealogy could have been a feature of inaugurations before at least 1005. Charters were also produced as a single sheet of parchment designed to be read out in a public setting. Presumably they were usually read out before witnesses when they were produced; it was certainly anticipated that they might be read in a legal forum if there was a dispute. Although charters were used for verifying other matters than the fact that someone had been put into possession of land and lordship, it is in this context that a similarity with the royal genealogy can be discerned – albeit with a crucial difference in timing. The charter was written as a consequence of the ceremony placing the lord or landholder in possession of their holding, and was intended to fully 'establish' (*confirmare*) the legitimate exercise of their authority.[137] The genealogy was read out once the king had been placed in symbolic possession of the kingdom, and also served to fully establish his legitimacy as king through the *senchaid* or *ollam* proclaiming him at the head of the royal pedigree. Both, therefore, were public documents affirming the act of being placed in authority. The difference in timing was that, whereas the genealogy was read out immediately after the king was enthroned, the charter might be produced months later.[138]

This contrast in timing between the ceremonial possession of authority and the production or reading out of the document points to deeper functional differences between charter and

[137] A standard expression in charters was that the donor let it be known that *me dedisse concessisse et hac carta confirmasse*, 'I have given, granted, and by this charter established' the land of X to the beneficiary.

[138] For an example of a charter produced at least eight months and possibly as much as two years later, see Broun, 'The presence of witnesses', 266–70. It is also argued (258–65) that in some cases it appears that the witness-list has been added later by the charter scribe in the presence of the named witnesses (and therefore potentially 'on site' at the time of the transaction). The evidence for this will, however, need to be reconsidered in light of Joanna Tucker's discovery of similar differences in handwriting between witness-list and the rest of the text in copies of charters in cartularies. I am very grateful to Joanna Tucker for sharing her unpublished findings with me.

genealogy. To appreciate this we should start with how a charter was treated as a unique physical object in a way that the genealogy would not have been. A charter's authenticity depended on its seal, which was attached to the original single sheet. It could also be verified by the witnesses who were named in the text. The genealogy, by contrast, would not have had to be sealed or witnessed. It will be recalled that those who held positions of preeminent social authority in the Gaelic world before the mid-twelfth century were legitimated by the learning of professional kindreds who occupied the roles of cleric, poet and lawman. The scroll-genealogy would have been regarded as authoritative from the mere fact that it would have been read out as part of the ceremony of inauguration by a pre-eminent member of the learned orders. It is important to stress, however, that the genealogy was not recited from memory (either as prose or verse). Although authenticity did not rest chiefly with the scroll as a physical object, it may be suspected that it served to emphasise the authority of the person reading it out. It may, indeed, have highlighted the genealogy's basis in the overall scheme of historical learning that was sustained and nurtured in manuscripts. This, in turn, would have drawn attention to the specialist knowledge on which the legitimacy of the political order depended, expressed through genealogies.

All in all, in both the genealogy of the king of Scots and a charter relating to lordship over land, a sheet of parchment was produced for reading out in a public forum. Both involved a degree of specialised literate knowledge – the scribe familiar with the structure and phraseology of charters, and the historian (*senchaid*) at home in the corpus of genealogies. In the charter, however, its authenticity focused on the physical object; in the genealogy the display of specialised learning was the key. The novelty of charters as the primary way of expressing lordship was not because single sheets of parchment had hitherto played no role at all in legitimising social authority; it was because the artefact itself was now paramount, rather than the specialist knowledge of the person who read it out. As such, the use of single sheets of parchment to validate the exercise of social power could become much more widely used, extending far

beyond the domain of kingship itself. The potential of writing in recording property-rights was already evident in the notes of transactions written into whatever spaces were available in gospel books. Some (if not all) were written straight into the codex; their potency as records depended on their presence in a sacred book, not as a piece of parchment – the antithesis of a charter.[139] With the increasing use of charters in Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a wider range of property and privileges were safeguarded by single sheets of parchment.

This, in turn, brought a fundamental change in the broader framework of legitimising social authority through literate specialist knowledge. Neither genealogies nor charters existed in isolation. A genealogy gained significance from the fact that, in the hands of a historian (*senchaid*), it showed where a head of kindred belonged in a nexus of relationships that embraced the entire Gaelic world. Because kinship was a central principle in the regulation of society, genealogy was regarded as part of a single body of written traditional knowledge – *senchas* – that embraced both history and law.[140] Charters as individual texts

[139] Dauvit Broun, *The Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages*, Quiggin pamphlets on the sources of mediaeval Gaelic history 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 29–42; Máire Herbert, 'Charter material from Kells', in *The Book of Kells*, ed. Felicity O'Mahony (Aldershot, 1994), 60–77, at 61–2. For an explicit instance of a record written directly into a gospel book, see Elaine Treharne, 'Textual communities (vernacular)', in *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge, 2011), 341–51, at 347–8. The contemporary value of charters as single sheets of parchment authenticated in some way (by a seal or signa) provides a key for unlocking the debate about whether earlier property records should usefully be regarded as charters or not: see Dauvit Broun, 'Introducing the Models of Authority project: Scottish charters c. 1100–c. 1250', *Feature Article no.1, Models of Authority, July 2015*: http://www.modelsofauthority.ac.uk/blog/intro/ (accessed 14 November 2017), esp. note 8.

[140] For discussion of the *senchaid* in a legal context, see Fergus Kelly, 'An Old-Irish text on court procedure', *Peritia* 5 (1986), 74–106, at 93–4, where he observes that 'custodian of tradition' is a more appropriate translation of the term. The main corpus of written legal material in Gaelic (Old Irish) from the early middle ages was known as *Senchas Már*, the 'great *senchas*'; *senchas* (later, *senchus*) could also refer to genealogies, as in *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban* (see above, 228).

had no capacity to call to mind a similar source of authority. As a single sheet of parchment, however, it could be taken for confirmation or verification by a higher authority such as the king or the pope. In this way, legitimising the exercise of social power moved away from the domain of the learned orders and began to form a hierarchy of its own in which king and pope stood at the apex of increasingly distinct spheres of authority – each with its own body of law.

Rethinking genealogies?

The corpus of Gaelic genealogies in Irish manuscripts can readily be recognised as comprising a myriad of brief texts that have been, to a greater or lesser extent, adapted and edited by the medieval scholars who incorporated them into their collections. In this chapter a novel approach to these original items relating to the Scottish kingdom has been developed, inspired by Joanna Tucker's insight into the value of thinking about texts in their physical context whatever that may be, and not only when this gave them legal force (as in the case of sealed charters). The obvious difficulty is that, whereas piecemeal growth in cartularies takes the form of material added by generations of scribes, and is therefore open to being studied in a way that combines their textual and physical facets, not one medieval Gaelic genealogy survives as a single sheet of parchment. Another problem is that not all genealogies would have started life on their own individual sheet of parchment. The genealogy of Mael Snechta (died 1085) with a branch headed by Mac Bethad (1040–1057), for example, would appear to have been created by the scholarly compilers of this material in the process of updating their collection. Its physical setting from the outset was a manuscript booklet or codex. The genealogy of the king of Scots, however, certainly existed as a separate piece of parchment in 1249. The rewriting of a section potentially in order to give it a panegyric quality can be taken to suggest that reading out the genealogy as part of the ceremony of inaugurating a king was already established practice no later than 1005. Could the

production of individual genealogies on single sheets have been more widespread as part of royal inaugurations?

Looking at the corpus as a whole, it has been observed by Donnchadh Ó Corráin that the range of genealogies narrows dramatically after the ninth century.[141] This suggests that only the pedigrees of those who were potentially or actually kings were chiefly of interest. Ó Corráin compellingly argued that this was associated with what he termed 'the emergence of a narrower, more powerful, and more exclusive lordly class' between the tenth and twelfth centuries who took on surnames as a way of distinguishing themselves from the wider group to which they belonged.[142] Scottish examples of these narrower kindreds at the highest level include *Clann Chinaeda meic Ailpín*, the descendants of Cinaed mac Ailpín (d.858) who monopolised the kingship from 900 to 1034, and *Clann Lulaig*, the descendants of Lulach (king of Scots 1057–1058), a lineage that may have been destroyed when it was only two generations deep – its leader falling in battle in an attempt to oust David I in 1130.[143] In this context the significance of genealogies would have changed from articulating a dense network of relationships to becoming chiefly a way of identifying rulers with the key remote ancestors who served to define the kingship. The genealogy headed originally by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) with linkages to a few leading kindreds could be seen in this light.

An even more dramatic example is the genealogy of Domnall son of Ardgar son of Lochlann in Rawl. B. 502 and that of his grandson, Muirchertach, in the Book of Leinster.[144] Domnall (died 1121) and Muirchertach (died 1166) were rulers of Cenél nEogáin in northern Ireland and kings of Ireland. They were also heads of a narrow lineage, *Meic Lochlainn*, 'sons of Lochlann', descended from Domnall's grandfather, Lochlann. Their genealogies survive in near-contemporary copies: it may be

[141] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, Irish Historical Studies XI, ed. T. W. Moody (Belfast, 1978), 1–35, at 33.
[142] Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', 33.
[143] See note 90, above.
[144] *CGH*, I, 175.

recalled that Rawl. B. 502 was produced only a few years after Domnall's death, and that the Book of Leinster can be dated to about the time of Muirchertach's death.[145] Both genealogies trace the ancestry of *Meic Lochlainn* back to Aed Findliath (d.879), ruler of Cenél nEogáin and king of Ireland. The four generations between the eponymous Lochlann and Aed Findliath are, however, different in each. It seems that the only family relationships that mattered were within the dynasty itself descended from Lochlann. Their ancestry, traced in different ways, established their identity as rulers of Cenél nEogáin, which in turn sanctioned their claim to be kings of Ireland and pre-eminent in the Gaelic world. Both genealogies, therefore, served only as a potent display of kingship legitimised by specialist historical knowledge. As such, their function can be regarded as similar to that of the genealogy of the king of Scots read out at the royal inauguration.

There is, of course, no evidence that either or both the Mac Lochlainn genealogies were created on single sheets of parchment to be read out at their inaugurations. Both survive only in the academic context of manuscripts containing the corpus of genealogies. In that sense they are no different from the genealogy of Mael Snechta (d.1085) with a branch headed by Mac Bethad (1040–1057); it may be recalled that, after three generations below Mac Bethad, it too was a scholarly construct. In that instance its place in the collection of Scottish material – tacked on at the end – suggests that it was created for the sake of maintaining the collection itself, not for Mael Snechta or Mac Bethad; indeed, they may well both have been dead by then.[146] The genealogies of Domnall and Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn, however, are more akin to the genealogy read at the inauguration of the king of Scots. It may be recalled that the genealogies headed by Causantín mac Cuiléin (Constantine III) (995–997) and (originally) by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) (1005–1034) are likely to have been copied into the collection of Scottish genealogies from single sheets of parchment. They are

[145] See above, 225.
[146] See above, 234.

unlikely to be the only one to have arrived into the corpus of genealogies in this way. Although there is no way to tell how many (if any) of the genealogies of the tenth, eleventh or twelfth centuries originated as standalone texts on single sheets of parchment, or circulated as single-sheet copies, the possibility should be kept open that reading out the king's genealogy at their inauguration may not have been unique to the king of Scots.

At the end of the day, we are left with only a tantalising proposition. The identification of kingship explicitly with the specialist literate knowledge of the historian could be seen as establishing a special relationship between kingship and the authority invested in *senchas* – i.e., the totality of traditional learning, including law as well as history. If reading out the genealogy was a feature of other royal inaugurations, then this development could be seen as representing an important aspect of the consolidation and expansion of royal power in this period that has been noted by Donnchadh Ó Corráin.[147]

At the outset of this chapter it was noted that the inclusion of genealogical and panegyric elements in the Bengali copper-plate records of donations has no exact parallel among medieval Scottish (or British) documents. In this chapter it has been argued that, in the case of the genealogy of the king of Scots, a panegyric dimension to the text was potentially introduced by 1005; it was also suggested that, as a piece of parchment read out when lawful possession had been established, the genealogy also had some similarities to a charter. The chief significance of the genealogy in the ceremony, however, was to highlight the pivotal role of traditional literate learning in authenticating kingship – a role enhanced by the panegyric element as well as by reading from a scroll. In general terms it was the special function of the learned orders to legitimise the social order. In Scotland this source of authority was associated particularly with the king of Scots, perhaps from as early as the tenth century; the same may have been true of other major kings in the Gaelic world in this period. In her chapter in this book Joanna Tucker has drawn attention to the contrast between kings becoming exclusively the

[147] Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', 22–32.

donors of Bengali copper-plates on the one hand and, on the other hand, the widening range of charter-donors in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland.[148] It is possible, therefore, that the intensifying link between kingship and traditional literate learning suggested by reading out the royal genealogy from a scroll at a king's inauguration has similarities with the intimate ties between brāhmaṇas and kings that were immortalised in the copper charters. Perhaps, therefore, it is the genealogy of the king of Scots, rather than Scottish charters, that offers the closest parallel with Bengali copper-plate inscriptions in terms of the relationship between specialist practitioners and the social authority which they represented – a relationship in which distinctions between genealogy, panegyric and charter could become less significant as ways of reinforcing the exercise of power in particular contexts.

[148] Above, 180–1.

Appendix: Genealogy of David I (1124–1153) in the Scottish collection in Irish manuscripts

The base text is from the Book of Lecan (fol. 110ra19–b13) (*Lec*. in the notes) collated with the Book of Ballymote (fol. 85ra7–b3) (*BB* in the notes), using digital images of each manuscript.[149] Capitalisation, accents and line division are editorial; all expansions are in italics. Angled brackets < > signify additions to the base text that could have been in the archetype; round brackets ( ) are used to indicate letters in the base text that are unlikely to have been in the archetype.

Dauith[150]
m*ac* Mailcholui*m*[151]
m*eic* Dondchaid
m*eic* Mailc*h*olai*m*
m*eic* Cinaet*h*a
m*eic* Mailc*h*oluim[152]
m*eic* Domnaill
m*eic* Cunsantín[153]
m*eic* Cinaeda[154]
m*eic* Ailpí*n*
m*eic* Echach[155]
m*eic* Aeda Fi*n*d
m*eic* Echach[156]
m*eic* Domangoirt
<I sun*n con*dr*ecaid* Cen*é*l nGabráin 7 Cen*é*l Co*m*gaill
m*eic* Do*m*naill B*ri*cc
m*eic* Ech*ach* Buid*h*e>[157]

[149] For detail on the manuscripts and digitised images, see 225–6, above.
[150] *Lec*; Dauid *BB*.
[151] *Lec*; Coluim *BB*.
[152] *Lec*; *omitted from BB.*
[153] Cunsantín *BB, with common abbreviation marks above first and second* n.
[154] Cinaetha *BB*.
[155] Eac*h*ach *BB*.
[156] Eacach *BB*.

<I>[158] sun*n* condrecaid Cland Fearg*us*a Guill m*ei*c Echach[159] Buidi[160] .i. Gabranaich[161] 7 Cland(a)[162] *Cona*ill Chirr[163] m*ei*c Echach Buidi[164] .i. Fir Ibe[165] fris in rígraid .i. Clan*n* Chinaeda[166] m*eic* Ailpín

m*eic* Aeda<n>[167]

<I>[168] sund condreacaid Cland Echac*h*[169] Buidi[170] fri léithri*n*d Conai*n*g don let*h* tuaid[171] m*eic* Aedan[172]

m*eic* Gabrai*n*

m*eic* Domangoirt

m*eic* Fearg*us*a Moir

m*eic* Erc[173]

<I>[174] sund condr*ecaid* Cenél Loairn(*n*)[175] meic <Eirc>[176] 7 Cenél nAeng*us*a 7 Cenél nGabrán 7 Cenél Comgaill

m*eic* Echach Munreamair

m*eic* Aeng*us*a

m*eic* Feidlimid Aislingthi

m*eic* Aeng*us*a Buaidnich[177]

m*eic* Feidlimid

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[157] I sun*n* … Buid*he* *BB*; omitted from *Lec*.
[158] *BB*; *omitted from Lec*.
[159] Each*ach* *BB*.
[160] E*c*ha*c*h Buide *BB*.
[161] Gab*ra*naig *BB*.
[162] Clanda *Lec*; Cl*ann* *BB*.
[163] Cirr *BB*.
[164] Buide *BB*.
[165] Ibe *is the reading in both BB and Lec*. *It stands for* Fíbe *(the* F *is silent)*.
[166] Cinaeda *BB*.
[167] Aeda*n* *BB*; Aeda *Lec*.
[168] *BB*; *omitted from Lec*.
[169] Each*ach* *BB*.
[170] Buide *BB*.
[171] don leth tuaid *Lec*; *omitted from BB*.
[172] Aedai*n* *BB*.
[173] Eirc *BB*.
[174] *BB*; *omitted from Lec*.
[175] *Lec gives a common abbreviation stroke above the* n; Loai*r*n *BB*.
[176] Eirc *BB*; Echach *Lec*.
[177] *Lec*; Buaid^{ind} *BB*.

m*eic* Senchorm*ai*c[178]
m*eic* Laith Luaithi
m*eic* Aithir
m*eic* Echach[179] Antoit
m*eic* Fiachach[180] Tát*h*máil[181] 7 re*liqui*[182]

TRANSLATION

David[183]
son of Mael Coluim[184]
son of Donnchad[185]
son of Mael Coluim[186]
son of Cinaed[187]
son of Mael Coluim[188]
son of Domnall[189]
son of Cunsantín[190]
son of Cinaeda[191]
son of Ailpín[192]
son of Eochu[193]
son of Aed Find[194]

[178] Sen Cor*maic BB*.
[179] Echa*ch BB*.
[180] *Lec*; Fiach *BB*.
[181] Tát*h*mael *BB*.
[182] 7 re*liqui omitted from BB*.
[183] David I, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 1124–1153.
[184] Malcolm III, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 1058–1093.
[185] Duncan I, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 1034–1040. His mother Bethóc daughter of Mael Coluim (Malcolm II), has been omitted. Donnchad (Duncan I) was son of Crinán, *ab* ('abbot') of Dunkeld.
[186] Malcolm II, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 1005–1034.
[187] Kenneth II, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 971–995.
[188] Malcolm I, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 943(?)–954.
[189] Donald II, king of Scots / *rí Alban*, 889(?)–900.
[190] Constantine I, king of Scots / *rex Pictorum* ('king of the Picts'), 862–876.
[191] Kenneth I, king of Scots / *rex Pictorum* ('king of the Picts'), 842(?)–858.
[192] There are no contemporary references to Ailpín.
[193] There are no contemporary references to Eochu (or Eochaid).
[194] Died as 'king of Dál Riata' in 778; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 243 (778.7).

son of Eochu[195]
son of Domangart[196]
<The Kindred of Gabrán and Kindred of Comgall meet at this point.
son of Domnall Brecc[197]
son of Eochu Buide>[198]
The Clan of One-eyed Fergus son of Eochu Buide (i.e., the *Gabranaig*[199]) and Clan of Maimed Conall son of Eochu Buide (i.e., the men of Fife) at this point meet the royal line (i.e., the Clan of Cinaed son of Ailpín)[200]
son of Aedán[201]
The Clan of Eochu Buide meet at this point with the apical-link[202] of Conaing, of the northern half,[203] son of Aedán

[195] Died (probably as king of Dál Riata) in 697; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 173 (697.4). Eochaid son of Eochu, who died as 'king of Dál Riata' in 733, has been omitted; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 206 (733.5).
[196] Died as 'king of Dál Riata' in 673; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 159 (673.4).
[197] 'Freckled Donald'. Died in 642 (probably) as king of Dál Riata; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 143 (642.1). The earliest king whose death is likely to have been recorded contemporaneously in the lost 'Chronicle of Iona' (whose text was incorporated into the 'Chronicle of Ireland').
[198] Eochaid Buide ('Yellow-[haired] Eochaid') said to have died as king in 629; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 135 and note 4 (629.4). Eochaid and Eochu became interchangeable in extant manuscripts.
[199] Possibly meaning 'Gowriefolk', i.e. people of Gowrie, one of the provinces north of the Forth.
[200] 'Children of Cinaed son of Ailpín' (Kenneth I, 842(?)–858).
[201] Said to have died as king in 606; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, 124 (606.2).
[202] *Leithrind* has been taken to mean 'half-share' (e.g., in Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 163). A possible example is *ar ba lethrand do Dál Chéte 7 do Dál Bardéni*: *CGH*, I, 377. It has been pointed out, however, by Donnchadh Ó Corráin (in his review of J. Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*, in *Celtica* 13 (1980), 168–82, at 179) that it is found as *léithrind* (nominative) in a genealogical text relating to the Airgialla in *CGH*, I, 140: *Is ón Chonall dano atát Léithrind Conaill for Dobla. Ónd Ailill Léithrind Ailella. Ón Lócán Léithrind Lócáin. Ón Damán Láech Húi Damáin 7 Húi Guassai*. This rules out *leth*, 'half', as the first syllable. Ó Corráin regards it as a term for a division of a kindred. I take *léithrind* to be a form of *leithriu*/*léthrend* (I am very grateful to

son of Gabrán[204]
son of Domangart[205]
son of Fergus Mór[206]
son of Erc
The Kindred of Loarn son of Erc and Kindred of Oengus and Kindred of Gabrán and Kindred of Comgall meet at this point
son of Eochu Muinremar
son of Oengus
son of Feidlimid Aislingthech
son of Oengus Buidnech
son of Feidlimid
son of Sen Chormac
son of 'Lath Luaithe'[207]
son of Aichir[208]
son of Eochu Antoit
son of Fiachu Tathmál, and the rest.

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for this suggestion). It could have the sense of a fixed point for an attachment; see eDIL s.v. *leithriu* at dil.ie/29854. It is used of the part of the harp from which the strings are drawn, a horse's fetter, and perhaps the line to which the hangings of a horse's trappings are attached. A fixed point for an attachment could be an appropriate metaphor for a genealogical link.

[203] This brings to mind the division into halves north and south of the Mounth; but it is likely to have been a medieval editor's attempt to explain *léithrind* as *leth rann*, 'half-share'.

[204] Eponym of Cenél nGabráin, who is said to have died in 560; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 103 (560.1).

[205] Appears as Domangart son of Ness in the 'Chronicle of Ireland', whose death is noted in 505 with an alternative given of 507; Charles-Edwards, *The Chronicle of Ireland*, II, 85 (505.2, 507.3). Domangart is 'son of Mac Nisse' in the earliest genealogical tract relating to Dál Riata, datable to either about 730 or 733; see Broun, '*Cethri prímchenéla Dáil Riata* revisited'.

[206] Fergus has probably been intruded into the genealogy instead of Mac Nisse; if he was originally Fergus son of Erc, reputed to have given Armoy in northern Ireland to St Patrick (see Dumville, 'Ireland and north Britain', 189–90), then he was perhaps intruded in the early tenth century when the new royal dynasty descended from Cinaed mac Ailpín had close ties with the kings of the northern Uí Néill, patrons of Armagh (the chief church of St Patrick).

[207] See above, 245–6, for a discussion of this name.

[208] See above, 244 and note 124: it appears that 'c' has been misread as 't'.