

The Last Century of Pictish Succession

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The ninth century in Scotland north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus was as eventful and disastrous as elsewhere in Britain, and had a parallel result in that the kingdom of Scotia, like that of Wessex, came to be the dominant and unifying element. The difference, for the modern student, lies mainly in the difference of source-materials, which for Scots are fewer, later, and of two major genres or historiographic disciplines.¹

For both genres the greatest problem in our period was provided by the disappearance of the Pictish kingdom, a process which could not be satisfactorily treated by the canons of oral historiography until the numerous descendants of the Picts had learned to think of themselves as Scots. Fortunately, the oldest sources date from the time before the change was complete, so that we possess some partial record of it, and are informed that the kingdom of what was later southern Scotia was called Pictavia until about 900, when both it and its constituent parts begin to appear under their Gaelic names. At the same time, succession to the kingship until the same date does not always follow Irish rules, and consequently the question is whether the exceptions are due to the general disorders of the time, or to the survival of Pictish law or a strong desire for its reinstatement. This question is the subject of the following discussion.

The King-list abstracted from the *Old Scottish Chronicle*²

This brief chronicle was seemingly compiled from more than one source within the years 971 × 995, and is extant in a manuscript copied at York about 1360, presumably from the source already known to Higden about 1350. It is unknown whether this exemplar had been in England for some length of time before: it is possible that it had been slumbering in an Augustinian library since the early thirteenth century.³ The *Chronicle* was originally written in Irish,⁴ and the date of the extant Latin translation may be the same as that of the similar translation of the Pictish king-list in the same collection, about 1050.⁵

The form of the *Chronicle* is that its king-list provides headings under which items are entered, and where they are dated it is by regnal years: the *Chronicle* contains no absolute dates. The ninth-century kings are:

Kinadius igitur filius Alpini primus Scottorum rexit feliciter istam annis xvi Pictaviam . . .

Duuenaldus frater eius tenuit idem regnum iiij annis . . .

Constantinus filius Cinaedi regnavit annos xvi . . .

[events in Pictavia]

Edus tenuit idem i anno . . .

*Eochodius autem filius Run regis Britannorum, nepos Cinaedi ex filia, regnavit annis xi. Set Ciricium filium < * * * > alii dicunt hic regnasse eo quod alumpnus ordinatorque Eochodio fiebat . . .*

Dovinaldus filius Constantini tenuit regnum xi annos . . .

[events in Pictavia]

(Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum xl annos . . .

[events in Albania, and in Sraith Herenn (Pictish Fortriu), and Oengus (Pictish Circinn), now with Gaelic names]

Kenneth I, 'first of the Scots, successfully ruled Pictavia', is an entry which might be held to show the influence of oral historiography, but the interesting feature at this point of the *Chronicle* is that the Scottish foundation-legend of the massacre of the Pictish nobility is seemingly known but not told. Similarly under the name of Eochaid son of Rhun, the tale of Giric's kinship is known, but placed as from a second source (*alii dicunt*), and said to be due to Giric's position as *alumpnus ordinatorque* to Eochaid. This position is not otherwise recorded in relation either to Scottish or Pictish kings of any century, and the only known parallel is somewhat remote in place and ostensible time: in the cartulary appended to the *Vita Cadoci*, Gwengarth (apparently of the eighth century) is described once as *procurator regis* and once as *alumpnus regis* in Glamorgan: in both the Welsh and the Strathclyde cases the precise meaning of the terms is not at all clear, though *alumpnus* may mean 'foster-father' rather than 'foster-son'.⁶

In the Scottish material, *The Old Scottish Chronicle* (OSC) alone mentions both Giric's position in Eochaid's kingdom, and the story that he and not Eochaid was the king: later authorities either elaborate this story, or suppress both kings. It should follow that the reign of Eochaid was regarded by some as a setback or detour in the development of the rule of the Scottish dynasty, for which a route to oblivion was to be found. Within this doctrine however there were apparently two schools of thought: one was prepared to elevate Giric to a substitute kingship (as in the *Synchronisms* and the Latin lists),⁷ while the other preferred to name neither Eochaid nor Giric, as in the *Annals of Ulster* (which need not name every king) and the *Duan Albanach* (which should).

The King-lists abstracted from the *Annals of Ulster*⁸

In the early eighth century the *Annals of Ulster* reproduce a contemporary source for events in Scotland, but the situation later is not so clear. It is likely that in 741 Dalriada finally submitted, after a long struggle, to Onuist I of the Picts, and

subsequently regained at least some measure of independence under Aed Find; it is therefore not impossible that either a royal or an ecclesiastical chronicle began anew in his time,⁹ and at some stage was incorporated into what became the *Annals of Ulster*. The entries on the kings both of Pictland and of Dalriada in these annals are mostly obituaries and no reign-lengths are given: in the lists below there are reckoned instead, for ease of reference, the intervals (in years) from the ends of the previous reigns.

<i>AUc</i>	<i>Kings of Picts</i>	<i>Interval</i>	<i>AUc</i>	<i>Kings of Scots</i>	<i>Interval</i>
[768: battle in Fortriu between Aed Find and Ciniod II probably marks the point at which Dalriada became to an unknown extent autonomous]					
775	Ciniod II k of Picts		778	Aed Find (son of Eochaid) k of Dalriada	
780	Alpin II ' <i>rex Saxonum</i> '	5	781	Fergus (son of Eochaid) k of Dalriada	3
782	Dubthlorc k of Picts <i>citra Monoth</i>	2			
789	civil war: Conall son of Tadg expelled by Constantine	7	792	Donncorci k of Dalriada	11
			807	Conall son of Tadg killed in Kintyre by Conall son of Aedan	15
820	Constantine son of Fergus k of Fortriu	31			
834	Oengus son of Fergus k of Fortriu	14			
839	Eoganan and Bran sons of Oengus, and Aed son of Boanta, killed by vikings in Fortriu	5			
858	Kenneth I son of Alpin k of Picts	19			
862	Domnall I son of Alpin k of Picts	4			
876	Constantine son of Kenneth k of Picts	14			
878	Aed son of Kenneth k of Picts	2			
900	Domnall II son of Constantine k of Alba (but in 904 <i>Fortriu</i> is used, not the Gaelic <i>Strathern</i>)	22			

The *Annals* thus agree with OSC that down to about 900 the united kingdom was known as that of the Picts, but both Eochaid ap Rhun¹⁰ and Giric are omitted, and otherwise the correspondences in reign-lengths are not exact. These problems however are best left in suspense until the remaining sources have been surveyed.

The Evidence of the Pictish King-lists¹¹

From the time of Ciniod II onwards, the relationship of the two major versions of the Pictish king-list to the *Annals of Ulster* is problematic, while their relationship to one another is by no means clear. The various copies of the *Series Longior* clearly go back to a single original, which in 'normalised' form may be represented:

		<i>obits AUc</i>
Ciniod II son of Uuredech	reigned 12 years	775
Alpin II son of Uurad	3½	780 ¹²
Drest VIII son of Talorcan	1	
Talorcan II son of Drostan	4 or 5 [sic]	
Talorcan III son of Onuist	2½	
Conall son of Tadg	5	expelled 789
Constantine son of Uurguist	35	820 ¹³
Onuist II son of Uurguist	12	834
Drest IX son of Constantine and Talorcan IV son of Uuthoil	3	
Uuen son of Onuist	3	839 ¹⁴
Uurad son of Bargoit	3	
Bridei VI	1	

[After which SL2 (the copy Latinised c. 1050 and sent to Ireland 1058 × 1093) immediately continues:]

Kenneth I son of Alpin	16	858 ¹⁵
Domnall I son of Alpin	4	862
and Constantine son of Kenneth	20	876
Aed son of Kenneth	1	878 ¹⁶
Girig son of Dungal	11 or 3 [sic]	
Domnall II son of Constantine	11	900 ¹⁷

In the *Series Brevior* texts, Ciniod II and his two immediate successors are engulfed in an appalling muddle which need not concern us here; the subsequent kings (again in 'normalised' Pictish form, though the texts Gaelicise the names) are:

Talorcan II son of Drostan	reigned 4 years
Talorcan III son of Onuist	<?
? >	reigned 5 years
Constantine son of Uurguist	42
Onuist II son of Uurguist	10
Drest IX and Talorcan IV	4
Uuen son of Onuist	3
Uurad son of Bargoit	3
Bridei VI son of Uurad	1 month
Ciniod III son of Uurad	1 year
Bridei VII son of (?) Uuithoil	2
Drest X son of Uurad	3

It appears that the original compiler of the *Series Brevior* texts had access to information not available to (or not used by) the earlier compiler of the *Series Longior*, especially for the kings after Bridei VI and for that king's reign of one month. But it is clear also that the texts are more faulty: Drest IX and Talorcan IV have become the single ghost king Dustilorg. When the reign-lengths differ from those of the *Series Longior*, the figures of that list are generally to be preferred for this period.

Since the name and style of Dubtalorc, king of Picts 'this side the Mounth' occurs at 782 in AUC but not in either list, it seems fair to suppose that at this point AUC is not copying a list (at least so far as we know) but reproducing a contemporary annalistic entry. There is no similar guarantee that any later entries are independent and contemporary.

The Evidence of the Dalriadic King-lists

Since the Latin lists of the kings of Dalriada before 840 are lacunose for the latest period,¹⁸ there are only two good sources for the kings from Aed Find onwards, both of which continue after 840. For the 'Pictavian' period (besides the Latin lists) there is also the list which can be abstracted from the *Prophecy of Berchan*.

(i) The king-list in the *Synchronisms* attributed to Flann Mainistrech. This work survives in two manuscript families. Skene printed a conflated text of the Scottish parts, but these have since been separately edited.¹⁹ The Scottish list in both versions ends with Malcolm II (1005–1034), but the extant manuscripts are all of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I have not found a critical historical study of the Irish material, though questions of the accuracy of individual lists, of the synchronisation, and of the sources, would probably be relevant to the Scottish list.

From the tabulation below it will be seen that neither text-family shows the highest care and accuracy for the Scottish list. For the most part the errors seem to be of omission in one family supplemented in the other, but there is something a little more complicated at one point:

<i>Boyle's texts</i> ¹⁹	<i>Thurneysen's texts</i> ¹⁹
Domnall	Domnal mac Cusantin
Custaintin	da Chonall <i>i.e.</i> Conall Caem
da Conall reime [before him]	& Conall aile, a brathair
Aengus . . .	Oengus . . .

It is not wholly certain here that Domnall's father is not a ghost, arising from a false correction of a misplaced Constantine son of Fergus. If there are two Constantines, they can hardly be *historically* identical, as Skene believed.

The lists in the two versions from Aed Find onwards are:

	<i>Boyle's texts</i>	<i>Thurneysen's texts</i>	<i>Obits AUc</i>
VIIC . . .	Aedh Airetech	Aed Airgnech	778
	Fergus		781
	Eochoidh	Eochaid	
	Domnall	Domnal mac Cusantin	
	Custaintin		
	da Conall reime	da Chonall .i. Conall Caem & Conall aile, a brathair	807
	Aengus	Causantin mac Fergusa	820
	Aedh	Oengus mac Fergusa	834
	Eoghanan	Aed mac Boanta	839
	Ailpin mac Echach	Eoganan mac Oengusa	839
	Eoghanan	Alpin	
	Cinaeth mac Ailpin		858
VIIIC	Domnall mac Ailpin	Domnall mac Alpin	862
	Custantín mac Cinaetha	Causantin mac Cinaeda	876
		Aed mac Cinaeda	878
	Girg mac Dungaile	Giric mac Dungaile	
	Domnall Dasachtach	Domnall Dasachtach mac Causantin	900
	Causantin mac Aeda	Custantin mac Aedha	
	<i>etc.</i>	<i>etc.</i>	

(ii) The king-list abstracted from the *Duan Albanach*.²⁰ This Middle-Irish anagraphic poem is first extant in a copy of about 1650, but it was composed probably shortly before 1093. From Aed Find onwards its list is:

Aed as high-king	reigned 30 years	obit 778 AUc

Domnall	24	
Conall	2	807
another Conall	4	
Constantine	9	820
Oengus	9	834
Aed	4	839
Eoganan	13	

Kenneth I	30	858
Domnall I	4	862
Constantine	30	876
Aed his brother	2	878

Domnall II son of Constantine	4	900

(iii) The king-list of *Berchan's Prophecy*.²¹ This is probably a fourteenth-century version of a possibly late eleventh-century work. The oldest extant manuscript is of 1722, from an exemplar of 1627, but some stanzas of the Irish part are quoted in the *Book of Leinster*, about 1160: this may be irrelevant for the Scottish part. The text is reported to be very corrupt, but for the sake of completeness the beginning of the Scottish list is given here:

<i>stanzas</i>				
119—	Ferbasach	reigned 17 years	Kenneth I,	obit 858
123—	mac na gallsighthe [son of the foreign woman]	3¼	Domnall I	862
125—	buachaille [cowherd]	5½	?	
129—	dasachrach [madman]	9	? Domnall II	900
132—	in Tuilti [the abundant one] a Briton	13	Eochaid ap Rhun	889
134—	an mac rath [the lucky one]	17	?	
139—	Baoth [fool] of Dundurn	3	?	
141—	Garbh [rough]	9	?	
146—	Manannan mac Lir [pagan Irish sea god]	½ day	!!!	

[This appears to be a collection of invented names, as frequently occurs in Celtic political 'prophecy']

Of these accounts, the *Synchronisms* have the largest number of items, but since the first two of the *Duan's* omissions are in pairs, and since that poem frequently lists two kings in a stanza, it is naturally supposed that two stanzas are lost: these will have concerned Fergus and Eochaid, Alpin and Eoganan respectively. As we have seen above, any information reaching Ireland from Scotland at the time of the SL2 continuation or later would omit Eochaid ap Rhun and contain Giric (with increasing fantasies about his conquests of Ireland and England): it is scarcely surprising in these circumstances that AU and the *Duan* omit both, thus avoiding any decision.

If we compare the *Synchronisms* and the *Duan* with AU we obtain:

<i>Synchronisms</i>	<i>Duan</i>		<i>obits in AUc</i>
Aed Airetech	Aed	30 years	778
Fergus	**		781
Eochaid	**		Donncorci 792
Domnall	Domnall	24	
Conall Caem	Conall	2	807
Conall	Conall	4	
Constantine	Constantine	9	820
Oengus	Oengus	9	834
Aed	Aed	4	839
Eoganan	Eoganan	13	839
Alpin	**		
Eoganan	**		
Kenneth I	Kenneth I	30	858
<i>etc.</i>	<i>etc.</i>		

The Donncorci of Dalriada whose obit appears at 792 AUc is not (under that name) in either list, and so may reproduce a contemporary annal, parallel to that of the Pict Dubtalorc at 782 (there is also the formal possibility that the Irish Dál Riata is meant). As in the Pictish case, there is no guarantee that after 792 the Dalriadic entries in AU are independent of a king-list.

Indeed, although the transmission is poor, the lists of the *Synchronisms* and *Duan* are clearly related to the material in AU. Fergus (omitted by the *Duan*) is in the *Synchronisms* and AU, and the latter permits him a three years' reign. Domnall's 24 years (*Duan*) and the 2 years of the first Conall, agree with the 26-year interval 781–807 in AUc, and this agreement suggests, first, that Donncorci may be a by-name or epithet for Eochaid; and second, that Domnall's father Constantine (if he really existed) was not the king Constantine who followed the Conalls. This would imply that Eochaid (-Donncorci) was a contemporary of Domnall's, and that the latter only became sole king of all Dalriada in 792.

Similarly, the 4 years of the second Conall and 9 years of Constantine (*Duan*) agree with the 13-year interval 807–820 in AUc; but next, if AU is right, we should read 14 years for Oengus in the *Duan*, and hold that xiii has been read as viiii at some (pre-poetic) stage, or that viiii has been written or read by dittography from Constantine's years. In that case, Aed's 4-year reign perhaps lacks a fraction to place his end in 839 AUc, while the 13-year reign for Eoganan in the *Duan* is apparently for the 3 years assigned to this king under his Pictish name of Uuen son of Onuist.

These results suggest that the best single source for reign-lengths (as well as the only source for absolute dates) is AU; and probably the same appears for the 'Pictavian' period when the annals are compared with the reign-length figures in OSC. There the 16 years for Kenneth I are to be taken with the 2 years in Dalriada only: his total royal years are then to be placed 840–858. The sources agree on his brother's 4 years. In OSC the *xvi* years for Constantine son of Kenneth may once have included (as suggested above for the continuation of the Pictish king-list, SL2) his brother's reign, but it could possibly be a late (twelfth- to fourteenth-century) error for *xiv*. The one year for Aed, as we have also seen, may be a rounding down where AU and the *Duan* round up. The two 11-year reigns of OSC are consistent with AU.

In so far as the foregoing sources are reliable and the arguments hold, the king-lists of the Picts and Scots from 768 to 900 may be set out as in Table I.

Although this table is no more than a list of names and dates, one fact is immediately clear; after the war of 768 our sources record no further armed conflict between Dalriada and Pictland until the conquest in the 840's.²² We must therefore conclude that the importance of the battle of 768 lay not in itself but in its consequences: the arrangements made for Pictish–Dalriadic relations eliminated war, and apparently encouraged the intermittent union of the crowns. This tendency first appears in the career of Conall son of Tadg, king of Picts 784–9 and of Scots 805–7, and is fully developed in the union of the crowns by the sons of Uurguist/Forcus/

TABLE I

King-lists of the Picts and Scots from 768-900

[Battle in Forttrin between Ciniod II and Aed Find: 768]

775	Ciniod II dies				
775-79/80	Alpin II son of Uurad [Drest VIII misplaced]	3½ (or 4½ ?) yrs*	778	Aed Find dies son of Eochaid	
			778-81	Fergus son of Eochaid	
779/80-84	Talorcan II son Drostan	4 or 5 yrs.			
779/80-82	Talorcan III son of Onuist (Dubtalorc?)	2½ yrs.	781-92	Eochaid son of Aed (Donncorci?)	
			781-805	Domnall son of Constantine?	24 yrs.
<782-83>	Drest VIII son of Talorcan)	<1 yr.>			
784-89	Conall son of Tadhg	5 yrs.	805-07	Conall son of Tadhg	2 yrs.
789-820	Constantine <32nd> son of Uurguist		807-11	Conall son of Aedan	4 yrs.
			811-20	Constantine son of Fergus	9 yrs.
820-34	Onuist <15th> son of Uurguist		820-34	Oengus son of Fergus	<?14> yrs.
834-36	Drest IX son of Constantine Talorcan IV <3rd> son of Uuthoil		834-39	Aed son of Boanta	4 <+> yrs.
836-39	Uuen son of Onuist	3 yrs.	836-39	Eoganan son of Oengus	<3> yrs.
839-42	Uurad son of Bargoit	3 yrs.	839-40	Alpin Eoganan	
842	Bridei VI son of Uurad	1 mth.	840-58	Kenneth I	
842-58	Kenneth I				
842-43	Cinoid III son of Uurad	1 yr.			
843-45	Bridei VII son of Uuthoil (?)	2 yrs.			
845-48	Drest X son of Uurad	3 yrs.			
			858-62	Domnall I	
			862-76	Constantine I	
			876-78	Aed	
			878-89	Eochaid ap Rhun	
			889-900	Domnall II	

* Angle-brackets enclose figures amended from those in the mss., as argued in Notes 13, 14.

Fergus in 811–34. If the invasion of 836 is in fact the beginning of the kingdom of Moray, it is likely that the second union of the crowns under Uuen/Eoganan in 836–9 was an emergency measure—Dalriada (*ex hypothesi*) had lost Lorn and Pictland had lost Moray, so that joint action by the survivors in Kintyre and Fortriu is not implausible, and would be prepared for by the previous situation in 811–34.

After the disaster of 839, the immediate question in both devastated and leaderless kingdoms would be the organisation of an entity capable of resisting further attacks and surviving: consequently perhaps the war of 842–48 has the character of a competition between candidates as much as between nations. Kenneth celebrated his achievement of the kingdom of *Pictavia* by (according to OSC) founding Dunkeld and installing there the relics of Columba in his seventh year [848/9]; according to the same source, in Domnall's time [858–62] *iura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach fecerunt Goedeli cum rege suo i Fochiurthabaicth*: 'the Gaels, with their king, in Forteviot, made the rights and kingdom-laws of Aed son of Eochaid'. This presumably means the extension to Gaels residing in *Pictavia* (the new ruling group) of the royal laws of Dalriada held to have been instituted by Aed Find: like the cult of Columba at Dunkeld, this alleges the consolidation and further advance of Gaelicisation by emphasizing the new kingdom's continuity with old Dalriada. Also of course it reportedly marks another stage: secular Gaelicisation is no longer merely a matter of muscle, but has proceeded to the point where some aspects can be entrusted to, or require, the operation of the law.

The next step in both Gaelicisation and legality appears in the reports of Constantine II (900–43), when OSC records:

And in his sixth year [905/6] king Constantine and bishop Cellach [most probably of St Andrews], on the hill of credulity near the royal centre at Scone, swore to keep the laws and disciplines of the faith and the rights of the churches and gospels equally with the Scots.

This enigmatic statement at least makes it clear that there was some kind of concordat (between the dynasty and the church of St Andrews) which had not existed before; and in OSC and AU it is in Constantine's time that the kingdom is first called Alba and that Gaelic names for its constituent parts begin to appear. The fifteenth-century bishop-list of St Andrews begins with Cellach²³—that is, it seemingly looks back to this concordat as the initiation of its current status.

It seems therefore to be a fair inference that *Pictavia* was finally and legally extinguished in 905/6, when the unification was completed on the ecclesiastical side. We need not doubt that the means of unification were in fact mainly physical (whether murderous or marital), and that the emphasis on legalities in OSC is partly retrospective and idealising. There is however no reason to think that the measures of 858–62 and 905/6 lacked all importance at the times of their enactments. Certainly we cannot continue to ignore or neglect the records, and this means that the problem with which we are concerned is genuine: whether the succession to the kingships of

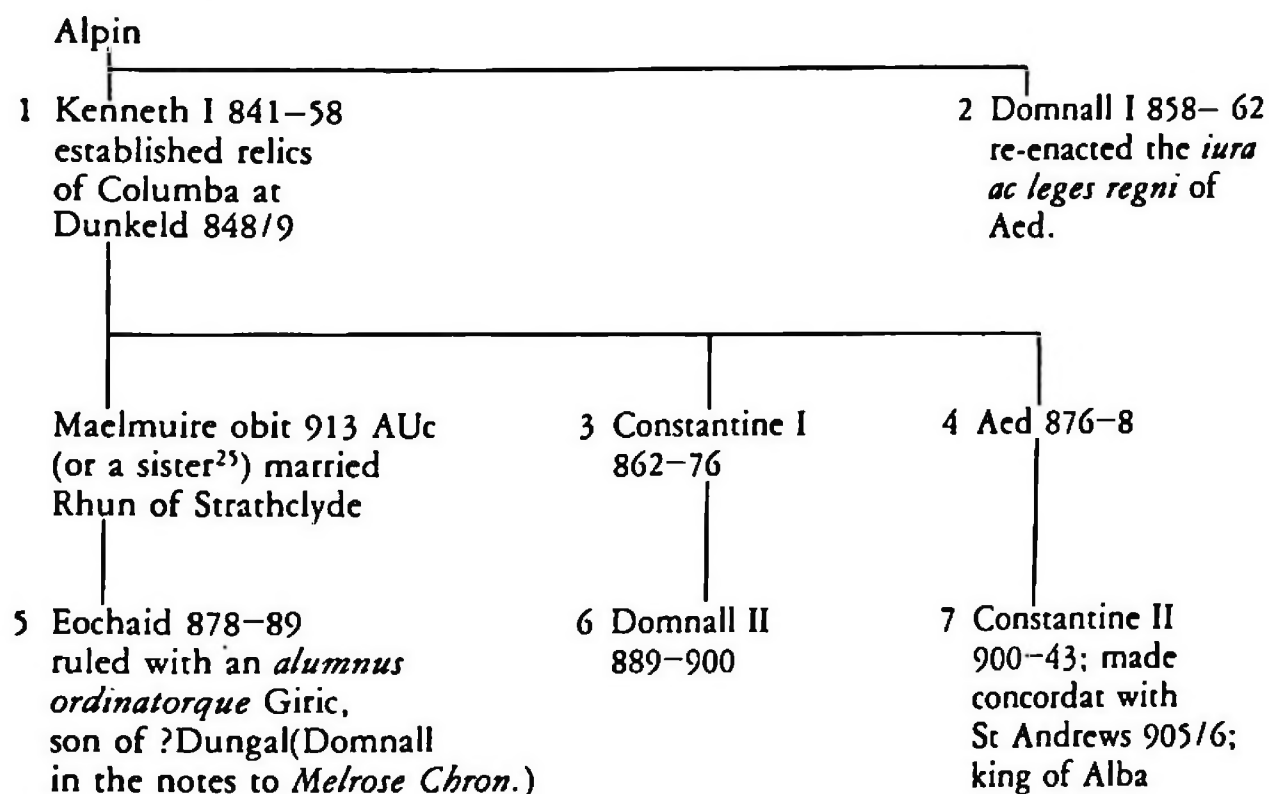
the ninth century was determined always by the disorders of the time, or sometimes by the survival of Pictish inheritance law or a strong desire for its reinstatement.

The Evidence of the Scottish Pedigrees

(a) The Pictavian Period. It is of course taken for granted that the Dalriadic, and in the ninth century the Pictavian, kingship was hereditary, and that the inheritance-law was of an Irish type.²⁴ An Irish inheritance-law of any type should admit only agnates.

In Scottish Dalriada in our period there is a complication in the reported existence of the *iura ac leges regni* of Aed Find: we should expect these kingdom-laws to include regulation of the succession. But we do not know what they were, and it cannot be certain that the originals were exactly reproduced at the re-enactment in Domnall's time.

Since however OSC and the king-lists provide sufficient pedigree evidence for the Pictavian period, we can observe the actual successions, which may be tabulated:



The successions are:

- to Kenneth I, by a brother
- Domnall I, by a brother's son
- Constantine I, by a brother
- Aed, by a sister's son
- Eochaid, by a mother's brother's son
- Domnall II, by a father's brother's son.

The succession of Eochaid is the anomaly in this context, but could be explained by operation of the Pictish law of succession. This would imply not only a resurgence of Pictishness in *Pictavia* in 878, but also that Maelmuire's mother was a Pictish royal,

and that Kenneth I was not king by legal inheritance in Pictish law, but acceptable (perhaps from 848 onwards) as king's father to his wife's sons; and finally that Domnall I (acceptable to Picts as the senior agnate of future kings) re-enacted the laws of Aed Find to give his own accession a non-Pictish legal basis. This complex hypothesis is at no point hostile to any evidence we have in the genre of written historiography: what it opposes is the oral historiographic element in the foundation-legend of Scotia.

This is the legend apparently referred to but not told in OSC, and it involves the treacherous massacre of the Pictish king and his magnates at Forteviot or Scone.²⁶ The motif from the ninth century onwards is international: it appears in the story of Hengist and Vortigern as told in the *Historia Brittonum* of 830, in Widukind's account of the Old Saxons, in the foundation-legend of Kiev Rus, and elsewhere.²⁷ In these cases it is used to explain the supersession of one ruling group by another, and while in each instance we may accept that such supersession occurred, we may also reject this account of how it happened. The tale is a derivative of oral historiography not only as a simplistic compendium of all the violent events which constituted the supersession, but also in its finality, which denies any hope of the appearance of legitimate heirs to the older regime. In the present case, the working-out of this oral historiography naturally involves the suppression of Eochaid ap Rhun, and the Scotticisation of Giric. On the evidence of our oldest Scottish source (OSC, compiled probably 971 × 995), the suppression is not acceptable.

At the present stage of knowledge therefore we are left with the hypothesis that the reign of Eochaid marks a resurgence of Pictishness. In the context, it would not be surprising if the sons of Kenneth had emphasised their Pictish legitimacy, while it may be that the home territory of this surviving Pictish strength was around St Andrews, with which the concordat was not yet made.²⁸ Whether Giric and his saint Ciricus were connected with Eglesgrig (St Cyrus) in the Mearns, or whether the Scotticising of Giric is to be connected with the assertion that the *fir Ibe* (if indeed they are the men of Fife) were descended from Eochaid Buide of Dalriada in the early seventh century,²⁹ are probably unanswerable questions.

(b) The Dalriadan Period. The pedigree of the Dalriadic kings from Aed Find onwards is given in the direct line in several sources³⁰: the names are Eochaid—Aed Find—Eochaid—Alpin—Kenneth I. All the difficulties concern identifications and collaterals. The Fergus son of Eochaid who succeeded Aed Find is presumably his brother, and the next king Eochaid (whether or not he is identifiable with Donncorci) is presumably Aed Find's son. Domnall son of Constantine is interesting for the first appearance (if it is such) of Constantine's name borne by subsequent kings: we must suppose some good reason for this sudden fashion. Unless pope Constantine (708–15) or Constantine V of Byzantium (741–75) can be shown to be relevant, the nearest important (but undated) person of the name is a Strathclyde saint, culted at Govan, at Crawford Lindsay, in the parish of Colmonel,³¹ on the Solway at Wetheral and

nearby, at Kilchouslan in Kintyre and Garabost in Lewis.³² The Kintyre site perhaps shows some connection between this Strathclyde saint and Dalriada: we could (not improperly) surmise that in the time of Onuist I, Dalriada and Strathclyde drew together in face of the common threat, but there is no evidence—or rather, the assertion that Kentigern sent Constantine to Kintyre, where he converted the heathen Picts,³³ shows the hagiographic use of the procedures of oral historiography, and cannot in the absence of other evidence be unscrambled.

Conall son of Tadhg, king of Picts 784–9 and of Scots 805–7, is either an adventurer of considerable scope or the son of a royal Dalriadic father and a royal Pictish mother. He was driven out of Pictland by Constantine son of Uurguist/Fergus, who also became king of Dalriada in 811 and was succeeded in both kingdoms by his brother Onuist/Oengus. The possibility of adventurism seems much less likely in the case of these brothers, and their father Fergus will presumably have been Fergus son of Eochaid, king of Dalriada 778–81.

The situation in the late eighth century therefore seems to have been that Eochaid (-Donnchorci) son of Aed Find was reigning in Dalriada together with Domnall son of Constantine, when Constantine son of Fergus expelled Conall son of Tadhg from Pictland. We should probably assume that the two Constantines (if both existed) were closely related, and also the joint kings Eochaid and Domnall, and that at this juncture all upheld the same interests in Dalriada and Pictland as against Conall son of Tadhg. If then Eochaid son of Aed Find was, as his pedigree claims, great-grandson of the Eochaid who died in 697, we should expect Domnall and Conall also to be great-grandsons of kings of about the same date. Of these there were besides Eochaid also Ainfcellach of Lorn (697/8), of a very distant segment of the dynasty, and Fiannamail *nepos Dunchado* (698–700), of a segment less remote.³⁴ Perhaps therefore we should envisage the kings as related in a manner something like that set out in Table II.

The Pictish marriages of Aed Find's brother Fergus, and of Tadhg of the other segment of the Dalriadic dynasty, can then be seen as part of, or consequent upon, the arrangements made between Aed and Ciniod II of Pictland after the war of 768. Such marriages, given Dalriadic patriliney and Pictish matriliney, would be expected to produce candidates for both crowns, and this must have been intended. The arrangements of 768 therefore amount to a revision of the means, but not of the ends, of the policy of unification pursued through conquest by Onuist I of Pictland.³⁵

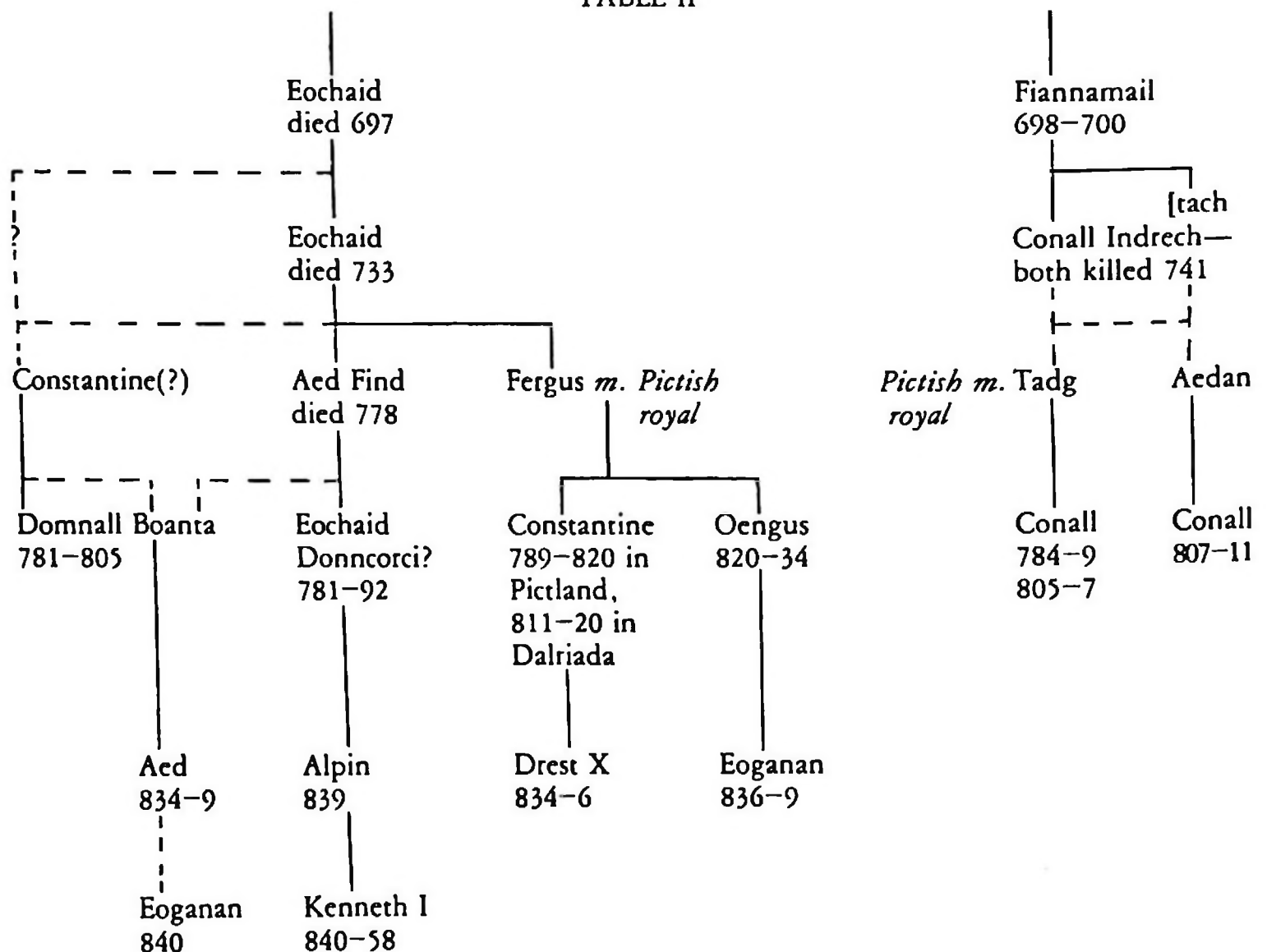
Within Dalriada there seem to be joint kingships by Domnall and Eochaid in the years 781–92, and by Aed and Eoganan in the years 836–9. The latter, which involves Pictland also, is very probably a disposition to meet the dangers of those desperate years; the former however occurs before the arrival of the vikings (at least in Iona and southwards). It is likely therefore to be either a genuine joint kingship, or an example of a king and his designated heir.

The assertion³⁶ that Constantine son of Fergus was the first founder of Columban

Dunkeld in 815 is at first sight given some support by the consideration that this was also the time when Columban relics were housed at Kells for safety from the vikings. If this was the case, then Kenneth I in 848/9 is deliberately emphasising his continuity with the past, as he does also in naming his sons Constantine (as for the original founder of Dunkeld) and Aed (as for Aed Find). But it is no less likely that the story of Constantine's foundation of Dunkeld was invented at the same time as his brother Oengus was identified as the founder of St Andrews, and the intention was to make the Scottish foundation senior to the Pictish: exactly comparable ideological revisions can be traced in the stories of the foundations of Iona and Abernethy.³⁷ But if Kenneth had in fact no predecessor at Columban Dunkeld, nevertheless the naming of his sons seems to show that he looked back to the previous period of the union of the Scottish and Pictish crowns and intended thereby to legitimate his rule.

This indication of a deliberate cultivation of continuity with the elder Constantine is consistent with the retention of the name of Pictavia after 842–8, and in this context a resurgence of Pictishness which placed Eochaid ap Rhun on the throne is the more plausible and comprehensible.

TABLE II



The Evidence of Pictish Nomenclature

No Pictish pedigrees survive, and of the accounts of the matrilinear inheritance law only one is contemporary, and that is reported, if not formulated, by a foreigner in 731:

*ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent*³⁸

By this formulation, not all successions were in doubt; the agnates of the kings were known; royal title was inherited through the mother rather than the father, but this was a preference only.

When we compare this with the king-list, which gives in the historical part the name of the king and his father in each case, we observe that succession by a brother is frequent, and these were presumably cases of succession without doubt. The other outstanding feature of the king-list is that in the sixth, seventh and early eighth centuries the names of kings are few and repetitious, while those of their fathers are many and not repeated; in the late eighth and ninth centuries these characteristics are still present, but now there appear to be exceptions. We are reminded therefore that within the years 724–31 there was a multilateral civil war in Pictland, and that the rules of inheritance may not have been exactly the same after that date.

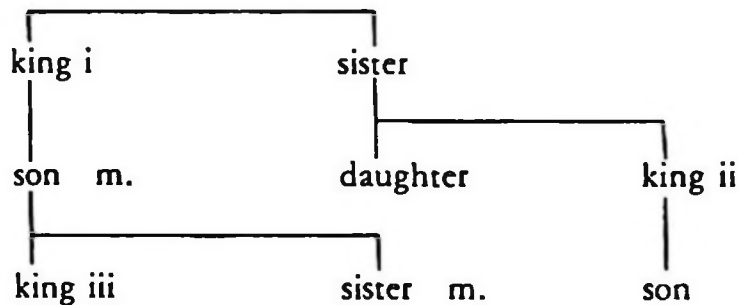
There are a number of recent suggestions about the kind of matriliney or the kind of kingship-inheritance practised by the Picts³⁹: apart from the inheritance rule and the nomenclatural customs shown by the king-list we have for guidance little beyond anthropological and historical considerations of uncertain relevance. Anthropological comparisons are difficult for many reasons, one of which is that the material does not include information on high-kings of the Pictish type.⁴⁰ Historical comparisons would lead to general views of Celtic kingship (which may or may not be relevant, depending on the nature and character of any unassimilated non-Celtic element among the Picts by the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries); and to reports of intermarriage—apparently not rare—with neighbouring Christian patrilinear dynasties.

If we take together the evidence from these dynastic marriages that the neighbours of the Picts found their inheritance-law comprehensible and acceptable, the statement by Bede that the agnatic kinsmen of the kings were known, the annotation in the king-list (compiled by an Irish scholar) that Gartnait I was he *from whom* there were four other Gartnaites (which in an Irish context means that they were his descendants), and the incidence of the repeated names in the king-list, we are led to guess that Pictish matriliney was of a special kind: that a number of king-producing patrilineages had a matrilinear interlinking provided by the marriages of the sisters of the kings. Such a system would or could exactly fit Bede's description; in case of doubt, candidates would be presented by the patrilineages, but (if suitable in other ways) a candidate with a previous king's sister as his mother was to be preferred.

There are some probable or possible results of such a system. Perhaps the most

important single consequence would be that the king was often not the senior male of his patrilineage.

The evidence of the nomenclature of the kings' fathers and the kings makes it reasonably certain that (at least for the seventh century) a king himself could not marry a woman whose son would be a candidate for the kingship—and apparently this rule held no matter how distant in blood the two might be. But there is some reason to suppose that the king's father or foster-father, or the head of his paternal kindred, was a person of importance and received acknowledged perquisites due to his position.⁴¹ Consequently a king-producing patrilineage might for example produce kings and kings' fathers in alternate generations:



On this model, if a king's son could not hope himself to become king, he could with prudence and good fortune hope to become a king's father, and so within the patrilineage (and perhaps within the kingdom) occupy a most honorific position.

It would seem to follow, if this is true, that when there was no candidate qualified by maternal inheritance, a member of one of the appropriate patrilineages could be acknowledged as king, preferably acting on behalf of his sons: we may have two instances of such a situation in our present period. In 839–42 the king-list gives us the name of Urad son of Bargoit, who appears to be the father of three subsequent kings, Bridei VI, Ciniod III, and Drest X. Thus Urad's sons all bear well-known kingly names, but his own name (seemingly) is otherwise found only as that of a king's father (to Alpin II, 775–79/80). In this case therefore it appears likely that Urad was acting king only, appointed after the disaster of 836 and himself perishing before or early in the catastrophe of 839. Similarly, as already suggested, Kenneth I himself may have been (in Pictish law, as distinct from military matters) acknowledged as acting king and king's father from 848 onwards: in that case, we must suppose also that his brother Domnall I, in Pictish law, was acting king as head of the royal patrilineage.

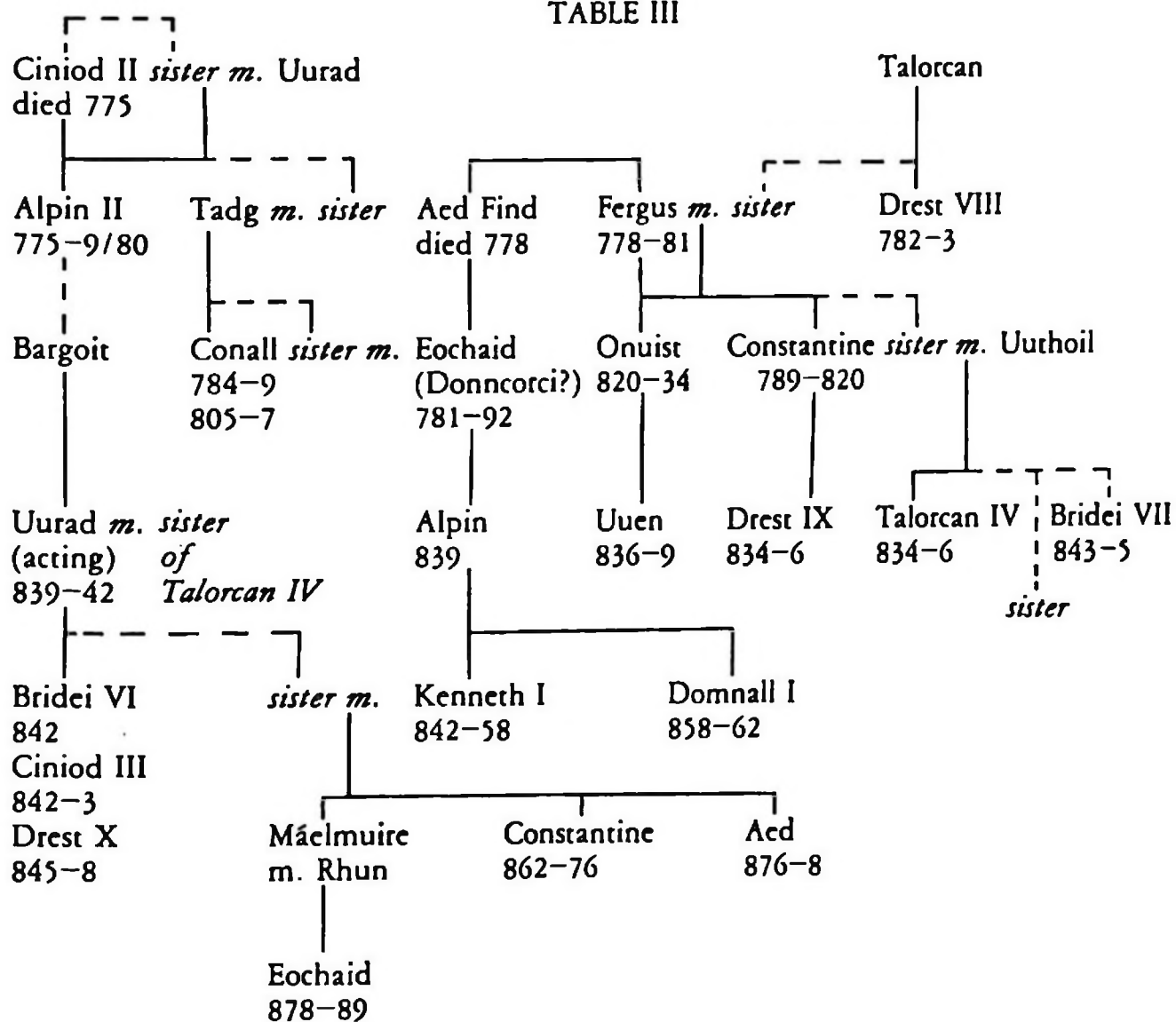
One important gap in our knowledge of Pictish royal inheritance is the number of matrilineages (or reputed segments) capable of transmitting kingship, and whether there were other limitations (for example, that only the king's eldest sister could transmit). Considerations both of comparative anthropological material and of canon law suggest that first-cousin marriages would be avoided.

When we look at the king-list for the ninth century with these considerations in

mind, the Pictish marriages of Fergus and Tadg of Dalriada offer a starting-point, and (because nomenclature appears to have been so important to the Picts) are supplemented by the appearance of the Pictish name Alpin in the Dalriadic pedigree, implying that Eochaid son of Aed Find also married a Pictish royal. The chronology of the people in the Dalriadic pedigree as set out in Table II above suggests that Eochaid's wife may have been a sister of Conall son of Tadg, while the name of Alpin suggests that Tadg's wife may have been a sister of Alpin II of Pictland (775-79/80). Since Alpin II is son of Uurad, the later (acting?) king of that name may have been a descendant: chronology would permit Bargoit to have been a son of Alpin II.

In the other branch of the Dalriadic dynasty, Constantine son of Fergus (789-820) in Pictland, 811-20 in Dalriada) is probably the Constantine who was father of Drest IX, joint king in Pictland with Talorcan IV son of Uuthoil in 834-6. Drest IX therefore is a fairly probable case of a son of a Pictish king bearing a royal name and in fact becoming (joint) king.⁴² We must suppose therefore that Constantine, in naming Drest, envisaged the possibility of succession by his son, and that he chose the name Drest because his own mother was sister of Drest VIII (<782-3>). It is also an obvious suggestion that Drest IV's colleague in the kingship, Talorcan IV, was Constantine's

TABLE III



sister's son, and so named either because his father Uuthoil was son of Talorcan II or Talorcan III, or because Drest VIII's father was a Talorcan.

Given these guesses, it is a simple matter to place the remaining persons. The (acting) king Uurad could have married Talorcan IV's sister, and the name of his son Ciniod III suggests that his ancestress Alpin II's mother was sister of Ciniod II. All this may be set out as in Table III.

This hypothetical pedigree shows two matriline, and supposes that Kenneth I's wife was his third cousin twice over, which is plausible on both anthropological and canonical grounds.

Legalities and Crisis Measures

The foregoing reconstructions of the royal pedigrees of Dalriada, Pictland and Scotian Pictavia, do not of course claim to be more factual than the evidence permits. They do however demonstrate that the various events of the last century or so of Pictish succession could include three phenomena: the continuation or resurgence of Pictish law up to and including the reign of Eochaid ap Rhun; the use of crisis measures as in the acting kingships of Uurad and of Kenneth I; and the intention of Constantine (789–820) that his own son, Drest IX, should be king of Picts. It also appears that the recorded war of 768 was of importance only in that it led to an unrecorded settlement which included or resulted in the marriages of Fergus and Tadg. The final extinction of Pictish identity appears to be marked by the concordat between Constantine II and bishop Cellach in 905/6. Estimation of the reality of these various possibilities will however not be an easy task.

The Influence of Oral Historiography

At the present stage of knowledge it may be more important to consider the influence of oral historiography (reflected in the written sources) as it was later used upon the records and memories of the last Pictish century. How far does this Scottish material share 'the problem which afflicts the whole study of early Irish literature—that of the varying relationships between the oral and the written'?⁴³

The contributions recognised as of the oral genre in the preceding survey of the sources are: the hagiography of St Constantine, which we have not the external evidence to unscramble; the Scotian foundation-legend and especially the story of the treacherous massacre of the Pictish nobility; the suppression of the existence of Eochaid ap Rhun; the Scotticisation of Giric and his magnification into a conquering hero. These instances can of course be more or less exactly paralleled many times over both in other insular material of the same centuries, and in other societies, both more and less illiterate.

We must therefore distinguish three contexts which impose upon the procedures and the results of oral historiography very different values and significance.

The first is that of illiterate societies in which the oral genre is the only form of historiographic practice. Here the continuous reorganisation and rectification of history provides the 'charter' and title-deed for present conduct, and the selection and organisation of those memories useful for retention is an activity of disciplined judgment no less responsible than the comparable activity of written historiography since the fifth century BC.

The second context is that of semi-literate societies, in which both historiographic genres are practised; and this is the context of insular historiography—in varying degrees in various times and places—from Bede's time to the nineteenth century.

The third context is that of literate societies with a developed written historiography as the only acknowledged form of learned practice. Here the characteristic elements of oral historiography appears only in the sectional ideologies of pluralist societies and in the official ideologies of dictatorships; its formulae and motifs appear in fiction and entertainment, often of the lowest quality. These borrowings are not to be confused (as they are often contemptibly intended to be) with the matrix of propaganda or fiction in which they are found, and which make the 'charter' one of ignorance and unlearning, and the rectification of the past one of censorship or more voluntary blindness: all this is of course to be attacked. But it is a wild anachronism to pursue this attack into earlier contexts, just as it is wrong to accept the conclusions of oral historiography in those contexts as if they had been reached by the procedures of written historiography.

At the present stage of knowledge two canons of criticism can be proposed: the practice of the oral genre by an *evidenced* school or other body of learned persons capable of mutual criticism; and the effect of the procedures of the genre in preserving, increasing, or disseminating historical knowledge in its widest sense.

Let us consider, for example, the Dalriadic king-lists, especially the lacunose Latin lists which did not enter into the survey above. The lacunae mean of course that the Latin lists failed to preserve knowledge, even mechanically; but this is a scribal failure within the genre of written historiography. Most of these lists also place the Dalriadic kings before the Picts, and this surely (as is clear in Fordun) betrays the influence of oral procedures: the Scots rule Scotia, and subsequently Scotland, by right of primary settlement, and the Pictish kingdom is a temporary intrusion.⁴⁴ The effect today is that, in so far as the name of Pict remains in living use, it is as a term of reprobation in unwritten *patois*, and among the non-specialist literate the Pictish kingdom, instead of being recognised as a major element in Scottish development for six centuries, is almost forgotten except by the occasional Pictomaniac (as though Bede, not being a Saxon of Wessex, were an anomaly read only by those mad about the Angles). It seems fair to conclude that over the period covered by all this material (from the eleventh century onwards) the co-existence of two genres of historiography has destroyed historical knowledge in this field.

It is a question however whether the same is true for the earlier sources surveyed above, from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. The Irish annalistic material in AU seems for our period to be entirely within the genre of written historiography, though some entries may not be contemporary.⁴⁵ The material in AFM for 836 seems to show the influence of oral procedures, if it implies that the Scottic conquest of Moray was at Kenneth I's behest: this statement then adds to our knowledge (though not for the situation in 836), for it tells us that the long struggle for Moray was on the Scotian side regarded as a unification of Scottish territories, and not an annexation as of Strathclyde or Lothian.

The *Old Scottish Chronicle*, compiled probably in the late tenth century, is exceptionally interesting as a digest of earlier written historiography and as showing a clear awareness of some offerings of oral historiography, on the massacre of the Pictish nobility, on the reign of Giric, perhaps on the appropriateness of the name of the *Collis Credulitatis*, and on Constantine's part in the raid to the Tees in his successor's reign—all before 952 and so beyond what might have been living memory in the latter part of the period 971 × 995. At each of these points there is the seed, or the debris, of a discussion, and all certainly add to our knowledge of the various ways in which these events were seen or understood by the end of the century.

Another historiographic work of approximately the same date and probably also from eastern Scotia, former Pictland, is the third and final revision of the pseudo-historical part of the Pictish king-list.⁴⁶ Whereas the second edition had accepted from the first (and its Pictish predecessors) the doctrine that the prehistoric Picts had reckoned time in 84-year cycles (as of the Celtic or Old Roman Easter), the third reckons time in 19-year cycles (as of the Roman or Alexandrian Easter), and admits an 84-year period as a single aberration. In other words, this revisor claims (on behalf of the Picts) the possibility of constructing a better pseudo-history by the use of the canons and doctrines of written historiography on the basis of a proposition typical of oral historiography: that the Picts were virtuous in Paschal matters, and their errors merely due to lack of skill. This pseudo-historian, that is to say, accepts the bases of oral historiography while OSC does not—it merely refers to some of the results of that genre.

It appears then that OSC and the third Pictish king-list both show the co-existence of the two genres but in different mixes: the former is basically of the written genre with references to oral results; the latter is basically of the oral genre, with use (and perversion) of written material. In both cases, the 'traditional' or oral material is known to be relatively recent: the oral elements in OSC cannot have been more than 150 to 50 years old at the time of writing; and in the third Pictish king-list they were newly applied to the structuring of the pseudo-history by the author. In these instances as elsewhere, therefore, when 'tradition' is first written down it is indeed the result of a long process, but a recent result: the general rule (doubtless with some few exceptions) is that an autonomous oral historiography telescopes. It is only under

the influence of written historiography that artificial lengthening begins.⁴⁷ Obviously, the authors of these two compilations of Scottish chronicle and Pictish king-list would themselves be in no confusion about what they were doing, but our problem is to understand exactly how they saw the relationship of the two genres: this would tell us why they each judged it proper to use the mix they produced; this in turn would give us grounds for estimating the value of their assertions.

It is possible, for example, that the compiler of OSC knew that the second and third Pictish king-lists gave the continuation of the list from 842 to 848, and that he understood the building and dedication of Dunkeld in 848/9 to be related to Kenneth I's achievement of the sole kingship. It is also possible that his next report, that Kenneth *inuasit sexies Saxoniam*, is to be collated with the report by 'Symeon of Durham' (*sub anno*) 854, listing the lands lost to St Cuthbert—and therefore that Kenneth's six raids into Lothian and Tweeddale are to be dated 849–54. But it is also possible that these correlations are an improper pressure on shaky evidence: unless we know the historiographic canons used in OSC we cannot be other than quite uncertain.

It is therefore right to note that OSC not only does not narrate the oral material on the fall of the Picts, but also that instead the compiler gives the established alternative which written historiography provided:

Deus enim eos [Pictos] pro merito suae maliciae alienos et occiosos hereditate dignatus est facere, qui(a) illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreuerunt, sed et in iure aequitatis aliis aequiparari noluerunt (?uoluerunt).

The detail of this indictment is, to us, wholly mysterious, but what is clear is that the religious or ecclesiastical sins of the Picts are held to account for their secular disasters—the established theme in insular written historiography from Gildas' time onwards. Although the English translation of Onosius, a century before our compiler, had popularised in that kingdom quite another view of relationship between religious activity and secular catastrophe, the older doctrine naturally retained its strength among the moralists, as may clearly be seen just after the time of OSC in the ethical theory of Wulfstan, writing his homilies within the years 996 × 1023.⁴⁸ If however OSC holds to the old-fashioned historical and current ethical theory, it is still clear that the compiler is by no means ignorant of historiographic principle as such, and well aware that written historiography differs in this as in other matters from the oral genre.

This consideration alone is sufficient greatly to increase confidence in the character of OSC, and to encourage collation of its data with those in other sound sources. There is, however, also another matter. When we survey the historical work being written throughout the islands in the late ninth and tenth centuries, there is hardly an exception to the generalisation that the annals and chronicles of this time do not embark upon their own narratives for accounts of a process in which the significance

of the events they mention can be understood: if they regard more information as desirable, they quote verses and sagas. Besides OSC, the chief exception (if it is rightly dated *c.* 950⁴⁹) is the anonymous *History of St Cuthbert*, written presumably at Chester-le-Street, with eleventh-century interpolations written presumably at Durham. This is an institutional history of an ecclesiastical organisation, and so formally a descendant of Bede's *History of the Abbots* of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth: both are in the genre of written historiography. When we compare OSC and the *History of St Cuthbert*, we see that the latter, being an ecclesiastical history, admits a vision as an explanation of a historical process⁵⁰: OSC admits no such concession to oral or ideological historiography.

On the one hand therefore the status of OSC as a deliberate essay in written historiography clearly emerges, and collation of its assertions with those of other sources of the same status is legitimate⁵¹: its errors will be those naturally internal to its genre, and not due to oral influence. On the other hand, the exceptional character of OSC and the Cuthbertine *History* contrast with a general weakness of insular written historiography at this time: its failure to produce narratives of the great processes of these centuries, and abandonment of this function to the continuators of oral historiography.⁵² The failure, in face of the vikings, is of course readily understandable, and modern difficulties lie elsewhere: in the osmotic acceptance of the principles or ideologies of the only narratives available. The survival of OSC, which shows that this trap can be avoided, is very fortunate, and we may follow its example in rejecting not only the stories of the Pictish massacre and the reign of Giric, but also their pre-suppositions and emotional results, from the historical record. It is true that the viking age nearly obliterated such distinctions as had previously been achieved between kings and bandits, but not quite; and OSC preserves data which allow us to study that margin.

It is no less important that the joint testimony of OSC, of the writing or editing of the *Senchus*, and of the third version of the Pictish king-list, witnesses the existence of a school or schools of historiography in late tenth-century Scotia, which included work of great ability if mistaken purpose in the Pictish revision, and of sound if old-fashioned principle in the *Chronicle*. This early stage in the recovery of learning from the disasters of the viking age in Scotia is worthy of much more study.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I should like to record my gratitude for help on the various aspects of the above discussion from Drs M. O. Anderson and D. N. Dumville, Professor A. A. M. Duncan, Mr Donald Meek and the Reader.

NOTES

- 1 For a useful study of one aspect of oral historiography, see D. P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (1974) and the ensuing discussion in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8: 279-87, 457-63. A briefer study of another aspect is by M. T. Clanchy, 1970: 165-76.

Of course, written historiography can be as passionate and partisan as the oral kind; the difference lies in the logical status of these qualities within the discipline. In oral historiography they are part of the assumptions and basis of the subject, in written work they are part of the interpretation or ideology. The outstanding examples of the latter are the works of Gibbon, Grote, or Marx, where the interpretative partisanship is as indubitable as the basic scholarship.

- 2 Ed. M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (1973: 249 line 11 to 253 line 3). Throughout the following discussions, I take for granted Dr Anderson's solutions of all detailed textual difficulties in king-lists, annals, and chronicles, and her discussions of historical problems in *Kings and Kingship*, to which references are therefore given only in exceptional cases.
- 3 The *Chronicle* is one of the documents in a collection of materials on Scottish history, and the collection was perhaps made 1202 × 1214, just possibly by the Augustinians at Scone, who might have sent it to their mother-house at Nostell in Yorkshire. Although known to Higden and copied by Poppleton c. 1350–60, it was not known to Fordun, researching and writing up to 1385, which suggests that it was in no important library at that date (Miller 1980).
- 4 See Anderson 1949: 39; 1973: 80.
- 5 See Miller 1980.
- 6 *Vita Cadoci* 62 (*alumpnus*) and 65 (*procurator*), in Wade-Evans 1944: 130, 132. The meaning 'foster-father' for Giric is preferred by A. O. Anderson (1922: 364). Dr M. O. Anderson points out to me that the decisive authority for insular usage is probably Isidore, *Etymologiae*, x. 3 (ed. W. M. Lindsay 1911):

alumnus ab alendo vocatur, licet et qui alit et qui alitur alumnus dici potest, id est qui nutrit et qui nutritur. Sed melius tamen qui nutritur.

'*Alumnus* derives from *alere*, and both the fosterer and the fostered may be the *alumnus*, in active or passive meaning. But the passive is the better use.' But in the cases under discussion here, *alumnus* may mean 'maintained at the King's expense', an office which Anglo-Saxons might call the King's thegn.
- 7 The absence of Giric's father's name from OSC may be due either to deliberate deletion, or to editorial/scrabal uncertainty (either about the man's identity or the Latin form of the name), or scribal error.
- 8 Compiled (to AD 1114) by Cathal MacManus who died in 1498; a new and more accurate edition is expected, and I am much indebted to Dr M. O. Anderson for information on the entries quoted below. In subsequent references, the abbreviation *AUc* means these Annals corrected for the omission of a blank year (by scribal error only) in the 480's.
- 9 This is the more likely in that Slebine, abbot of Iona 752–67, is reported as having found the date of the Adventus Saxonum at Ripon (see Miller, 'Dates of the Adventus Saxonum' [forthcoming]).
- 10 This odd-looking solecism has the inestimable advantage of distinguishing the Strathclyder from all the other bearers of the name Eochaid.
- 11 M. O. Anderson 1973: 245–289. The lists fall into two major groups: the length of the longer version, *Series Longior* (SL), is due entirely to the greater elaboration of the initial pseudo-history. The parent of this version appears to have been compiled by 865, by an Irish author, from the Pictish official archive, and is best represented in the extant list which precedes OSC in Paris BN Lat 4126 (SL 1 = Dr Anderson's A). This was translated into Latin somewhere about 1050, after which a copy was sent to Ireland where, in due course, it furnished an appendix to the translation of the *Historia Brittonum* (SL 2, of which four copies survive, including Dr Anderson's Cii, B/Bii, Ci), and (SL 3) interpolations both to this translation, *Lebor Bretnach*, and to *Lebor Gabála*: for details see Appendix to Miller 1980. The shorter lists, *Series Brevior* (SB), are of two families: Fordun's comes from a list compiled somewhere around 900, Wyntoun's and the lists called IF/DK from a third version, probably of the late tenth century. These are dated by the developments in the pseudo-history (see Miller 1979).
- 12 If we assume this date is correct, then the reign-length must be read as 4½ years: scribally the loss of a minim is an easy fault. But the difference between the list and AU may be historiographic, as may be argued: if the date of 789 for Conall's expulsion is correct, and also his reign-length, his reign

began in 784, so that the three previous kings occupy the years 779/80–784. In that case we must suppose that, if the reign-lengths are correct, Talorcan II was contemporary with Drest VIII and Talorcan III—that is, the kingdom was divided. This is in part confirmed by AUc for 782, with its king of Picts 'this side the Mounth', but this is an obit entry for Dubtalorc, who is not (under that name) in the lists. Perhaps we should suppose that a name has been misplaced, so that Talorcan III preceded Drest VIII and died in 782, in which case he would be Dubtalorc (see Table I below).

For the name Dubtalorc see Smyth 1975/6: 101–17. Just as Talorc-an means 'young Talorc' (*vel sim*), so on this argument Dubtalorc means 'the younger Talorc'. In the case of the obit of 782 and the obit/end of reign in 784, there is of course no denying the possibility that the younger man died first.

- 13 AU's dates suggest that the reign-length should be of 3<2> years, while at the next entry AU's date suggests that the reign-length should be 1<5> years: both these counts would be inclusive, the reigns ending in the 32nd and 15th years respectively. See next note.
 - 14 If this date is correct, then the two reigns since 834 have been rounded up and should total only five years; moreover the simultaneous deaths (presumably—at least ends of reign) of two kings needs explanation. At 836, the *Annals of the Four Masters* (compiled 1632/6) report from an unrecorded source that Godfrey son of Fergus of the Airgialla went to Scotland to reinforce Dalriada at the bidding of Kenneth I; and at 853 report Godfrey's death. Airgialla are (?previously) reported in Scotland as part of the subkingdom of Lorn (Bannerman 1974), and later kings of Moray claimed Lorn descent. This account therefore looks like the foundation-legend of Moray, in a form suitable to the later unified kingdom of Scotia, under the descendants of Kenneth I. Thus if the date is correct, the invasion may explain the simultaneous deaths of Drest IX and Talorcan IV. Uen son of Onuist (= Eoganan son of Oengus) would then reign 836–9, when he and his brother Bran were killed in a viking invasion.
- The inclusive counts of the years of Constantine, Onuist, and the joint kings Drest IX and Talorcan IV, do not seem to be paralleled elsewhere in the king-list, and could be due to the idiosyncrasy of a single chronicler or remembrancer working 820–36.
- 15 If Uurad is to be dated 839–42, and Kenneth I 842–58, then the 'one year' of Bridei VI is an error of rounding up: compare the SB entry (see below) for this king as reigning for one month.
 - 16 The AU dates give sixteen years to the two sons of Kenneth, while this list gives twenty-one: AU agrees with the *Duan* (see below) on the two-year reign of Aed. These facts may suggest that all three authorities drew here on a common source which gave *xvi* years (read as *xxi* for SL 2 contd.) for the brothers, with some remark on the brief survival of Aed (such as 'scarcely two years') rounded variously by different chronologers. Other reasons for thinking of a common source for SL 2 contd. and the *Duan* are adduced by Dr Anderson (1973: 48f.).
 - 17 The two eleven-year reigns agree with OSC and the 22-year interval in AU, but OSC also tells us that

'In his second year, Aed son of Niall died [Friday 20 November 879 AUc]; and in his ninth [corrected from eleventh] year, on the very day of St Ciricus [16 June] there was an eclipse of the sun [true for 885]. Eochaid with his *alumnus* was now expelled from the kingdom'.

If 20 November 879 was in Eochaid's second year, the eclipse of 16 June 885 was in his seventh (884/5) or eighth (885/6) year. Probably the writing at some stage earlier than the extant manuscript (of c. 1360) of *viii* for *viii* is an easier error than the writing of *ii* for *i*. There is furthermore the apparent implication that Eochaid and Giric were expelled *now, i.e.* at the time of the eclipse—which would seem to go with the erroneous 'eleventh' year. Perhaps the correct account is indicated not only in the correction in OSC of eleventh to ninth, but also in the odd variant 'or 3' in SL 2 contd., as the debris of a statement 'three years after the eclipse'?

- 18 See Anderson 1973: 44ff.
- 19 W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts . . . Scots*, pp. 18–22 (1867), translated by Anderson, 1922: cxlii–cxlix. The text in Edinburgh Nat. Lib. Advocates' MS 72.1.28 (Gaelic 28 = Kilbride 24), and Oxford Bodl. Rawl B 486 is edited by A. Boyle in *Celtica* 9 (1971) 169–79. The text in Dublin RIA Stowe D.4.3 (993), the Book of Lecan (RIA 23 P 2), and Oxford Bodl. Rawl B 512 is edited by R. Thurneysen in *Zeitschr. Celt. Phil.* 19 (1931) 81–99 and corrections p. 133.

- 20 Text ed. K. H. Jackson, 1955: 149ff; translation and notes 1957: 125–37. Anagraphic verse is a versified list.
- 21 The poem is discussed by A. O. Anderson, 1922: xxxiv–vi, with translations of the relevant passages at pp. 273, 292, 354f., 358, 366f., 397. Edition by A. O. Anderson 1929: 1–56, who gives a table of identifications, most of which 'are to be regarded as exceedingly uncertain' (p. 5). The word *Dasachtach* ('the mad') for the fourth Scottish king, is used in the *Synchronisms* (above, both texts) as the epithet of Domnall II, but if that king is intended by Berchan, he is out of sequence. This renders all other identifications even more hazardous.
- 22 Since the annals record a civil war in Pictland in 789, in Dalriada in 807, and invasions in 819, 836, and 839, there is no reason to suppose that they would have in this period omitted other wars of importance.
- 23 M. O. Anderson 1974. The comment added in OSC ('From that day the hill has deserved its name, the Hill of Credulity') implies that either the Scottish dynasty, or the St Andrews bishopric, was held to have broken the agreement: if the chronicle (as seems certain) was written in the ecclesiastical interest, the complaint will be against the dynasty, and may refer specifically to the expulsion of bishop Fothad I by king Indulf (954–62). Dr Anderson suggests to me that the *Scotti* of this entry were the same body as the *Goedeli* of Domnall I's time: the corresponding English institution at this time would presumably be the *witan*.
- The *iura ac leges regni Edi filii Ecdach* have been a difficulty for the doctrine that Irish kings were not legislators, and—while interpretations have not been lacking—it is undoubtedly a relief that the doctrine is now questioned: O'Corrain 1978: 1–36, especially pp. 22–3. The Irish king as legislator appears first as the proclaimer and enforcer of *rechige* adopted at public assemblies, and these *rechige* may have included *cána* issued by individual monasteries. We should therefore note not only the Gaedil and Scotti of OSC, but also the completion of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* by CuChuimne of Iona (died 747), that is, in the generation before Aed Find (died 778) and his *iura ac leges*. We should note too the general context—the conformity of 716 on the ecclesiastical side, the Pictish conquest of 741 and the subsequent revolt of 768 on the secular. These events would surely exact some legal changes in both departments of life. (In this general connection also we may be allowed to wonder why Pechthelm—who was something of an expert on canon law, consulted by Boniface (Plummer, *Bede* ii: 343)—was appointed to the seemingly remote see of Whithorn, which would have rapid sea-communications with Iona, as is shown by the properties of revived Iona in twelfth-century Galloway.)
- 24 It is less easy to be sure what this Irish type may be. At the moment it seems to be held that the Irish norm (at least for the provincial kingships or overlordships) was a kingship rotating irregularly among a group of patrilineages; these usually claimed common ancestors, and if the claim is accepted, the patrilineages can be taken as *segments* of a single agnatic kindred. Within each segment or patriline, it is held that close relatives of former kings are good candidates, and that between segments or patrilineages there is a structural opposition so that succession is typically by murder. This structural hypothesis (O'Corrain 1971: 7–39) must certainly be used with caution, as a matter of historiographic principle. The union of modern structuralisms with the inherent structures of oral and mediæval historiography may be most unholy. It is for example easy to assume that the Dalriadan retrograde patrilineage above Aed Find is correct. But every one of nine generations is there represented by one member and he is a king: this looks like a mediæval structuralism. Consequently to use this pedigree as part of the evidence for a rule that succession was preferentially confined to sons of former kings (Whitaker 1976: 343–63, especially 354) probably adds a modern to a mediæval structure.
- 25 Skene (1876: 313–14) asserts that Maelmuire married Aed Findliath, but A. O. Anderson (1922: 403 n.4) gives Aed a different wife. The obit in AU is accompanied by the obit of *Etulb, king of the Saxons of the North*, who is apparently Eaduulf, high reeve of Bamburgh. These entries may therefore be from a contemporary source, with information reaching Ireland fairly quickly: if so, the appearance of Maelmuire's obit in the Irish compilation cannot be used to support Skene's assertion. (But see now Smyth 1977: 146) Maelmuire seems very odd as a female name; it is permitted however by O'Brien 1973: 211–36, especially p. 230 section 44 (c)2—unfortunately

without naming his source, so that there is no guarantee that a second example exists. I have to thank Mr Donald Meek for this reference.

(The curious statement in Berchan, p. 133 that the Briton *in Tuilti* was son of 'a woman of Dun Guaire [Bamburgh]' may be a misrepresentation of this double annal or its parent.)

- 26 *quos ut diximus Cinaedius delevit* says the chronicler, despite having in fact omitted this matter. The earliest surviving account of the massacre presumably referred to here is Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Princ. Instr.* 1. 18, of which the writing may have been finished about 1217 (Rolls 21 viii [1891] 97f).
- 27 Hengist and the nobles of Vortigern: Mommsen 1898 : 189–90.
The Old Saxons: Widukind 1. 6, ed. M. E. Lohrmann and P. Hirsch 1935.
Kiev Rus: Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953.
Coirpre Cenn Cait: text ed. Thurneysen 1917 : 60–9 (translated Eoin MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* (1921) p. 65ff.).
- I owe several of these details to Dr M. O. Anderson; perhaps it should be added that the motif occurs in the Starkadr stories, about the sons of Swerting (who seem to be unlocalised).
- 28 We may note that the writer of the Legend of St Andrews (Skene 1867 : 188) used the name of king Urad son of Bargoit (*Pherath filio Bergath*), and placed him at Meigle.
- 29 Discussed Anderson 1973 : 142, 151, 199. It is possible that this pseudo-ancestry was invented for the MacDuff earls of Fife.
- 30 Discussed Anderson 1973 : 237–9. The name Constantine has of course attracted attention (Duncan 1978 : 56, 104 n. 6).
- 31 The eponym of the parish is the Irish saint Colman Elo, for whom see J. F. Kenney 1969.
- 32 W. J. Watson 1926 : 188, 194f., 303; C. Innes *et al.* 1851–5 : 1. 17 (Govan), 163 (Crawford Lindsay); II. 19 (Kilchouslan) 381 (Garabost). J. Murray Mackinlay (1914 : 200–3) doubtfully adds Kildusland in Ardrishaig, Urr in Kirkcudbright, Kinnoull in Perthshire, and Dunnichen in Fife.
- 33 *Breviary of Aberdeen* (1509/10) *ap.* Anderson 1922 : 92f.
- 34 Anderson 1973 : 230, 105f., 155f.
- 35 There are of course many examples of comparable arrangements, from Alexander the Great onwards, between patrilinear societies: between matrilinear societies we may perhaps note Ivor Wilks 1959: 391–403. But I know of no other example involving a patrilinear and a matrilinear dynasty.
- 36 Wyntoun: ed. F. J. Amours 1903–14: IV : 68f. Without the date, the foundation is also attributed to Constantine in the Latin texts of the king-list.
- 37 Miller 1979. It seems not improbable that one of Columba's relics was his *bachall*, of which the virtues are celebrated by an entry in the annals of 'Duald McFiris' (drawing on a Dunkeld source?): Skene 1867 : 405–6.
- 38 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Plummer 1896 : 1. 1) 'whenever the succession might be doubtful, they should choose themselves a king from the cognates through females rather than from the agnates of the kings'. For the other accounts see Miller 1980.
- 39 Jackson 1971 : 121–40; Anderson 1973; Kirby 1976 : 286–324.
- 40 If we do not know precisely the constitutional position, or the extent of the powers or the territory, of the kings of the Picts, at least it is clear that they are not village headmen.
- 41 Miller 1978 : 47–66 discusses the case of Oswy's position during and after the Pictish reign of his brother's son, Talorcan I. We may perhaps also note that, even if Adomnán's wizard Broichan is an invention (Anderson 1961 : 84f.), Adomnán was writing when Pictish institutions were in full strength, and the notion of a special advisory office (in this case occupied by a *nutricius*, foster-father) near the king must have been acceptable. We may contrast the practice of the fully matrilinear Ashanti, where such a position was occupied by the queen-mother. Whether Adomnán's *nutricius* is comparable with the *alumnus* of OSC is a considerable question: if it were (and Giric's task was to see that the Briton observed the proprieties of his new kingdom) it would emphasise the Pictishness of Eochaid's reign.

- 42 The reverse situation—of a king bearing a non-royal name—is not certainly found in the case of the four Talorcans, for all of whom there is either historical or textual reason for thinking that the king's proper name may have been Talorc, a certainly royal name. For Talorcan I see Miller 1978; for Talorcan II and III see note 12 above; Talorcan IV appears also in the ghost Dustilorg, which implies an original Talorc. There is no reason to suppose that Talorcan, father of Drest VIII, is identical with one of the kings. The non-royal name corresponding to the royal Drest is represented in Irish sources as Drostan, but there is no evidence that this was the proper name of Drest IX.
- 43 Dumville 1977 : 84.
- 44 For parallel claims by right of primary settlement see Henige 1974 : 39f; and for a discussion of the use of the 'early Scottish kingdom' from Fordun onwards, *op. cit.*: 114–18. For the texts of the Latin lists E/IF/DK see Anderson 1973 : 253–89.
- 45 As we have seen above, contemporary entries may extend from 768 to 792 and resume in 913; but it may be that some of the intervening entries are contemporary.
- 46 Miller 1979.
- 47 Henige 1974 : 41.
- 48 Whitelock 1963; Bethurum 1957.
- 49 Craster 1954 : 177–99. The *History* is in any case to be dated earlier than the 'Chronica Monasterii Dunelmensis' which is dateable 1072 × 1083 (Craster 1925 : 504 ff.).
- 50 The success of abbot Eadred in securing a Christian Dane as king, acceptable to both the Angles and the Danes of Northumbria.
- 51 Consequently the importance emerges of the conquest of Pictland 842–8 and the Northumbrian War of 849–54, as the prelude to the Danish invasion. Indeed, if we were to think in terms of the once-fashionable 'domino theory', then (given constant viking probes on all British coasts) we could see the series Pictland 836–48, northern Northumbria 849–54, southern Northumbria 866–7, Mercia 865–74, Strathclyde 870, leaving Scotia, Strathclyde, Wessex, and the Welsh kingdoms as the sole entities sustaining some previous form of state or political organisation. This of course raises the interesting question whether the high reeves of Bamburgh did not claim kingship.
We should note also that OSC records a Scots king of Strathclyde before 940/3, so that Edmund's action in 945 is one of handing back rather than handing over, *pace* Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 359 (1971).
- 52 An interesting visual parallel to this verbal situation is found in Anglo-Saxon art: 'It need hardly be stressed to what extent Anglo-Saxon art of the tenth and eleventh centuries owes its distinctive note to ornamental development which reacts on the figure composition and prevents, for better or worse, the concentration on dramatic narrative in which continental Ottonian art excels' (R. Freyhan, 1955 : 412).

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