

## I.

ADDITIONAL NOTICE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF FORDUN'S  
CHRONICLE. By WILLIAM F. SKENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

About this time last year I laid before the Society the result of my examination of the existing MSS. of Fordun, so far as they were then accessible to me. Since then I have, through the kind offices of the North German ambassador, been allowed to borrow the Wolfenbüttel MS., and the collation of that MS. with that of some of the other MSS., has enabled me to come to some more definite results, which I am desirous of submitting to the Society in supplement to my former paper, so as to make my account of the MSS. of Fordun still more complete.

I have now completed my collation of the Wolfenbüttel MS., which I have brought with me to show to the meeting; and the more minute and careful examination of it leaves no doubt on my mind that it is not the original MS. of Fordun's work. It is not written in the same hand throughout, but consists of two parts, each in a different handwriting. The first consists of 85 folios, and the second of 134, making in all 219 folios; and the handwriting of the second part is very much smaller and closer than that of the first, there being in the first part an average of thirty-two lines in a page, and the second of forty-five. Both parts are certainly transcripts, not original MSS. There is some appearance as if they were parts of different MSS. put together, and in the latter part the parchment has been a little larger, and has been cut to correspond with the size of the former; but the MS. was in its present state when in the possession of Flaccius prior to his death in 1570, as there are notes in his handwriting on both parts; and the parchment in the latter part has been cut in the binding, as one of Flaccius' notes has been cut through.

I retain my original opinion as to the date of the MS. It must, I think, have been written not long after Fordun's death, and certainly before Bower began to manipulate it; and I am, after completing the collation, able to say decidedly, that it does not contain one word which has the least appearance of having been added to Fordun's work after

his death, and in this respect stands apart from, and above, all other MSS.

The next point I have to notice is one of some importance. On collating the Dublin MS., which I have not yet seen, and which was done for me through Dr Dickson, the sub-librarian, the first four books showed a text abbreviated from Bower, and differently divided into books and chapters. This text I found corresponded exactly with the text of the MS. in the Advocates' Library, commonly called the Cupar MS. or the Chronicle of Cupar, and which is also differently divided into books and chapters. The "prologus" prefixed to the Dublin MS. I also found was the same as the "prologus" prefixed to the Cupar MS., and on examining the "prologus" more carefully, it is quite clear that the Cupar MS. is an abbreviation made by Bower himself of his larger work in sixteen books. That the "prologus" was written by him is plain; for, after referring to the labours of Fordun, he says that he had added eleven books to the five books left by Fordun.

"Undecim libros ipsis quinque ut patet in magno ubi supra distinctibiliter adjecti."

He then proceeds to say, that seeing "delicatis auribus grata est brevis prolixitas odiosa," he had himself made the abbreviated copy which follows the "prologus."

As Bower finished his great work in sixteen books in 1447, and died in 1449; it is plain that he had spent the last two years of his life in compiling this new work, in which much of the irrelevant matter in the previous work is omitted, and occasional mistakes corrected.

The third point I have to notice is, that on receiving the collation of that part of the Harleian MS., which is said to be the work of Patrick Russell, a brother of Charterhouse, and which was done for me by Mr Andrew Gillman, of London, I found the text was the same as that in the MS. in the Advocates' Library, called the Carthusian. It, too, is an abbreviation of Bower's work in sixteen books. The title of the MS. is "Liber Scotichronicon Abbreviatum," and there is a short "prologus," in which the writer says that, considering the great size of the work in sixteen books, and its "prolixitas tediosa," he had abridged it "ad consolationem et edificationem propriam ceterorumque confratrum meorum Carthusiensium hujus heremi vallis virtutis incolarum," showing that the

compiler was a brother of Charterhouse, and there can be no doubt that this was the work of Patrick Russell, the latter part of which forms the continuation to the five books of Fordun in the Harleian MS. Mr Gillman has pointed out the following passage to me, which is added by the transcriber at folio 126, *b*, and which shows that the latter was transcribed in the year 1497 for the Bishop of Dunkeld, by "Ricardus Strivelyn notarius Publicus." "Quamquidem episcopus (Dunkeldensis) quamplurima bona opera tempore suo scilicet A.D. M.CCCC<sup>o</sup> nonogesimo vii<sup>o</sup> apud ecclesiam episcopatus sui cathedralem fecit, unum altare in eadem ecclesia fundavit, vestimentis et ornamentis multipliciter eandem ecclesiam ditavit, præbendis et canonicis exaltavit, unam turrim in loco Dunkeld construxit et totum locum interius reparavit, quamplures libros scribi fecit. *inter quos istum librum ego Ricardus Striveling notarius publicus ex mandato ejus scripsi.*" The original abridgment, however, by Patrick Russell was probably made prior to 1451, as he mentions in 1425 that James Stewart, one of the sons of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, had fled to Ireland to avoid the vengeance of James I., and adds, "Et dictus Jacobus hucusque ad Scociam non est reversus." James Stewart died in 1451, and he could hardly have used that expression if his death had already taken place.

The last point I have to mention relates to the unpublished history attributed to Bishop Elphinstone, of which I mentioned that there is one MS. in the Bodleian, and another in Glasgow College Library, and a third in the Advocates' Library. I have since been allowed the use of two other MSS., one belonging to Mr Douglas of Cavers, the other from the Marchmont Library, belonging to Sir Hugh Hume Campbell. The Cavers MS. is a copy of the Glasgow College MS., made on 2d February 1696, by W. Gadderar. The Marchmont MS. contains the same text as the Bodleian MS. ; and like it, bears to be transcribed in 1489, but it has prefixed to it a "præfatio" and a "prologus" not to be found in any other MS. except one at Brussels, a description of which I have received from Mr Joseph Stevenson, but which I have not yet been able to examine. This preface is a very interesting document. It states that the work was compiled by an ecclesiastic, who had been in France during the period when the Maid of Orleans played her part in the war with the English, that is, from 1428 to 1431, and was written after his return from France

“Ad ordinationem et mandatum venerabilis in Christo patris ac Domin-  
D.            permissione divina abbatis Monasterii de Dunfermlyn nunc  
regentis.” The date of the compilation we know was 1461. He under-  
took, besides giving a “compendium chronicarum,” to add much that passed  
in his own time, “cum quibusdam aliis actibus mirificis quæ ego qui scribo  
extra limites hujus regni scivi vidi et audiui; item postremo de quadam  
puella mirabili quæ causa fuit recuperationis regni Franciæ de manibus  
Henrici tyranni regis Angliæ quam vidi novi et cum ea fui in questis suis  
dictæ recuperationis usque ad finem vitæ suæ præsens interfui.”

This was of course Joan of Arc, who was put to death in 1431.

The work consists of the five books of Fordun, and the fifteen chapters  
of Book VI., with some alterations and interpolations, to which are added  
a continuation of book VI., and six other books, twelve in all. The con-  
tinuation is an independent work, and is not taken from Bower, from  
whom the writer occasionally differs greatly. The thirty-second chapter  
of book X. has the title, “Sequitur de initiis puellæ mirabili provisione  
divina missæ ad succursum Franciæ et de actibus ejusdem;” but, in-  
stead of giving the promised history, the writer stops in the middle of  
the second sentence, and the rest of the chapter is left blank.

The results, then, of my examination of the MSS. of Fordun are as  
follows:—

I. John of Fordun died about 1385 or 1386, leaving an incomplete  
work, consisting of five books completed, to the death of David I.;  
fifteen chapters apparently intended to form part of Book VI.; and  
materials for the remaining history, the first part of which has been worked  
up in Book V., and the chapters of Book VI., and the second part be-  
ginning with the coronation of Malcolm IV., and coming down to the year  
1385. He nowhere terms his work “*Scotichronicon*.” When he alludes  
throughout the text to his work he calls it simply “*Chronica*,” using the  
word as a feminine singular, and he appears to have intended to call his  
work when completed “*Chronica Gentis Scotorum*,” as the work begins  
with a list of the chapters of the first book; and he prefixes the title,  
“*Incipiunt tituli capitulorum libri primi Gentis Scotorum*.” He probably  
adopted this title from Bede’s “*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.”  
The materials he left for the history from the coronation of Malcolm IV.  
he calls in one place “*Gesta Annualia*,” or, as it should be, “*Annalia*.”

This work, as left by Fordun, is represented by the Wolfenbüttel, Cottonian, and Trinity College Cambridge, MSS. ; and the fifth book, with the "Gesta Annalia," is contained in the Dublin MS.

II. Walter Bowmaker or Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm, who was born in 1385, and could not therefore have been, as has been stated, a disciple of Fordun, and employed by him to complete his work, commenced in 1440 an elaborate work in sixteen books, purporting to be a completion of Fordun's work, which he completed in 1447. The five books are largely interpolated and added to. The fifteen chapters left by Fordun are incorporated into the sixth book, and the remainder is Bower's own continuation, in which the "Gesta" are taken in, but in many parts greatly altered. Bower termed his work "Scotichronicon," and it is to this work, in sixteen books, that the title "Scotichronicon" properly belongs.

It is represented by the Edinburgh College and Donibristle MSS., the Corpus Christi Cambridge MS., the Royal MS. or Black Book of Paisley, and the two MSS. transcribed by Magnus Makeculloch, one in the British Museum, the other in Lord Dalhousie's library.

III. This work had no sooner appeared than there seems to have arisen an outcry, as well there might, against its intolerable diffuseness and irrelevant sermonising, its "tediosa prolixitas;" and Bower, coming evidently to be of opinion that "grata est brevitās, prolixitas odiosa," proceeded to compile a new work, in which much of the objectionable prolixity is removed, and the narrative curtailed when not directly applicable to Scotland. It is differently divided into books and chapters, and is represented by the Cupar MS. and by the first four books in the Dublin MS.

IV. The work was still thought too long; and probably after his death, in 1449, but before 1451, Patrick Russell, a brother of the Carthusian monastery in Perth, made a still further abbreviation of the "Scotichronicon," which is in the Advocates' Library.

V. In 1461 a monk of Dunfermlyn, who had been in France for some years, and certainly from 1428 to 1445,<sup>1</sup> on his return compiled in 1461 a history, at the command of the abbot, in twelve books. In this he

<sup>1</sup> In a passage in B. xi. c. vii., he alludes to the death of the Dauphiness in 1445, and adds that he had seen her continually during the nine years of her life in France.

uses the five books and the fifteen additional chapters left by Fordun, with some alterations, and continues them to the death of James I.

This work is represented by the Bodleian, Glasgow College, Marchmont, and Cavers MSS., which I have examined; and by one at Brussels, and another in Lord Dalhousie's library, I have not yet seen.

VI. In 1501 an abridgment of the Black Book of Paisley, one of the MSS. of the "Scotichronicon," in sixteen books, was made for John Gibson, a canon of Glasgow, and rector of Renfrew, by John Gibson, junior. This MS. is in the Advocates' Library.

VII. There appear to have been two MSS. containing copies of the five books of Fordun, without alteration.

One, which belonged to the chapter of Dunkeld, was continued, in 1497, by Richard Stirling, N.P., who added five books taken from Patrick Russell's abridgment. This MS. is the Harleian, 4764. The other was continued by an unknown hand in 1509. The continuation, consisting of extracts from the abridgment in the Cupar MS. made by Bower himself. This is the Scots College MS., now in the Catholic Library.

And this exhausts the MSS. of Fordun.

## P R E F A C E S.

### I.

#### CUPAR AND DUBLIN MSS.

##### OMNIPOTENS OPIFEX OPERIS HUIUS SIT ET AUCTOR.<sup>1</sup>

Secundum veteres sanctiones, laudabilis antiquitas patribus a priscis observata, non solum approbanda a modernis esse dinoscitur, sed et imitanda. Enimvero nonnulli ante nostra tempora, luculenter satis inclitorum regum et validorum Scotorum gesta, veridico satis stilo et memorabiles chronicas scriptis reliquerunt. Quæ quasi omnia sui saltem ante tempora membranis commendata.

Ille truculentus tortor Eadwardus iij. post ultimum conquestum, rex Angliæ dictus Langschankis et tirannus postquam suboriri cœpit discentionis materia inter præcellentes principes Broysos videt et Balliolos super

<sup>1</sup> This title in Dublin MS. only.

juris pocioritate succedendi in regnum, violenter abstulit et delevit. Attendens ipse propterea ipsum regnum divisum et per præsens verisimiliter desolandum, finxit se velle tractare quæ pacis erant tanquam amicabilem compositorem et amicum inter partes, sub ovili vellere allecta sibi callide ejusdem regni Scociæ procerum una parte. Et sit sibi reliqua resistere non valente, ejusdem sibi regni de facto usurpavit custodiam per oppressionem. Ac ipse statim occasione, ut pretendebat, cognoscendi quis eorum per vetustorum grammatum indagationem plenior in regno vindicare poterat facultatem, rimatis regni cunctis librariis et ad manus ejus receptis authenticis et antiquatis historiæ chronicis aliquantas secum et ad Angliam abstulit reliquas vero flammis incinerandas despicabiliter commisit.

Post quarum quidem chronicarum amissionem, inter paucos alios ad recolligendum deperditas, exurgens quidam venerabilis presbyter dominus Johannes Fordun Scotus nomine ad fortia manum misit et patrio zelo titillatus efferbuit, nec tamen ab inceptis destitit donec laboriosis studiis, tam Angliam, quam aliis circumvicinis provinciis peragratis, tanta illinc et in propria patria de amissis recollectit, quoad usque quinque librorum volumina, de delectabilibus gestis Scotorum, sicut apud Scoticonicon in magno interseri chronicaliter satis compegit. In hoc laudanda hominis est industria, attendens ipse quod non hominis sed numinis proprium esse convincitur, cuncta memoriæ commendare. Idcirco et ipse pedestes, tanquam apis argumentosa, in prato Britannicæ et in oraculis Hibernicæ, per civitates et oppida, per universitates et collegia, per ecclesias et cœnobias, inter historicos conversans et inter chronographos perhendinans, libros eorum annales contrectans et cum eis sapienter conferens et disputans, ac tabulis sive dipticis quæ sibi placuit intitulans, tali fatigabili investigatione, quod non novit invenit atque in sinuali suo codice tanquam in alveario inventa, quasi millifluis favos accurate congescit, et ipsa, ut premisi, in quinque libris, usque ad mortem Sanctissimi regis David filium Sanctæ Margaretæ, eleganter intitulavit cujus quidam formam et tenorem quam debiliter desiderantur, tam assequens et reumberato considerationis oculo ne abhinc hujus deperirent gesta regni spectabilia undecim libris ipsis quinque ut patet in magno ubi supra distinctibiliter adjeci. Ac etiam ipsis suis quinque libris premissis protractiones liniæ cum titulo scriptoris hinc inde intromisi per quod constare poterit legenti quid mihi ipse scriba confecit et quid de meo suis appositum dereliqui. Sed quia delicatis

auribus grata est brevitās, prolixitas odiosa, ideo omissis in hoc Scoti-  
cronicon abbreviato diversis incidentiis et notabilibus allegationibus digres-  
sionibus et exceptis ad diversa proposita perspicue facientibus quæ illinc  
inseruntur, hic per extensum, hic succintius tanquam ad summarium et ad  
alleviationem transumentium et copiare infra scripta volentium stilum pars  
suppliciter et exoro ut

Item ego utinam vicium torporis,  
Dum opus complevero maximi laboris,  
Chronicarum Scociæ volens attemptare,  
Ultra viris arduum opus compilare.  
Per veras depremere propono scripturas,  
Et per scire Scociæ leges et figuras,  
Regum atque presulum planas non obscuras,  
Plebis atque Patriæ plagas et pressuras.  
Paginæ sollicitum lector cor impende,  
Regni quem fluida hujus hic attende,  
Fortuna quam varia fuerit perpende,  
Et ut vivas cautius moribus ostende.  
Lege ergo paginam tibi exaratam,  
Stipuloso scemate ut infaleratam,  
Vernantis eloquii nodis non ligatam,  
Sed Scotorum chronicis veris variatam.  
Ne tu scribam desicis per oblivionem,  
Sed Christus continuum per protectionem,  
Post caduci corporis depositionem,  
Hunc tuam salvificet per orationem.  
Pro scriptore insuper deprecare velis,  
Semel archangelicum illum Gabrielis,  
Ave plena Gratia Dominus est tecum,  
Ut ad sua gaudia se conducat secum.  
Et qui in hoc codice legere letetur,  
Ubi Sancta Trinitas Deus adoretur,  
Illuc indeficiens vita sibi detur,  
Amen queso quilibet ut sit precetur.

Superflua scribere res est jactantiæ necessaria reticere contemptus, ut igi-

tur notam primum refugiam et questum secundi non postponam in Dei adjutorio confisus ad fortia mitto manum letantius ut hoc opera proficiam felicius. Exultatio etenim dat eloquentiam quam interdum negat ingenium et si artium mater est instantia. Novera eruditionis negligentia esse comprobatur quos ad honorem Dei ad solatium regis et regni, necnon ad meipsum interdum diversis solitudinibus actediatum et obsessum per delucida intervalla recreandi ad etiam ad cautelam futurorum et legentium edificationem hoc opus aggrediens. Precor lectori Christum reget ore fideli. Ut det actori post mortem gaudia vitæ vel celi. In hoc enim ut reor volumen invedent bellatores dubiorum eventium evitare pericula; religiosi percipient regularia rudimenta. Seculares salubria in cetamenta et predicatorum exemplaria navramenta. Cujus exemplarietate principes in expeditionibus guerrecis cautiores reddentur. Religiosi, religiosi, regularius instituentur et quot quot tædio affecti ipsius lectura lætitiæ condonentur.

## II.

## CARTHUSIAN MS.

## INCIPIIT PROLOGUS IN LIBRUM SCOTICRONICON ABBREVIATUM.

Consideranti mihi illius incliti operis historici, liber Scoticonicon titulati, in ingenti volumen sedecim librorum diffusè cronographati, prolixitatem tediosam, fastidii generatricem, et humanæ memoriæ labilitatem. Juxta illud metricum

Longa solent spiritum  
Gaudent brevitate moderni  
Visum est utile  
Pro ingeniosi mei capacitate.

Ex singulis libris memoratis, sub unius mediocris codicis decenti compendio, cum cunctis capitulorum titulis. Aliqua florida magis edificatoria prout superna inspiraverit gratiam excerpere ad consolationem ac edificationem propriam ceterorumque confratrum meorum Cartusiensium hujus heremi, vallis virtutis incolarum, necnon universorum quos historias et chronicas legere ac dinoscere delectatis. In quibus addiscent principes evitare bellorum et dubiorum eventium pericula, religiosi percipient regularia rudimenta, seculares invenient salubria documenta, predicatorum reperient extranea narramenta quibus exemplis reges cautiores reddentur.

Religiosi regularius instituentur, populares ad devotionem accendentur et quot quot tristitia aut tædio affecti lectura hujus codicis lætitiæ restituentur.

Prefatum equidem Scoticonicon vòlumen quum ad primos quinque libros venerabilis vir Dominus Johannes Fordoun, presbyter, dudum inchoans diserto stilo compilavit residuum vero in undecim libros late pretensum reverendus in Christo pater Dominus Walterus Bowmakar, *olim abbas insulæ Sancti Columbæ qui obiit anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>xlx.* diligenti studio continuavit et usque in finem laudabiliter complevit.

Explicit Prologus.

### III.

#### MARCHMONT MS.

##### PREFATIO SCRIPTORIS.

Honorabilium antecessorum gesta laudabilia ad memoriam reducentes, non solum presentibus ea quæ preterita sunt placabilia recitando proficimus. Ymmo etiam virtutum viatoribus per providorum exempla preteritorum, tamquam per lucernam veritatis ductam ostendimus. Et dum eorum merita recolimus futuris felicibus ad imitandum venerabilium vestigia antecessorum occasionem inclitam exhibemus. Tum enim in omnibus actibus et operationibus humanis fundamentum veritatis quod Deus est, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum, primitus et ante omnia sit investigandum, ac omnibus carnalibus preponendum affectibus. Debemus omni cura ac in extinguibili diligentia infatigabiliter ad eandem totis viribus anhelare. Quia ubi ipsa veritas non est, fundamentum nullius boni operis super edificari poterit edificium. Ad cujus veritatis notitiam dilucide adipiscendam, sine gratia dominica supernaturaliter infusa non poterit pertingere lumine naturali intellectus humanus.

Queramus igitur illam a patre luminum, a quo omne datum optimum, et donum perfectum desursum est descendens. Quoniam ipse solus dat sapientiam et ex ore ejus scientia et prudentia est. Cum sancto Salomone petendo et dicendo “*Da mihi Domine se domini tuarum assistricem sapientiam qua mecum sit et mecum laboret, ut scientia quid acceptum sit coram te omni tempore,*” qui optavit et datus est ei sensus, invocavit et venit in eum spiritus sapientiæ. Ad quam gratiam impetrandam nos perducere digneta qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Amen.



pore nostro ac adentia meliori modo quo potero exclusis inutilibus nugationibus ac etiam frustratoriis vanitatibus ad rem non pertinentibus inquerere colligere, et memorare et inferre cum quibusdam aliis actibus mirificis quæ ego qui scribo extra limites hujus regni scivi, vidi et audivi. Item postremo de quadam puella mirabili que causa fuit recuperationis regni Franciæ de manibus Henrici tyranni regis Angliæ, quam vidi novi et cum ea fui in questis suis dictæ recuperationis usque ad finem vitæ suæ presens interfui, etc.