

# THE SUCCESSION IN THE KINGDOM OF STRATHCLYDE

EXTRACTED PART X

BY H. PIRIE-GORDON OF BUTHLAW  
G.B.E., D.S.C., G.C. ST. J.



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## THE LAST KING OF STRATHCLYDE

Duncan, on becoming King of Scots, gave Strathclyde to his son Malcolm, later known as Canmore, then about three years old, and made his own younger brother Madred, Lord of Allerdale, Regent for the boy. Madred's wife was Aldgyth, daughter by his third wife Algiva, daughter of King Ethelred II, 978-1016, of Uhtred Earl of Northumbria who had been murdered in March 1016 by Thurbrand the Hold, one of Canute's Danes. Uhtred's earldom was divided at his death as Canute gave Deira to his brother-in-law Weic Hakonsson, who had been made Jarl of West Norway after the Battle of Svold in 1000. Deira had been the earldom of Elfhelm, father of Canute's first wife (the mother of King Harold Harefoot) until 1006 when he was murdered by Edric Streona; it was then given to Uhtred as a reward for his victory over King Malcolm II at Durham in that year. Uhtred's brother, Edwulf Cudel, was allowed to succeed him in Northumberland, and King Malcolm II took advantage of his incompetence to defeat him at Carham in 1018 and thereby avenge his own defeat at Durham in 1006. Edwulf of Northumberland in 1019 by his nephew Aldred, who was Uhtred's son by his first wife Ecgfrida, daughter of Aldham, Bishop of Durham 995-1018. Madred was thus brother-in-law of his neighbour across the border. Unfortunately Aldred who had avenged his father by killing Thurbrand the Hold in 934, was killed with most elaborate treachery by Thurbrand's son in 1038 when King Harold Harefoot (1036-1040) gave the earldom to his half-brother Edwulf, Earl Uhtred's son by his second wife Sigen, a Dane. The new Earl, being then about 23, and "exalted with pride" at his unexpected promotion started to "harry the Britons of Cumbria with sufficient ferocity" until Madred in defence of his nephew's kingdom, drove him back across the border. (Note 63).

Note 63 - Styr Ulfsson had a blood-feud with another Dane, Thurbrand the Hold, one of King Canute's men. When united, Earl of Northumbria, who had put away his first wife, Ecgfrida, daughter of Aldhun Bishop of Durham, as she wished to become a nun, asked for Styr's daughter Sigen to be his second wife, c. 1014, he was made to promise to take on Styr's blood-feud and kill Thurbrand the Hold in pursuance of it. This he neglected to do in time, and was killed himself by Thurbrand in March 1016, acting apparently, under orders from Canute who is supposed to have been glad to make use of the blood-feud in order to get rid of Uhtred, whose loyalty he suspected. Uhtred's

son by his first wife Aldred killed Thurbrand the Hold in 1034. Four years later, Thurbrand's son, Carl of Settrington, who had professed friendship with Aldred, sworn blood-brotherhood with him and feasted him in order to put him off his guard, killed him in turn. Carl seems to have evaded the operation of the blood feud, but in 1073 Waltheof Siwardson, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, son of Earl Aldred's daughter Elflada, caused two of Carl's son and several of his grandsons to be killed at a family gathering at Settrington. This seems to have ended the feud. Waltheof, who is credited in a saga with having burned a hundred Frenchmen alive at York during the Danish invasion of 1069, was beheaded by King William in 1076. He was ultimately buried in Crowland Abbey where he was regarded as a Saint. It may be noted that in her book *The Divine King of England*, pp. 82-6, Miss Margaret Murray includes Earl Waltheof as one of the "substitute victims" for the King.

In 1040 King Duncan rashly angered his formidable first cousin Thorfinn, who had become sole Jarl of Orkney in 1030, by demanding Can, or tribute, from Caithness as if it had become part of his grandfather's kingdom as result of the grant of the title of Earl to Thorfinn in 1014. (Note 64).

Note 64 - About 973 or so King Kenneth v MacMalcolm hoping to augment his own prestige by extending the bounds of his kingdom far beyond what he had inherited, had tried to secure Caithness by giving the title of Earl thereof to Skuli Thorfinnsson. In so doing the King ignored the fact that Skuli's father Thorfinn Hausakliffer (Skull-splitter), the Norse Jar of Orkney, had become possessed of that province soon after his marriage in 941 with Grelod, daughter of Duncan Mormaer of Caithness. Liot Thorfinnsson who had become Jar of Orkney on the death of his brother Havard Season-prosperous and had married his widow Ragnhild daughter of Eric Bloodaxe, sometime King of Norway and later twice King of York, resented King Kenneth's action. He chased Skuli. Another attempt by the King to conquer Caithness with the assistance of the Moray men under their Mormaer ended in a second defeat at Skidmoor or Skittenmire (now the Moss of Killimster) in c. 976(?); Liot, although victorious, died soon afterwards of his wounds. In 1014 Kenneth v's son King Malcolm II again claimed the right to dispose of territory far beyond his frontier, over which neither he nor his father had ever exercised control, by giving the title of Earl of Caithness to Skuli's grand nephew, young Thorfinn Sigurdsson, his own grandson.

On the Jarl's indignant refusal to pay the King, supposing himself to be strong enough to oust the Jarl of Orkney from Caithness, further infuriated him by affecting to grant the Earldom to his young nephew Moddan or Madach, who started off to take possession of it only to find that the Orkneymen were already in the field against him.

The moment was ill-chosen for stirring up trouble in the north and opening a "second front" as King Duncan, thinking to take advantage either of the quarrel between the sons of Canute the Mighty over the succession in England, or of the gap of three months between the death of King Harold 1 Harefoot in March 1040 and the arrival in Kent of his brother King Hartacnut in the following June, had invaded Northumberland and the Patrimony of St Cuthbert in order to set siege to Durham. He had no better success than his grandfather had had in 1006 as the garrison made a surprise sortie and cut up his infantry. So considerable were his losses that King Duncan had to abandon the siege and retreat to Berwick. He was still there when he heard that Thorfinn had not given up Caithness. Accordingly the King sent for reinforcements from Moddan's kinsfolk in Ireland, gathered a fleet and went north to make good the grant of Caithness

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to his nephew. Although he received the support of Macbeth MacFindlaech, the independent Mormaer of Moray, great grandson of Macbeth MacRuadri the Mormaer of Moray who had been twice defeated in 974(?) and 976(?) while the ally of King Kenneth v, as the House Moray had been harassed by the Jarls of Orkney for nearly two centuries, he found himself involved in a second and far more serious campaign than even his ignominious failure at Durham. He was first defeated at sea by Thorfinn off Deerness to the east of the Mainland of Orkney; then his nephew Moddan who had rashly advanced to Thurso with the contingent which had arrived from Ireland, was surprised there by Thorkel Fosterer and beheaded as he tried to escape; lastly King Duncan was again defeated by his angry cousin, this time on land at Torfness, now Burghead, on the coast of Moray, 14th August 1040. That evening Macbeth, who had been acting as his ally's chief of staff during the campaign, far from pitying the unfortunate King when he found him a weary fugitive resting after his defeat in a "smith's bothy" at Pitgaveny near Elgin murdered him then and there without more ado. (Note 65).

Note 65 - King Malcolm II had been careful to get rid of male descendants of his predecessors of the senior line of the House of Alpin and in 1033 had slain the last of them an unnamed grandson of Boite, the youngest son of King Kenneth VI MacDubh. If Macbeth's mother had been a sister of King Malcolm II as was, apparently, first asserted only in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* compiled more than a century and a half later, he would, according to Pictish ideas, have had a better claim to the succession as nephew than Duncan, King of Strathclyde, as grandson. The contemporary chronicles, careful to record that Duncan's mother was daughter of Malcolm II, to not mention the mother of Macbeth, who, to his great advantage, does not seem to have been considered a possible claimant of the Crown in the lifetime of Malcolm III. On his accession in August 1040, Macbeth may have secured the support of the men of the heritable lands of the Senior Line of the old Dynasty in Angus and Fife, and other adherents of the system of alternative succession, as being the husband of the next of kin of Malcolm II's unnamed victim in 1033 and as step-father and guardian of her son Lulach whom, perhaps, they regarded as their legitimate King. Macbeth's wife was Gruoch, sister of the unnamed victim's father and grand-daughter of King Kenneth VI. She was also widow of Gillacomgan MacMaelbrigte, Mormaer of Moray who, in company with his elder brother Malcolm, had slain Macbeth's father Findlaech MacRuadri, Mormaer of Moray in 1020, and had been burned alive with fifty of his men in 1032, perhaps by Macbeth eager to avenge his slaughtered father and, at the same time, recover the Mormaership of Moray for himself. Macbeth may also have gained some support from the fact that, if not actually a member of the House of Alpin, he was at least descended in the male line from the brother of its founder. According to the recorded pedigrees Gillacomgan, the father of Macbeth's stepson Lulach was Maelbrigte the son of Ruadri, Mormaer of Moray called "King of Scotland" in the *Annals of Ulster* whose elder son Findlaech, Mormaer of Moray (Macbeth's father), was slain by Maelbrigte's sons in 1020. This Ruadri was a contemporary of King Malcolm II who died in 1034; but the recorded pedigrees make him the son of Donald MacMorgan sixth in descent from King Ferchar Fota who ruled in Lorn, 676-697, and a contemporary of King Kenneth III MacAlpin, 841-858. It may be suggested that he Maelbrigte who appears in the pedigree as son of Ruadri MacDonald was Maelbrigte Tooth "the Scottish Earl" or Mormaer of Moray (?), who was killed in 892 by Sigurd I the Mighty, Jarl of Orkney. They had agreed to settle their dispute by fighting with forty men aside on a specified

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day. Sigurd however brought eighty men mounted on forty horses. He won the fight and cut off Maelbrigte head which he hung from his saddle-bow. The dead Morimaer had a projecting tooth which grazed Sigurd's bare knee as he rode back in triumph: the graze set up blood-poisoning from which the Jarl died. If this suggestion be acceptable it would appear that a copyist, misled by the repetition of the names, dropped a couple of generations between Maelbrigte MacRuadri who was killed in 892 and Maelbrigte MacRuadri whose elder brother Findlaech was slain in 1020. It is possible perhaps from other sources to supply the missing names so as to show that Macbeth MacRuadri, the Mormaer of Moray who was defeated c. 974(?) and again c. 976(?) at the first battle of Skidmoor by Liot Thorfinnsson, Jarl of Orkney, was grandson of Maelbrigte Tooth who had been killed by Liot's great uncle; and that this Macbeth MacRuadri was father of Maelsechtan who was killed in battle in 988 against Liot's nephew Sigurd II Digre, Jarl of Orkney and of his brother Ruadri, the Mormaer of Moray who was called King of Scotland and was the father of Findlaech (King Macbeth's father) and of Maelbrigte (Lulach's grandfather). It has been estimated that Macbeth was about 35 when he became king: it is more difficult to date the birth of Duncan as it may be that it was not until after Malcolm II had become Crinan of Dunkeld's neighbour, as the result of succeeding as King in Scone in March 1005, that he strengthened his new position by giving Bethoc in marriage to Crinan. If so Duncan might have been born in 1006 or so. On the other hand if Malcolm, soon after he had become Tanist to King Kenneth VI, as the result of the slaughter of his elder brother Dungal in 999, had given Bethoc to Crinan, in order to secure a son-in-law to support him when he made his contemplated move against Kenneth VI, Duncan might have been born perhaps as early as 1001 as Sir Archibald Dunbar suggest in his *Scottish Kings*, p. 12. At any rate the historic Duncan, whether 34 or 39 at the time of his death, would have been surprised to find that a dramatic convention regularly makes him appear as an aged monarch in *Macbeth*.

According to the chroniclers Macbeth ruled wisely over such parts of Scotia as Thorfinn left under his control, and made no attempt to seize Strathclyde which Maldred as Regent retained for Malcolm. It was, however, considered prudent to send the boy, then about nine years old, and his little brother Donald, with their mother Queen Sybil to England where Siward Digre was Earl of Deira. Siward has been variously described as the Queen's kinsman, cousin, brother, father and uncle by Fordun, Freeman. Skene, Boece and Von Isenburg; there is no contemporary evidence as to his exact relationship; but it was very close as it appears that Siward acted as King Malcolm's guardian after Maldred's death. According to the pedigrees Siward might have been the Queen's brother and was probably first cousin of Gytha the "Great Countess." Earl Godwin's wife and first cousin once removed of King Canute the Mighty. Tradition makes Siward and his sister grandchildren to the Fairy White Bear whose descendants had no lobes to their ears, which were sometimes furry, as were also the soles of their feet. History, more prosaically, is content with giving them Styrbjorn, a Swedish prince who was the first Jarl of the Pirates of Jomsburg, as their formidable grandsire. (Note 66).

Note 66. Siward Digre is said to have been son of Beorn Bearsson and grandson of Styrbjorn, the first Jarl of Jomsburg, who was killed in 983. Beorn Bearsson has been confused with his great-nephew Biorn Ulfsson who was made Earl of the Middle Angles by King Edward the Confessor in or before April 1045 and was murdered by his first cousin Sweyn, the eldest son of Earl Goodwin in 1049. Earl Beorn was a younger

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brother of Sweyn Estrithsson who was born in 1018 and was King of Denmark, 1047-1076. Earl Beorn was plainly not the father of Siward, who was made Earl of Deira, perhaps in 1031. If Beorn Bearsson was indeed Stybiorn's son, he would have been the younger brother of Thorgils Sprakelegg whose son Jarl Ulf married Estrith or Astrida, half-sister of Canute the Mighty (as he is called in the Sagas), for whom he was viceroy of Denmark and by whose orders he was murdered in the church at Roskilde as the result of a quarrel over a game of chess. Sprakelegg's daughter, who murdered her nephew Biorn Ulfsson in 1049, and of Harold II, King of England. The father of Thorgils Sprakelegg, Styrbiorn Digre, founded the military confraternity of Vikings at Jomsburg in the Baltic and was the first Jarl of that pirate fortress until he was killed at Fyn's River near Upsala in Sweden in 983. His successor, as second Jarl, was that great archer Palnatoki, who mortally wounded King Harald Bluetooth at the battle of Isefjord in 986 and was foster-father both of King Sweyn Forkbeard and of Biorn the British in Bretland (South Wales). Styrbiorn's wife was Thyra, daughter (probably by his first wife Thora) of Harald Bluetooth King of Denmark, 986-1014, and died after a few months' reign as King of England as the result (according to a monastic tradition) of the posthumous displeasure of St Edmund of East Anglia, King and Martyr. King Sweyn's son by his first wife, Gunhilda, daughter of Burislav of Wendland and sister of Astrida, wife of Sigvald of Scania, the third Jarl of Jomsburg, was Canute the Mighty, born in 988, King in succession first of Mercia and Northumbria, then of all England, and then of Denmark and Norway as well, whose sons were born between about 1016 and 1019. The son of Canute's full sister Gytha who married Eric Hakonsson, Jarl of West Norway, 1000-1015, and Earl of Deira, 1016-1024 (whose grandfather Jarl Sigurd Hakonsson had been burned alive in 963) was Hakon, born about 998 who succeeded to Deira when his father was banished, and was drowned in the Pentland Firth in 1031. Canute's half-sister Estrith was the daughter of Sigrid the Haughty, who had been Queen Consort of Eric the Victorious, King of Sweden, 995-1022. It was just after she had become the widow of Eric the Victorious that Harald Graenske, King of Westfold (the father of St Ola, King of Norway, 1015-1029), and Wsewolod of Vladimir, 988-995, arrived simultaneously to court her, as she was very wealthy. According to the Saga she made both of them and their numerous retainers very drunk and burned them all alive on the ground that their respective dominions were not sufficiently extensive to qualify them to aspire to her hand. "Sigrid the strong-minded." A little later she so greatly annoyed Olaf Tryggvsson that ferocious exponent of Christianity, who had just become King of Norway (995), by detecting that the bracelet with which, he had hoped to confirm their betrothal was only of brass plated with gold, that he smacked her face and called her "Heathen Bitch." This uncourtly behaviour may, perhaps, be attributed to defects in the education of the King who had been a slave in Estonia for six years as a boy, but Sigrid remembered it against him and became his enemy, all the more so, probably, when he married her sister-in-law as his third wife. Accordingly, when the opportunity came, Sigrid inspired her next husband King Sweyn Forkbeard to join with her son Olaf, King of Sweden, her son-in-law Jarl Sweyn Hakonsson and his brother Jarl Eric Hakonsson, who had married her step-daughter Gytha, to defeat and kill King Olaf Tryggvesson at Svold in 1000.

By her second marriage Queen Sigrid became the aunt of Thorgils Sprakelegg and Beorn his brother, and in view of the dates it would seem that there was almost a generation in time between the birth of her half-sister-in-law Thyra, who became the widow of Styrbiorn in 983, and that of her second husband in 970. This is indicated by the fact that the eldest great-grandson of King Harald Bluetooth in the male line was

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born in 1018, the same year as his eldest great-great-grandson in the female line through Thyra and Styrbjorn. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was not Siward's aunt, who could have been born at latest in or about 983, if her father had been killed in that year, but his sister, who would have been of suitable age to marry King Duncan, who was born in 999, and became the mother of Malcolm Canmore in 1031. Siward himself may not have married until he became Earl Edred's neighbour in Deira, either in 1031 or 1033: his elder son was old enough to go to war and be killed in battle in 1055, but old enough in 1065 to be made Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. The elder son Asbjorn Bulax was not married in 1054 but would probably have been at least fifteen and may have been recorded that St Olaf first went to sea in a warship when he was twelve. (It may be noted that as recently as 1761 the future Admiral Lord Collingwood first went to sea in H.M.S. *twenty*; King Harald Haradrade, or Sigurdsson, who was killed at Stamford Bridge in September 1066 was fifteen when he was badly wounded in the battle of Stiklestad in July 1030. Boys seem to have gone to sea-warfare earlier than to war on land; it is Shannon, Captain Richard Braithwaite, at the age of thirteen. W. Clark Russell in his *Collingwood*, 1881, p. 4, corrects Newham Collingwood's *Biography* which makes him go to sea at the age of eleven, *Complete Peerage*, III, p. 375, accepts 1750 as the date of the Admiral's birth, which according to the parish register of St Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, was 24th October 1748).

Tradition gathered very early about Styrbjorn first of the Jomsburgers, grandfather alike of Siward, of his sister Queen Sybil and of Gytha, the mother of King Harold Godwinsson. He was supposed to be the son, not as History would have it of Olaf, younger brother of King Eric the Victorious of Sweden, but of a White Fairy Bear (whom the Lithuanians called Lokis), and his male descendants, in proof positive of their unusual ancestry were credited with having lobeless ears, sometimes with fur on them, and also fur on the soles of their feet, just as polar-bears have fur on the soles of their feet to enable them to walk without slipping on ice. Some of them to this day are proud of having no lobes to their ears; the fur however in their case, seems to have failed to survive the intervening centuries. This tradition may have arisen from the practice prevalent among the Vikings of "going berserk." This was an attempt by men reputed to be "troll-wise" to effect the 'shape-lifting" (*skipta homum*) of Scandinavian magic in order, in most cases to acquire supernatural strength or *hamremmi*, and, in exceptional cases, to be able to travel *hamfarir* in an assumed animal shape at more than human speed and in an impenetrable disguise. "Among the most famous *hamrammir* were the berserker, the bear-men of werebears. Their skin is called *bjarnahamr* and they have the enormous strength of a bear, which state however alternates with extreme lassitude. . . . Twelve berserkers were the chief followers of several kings. . . . (among them Harald Haafagri). . . . In battle the berserkers were subject to fits of frenzy (*furor bersericus*) termed *berserksgangr* when they howled like wild beasts, foamed at the mouth and bit through the iron rim of their shields. During these fits they were, according to popular belief, proof against steel and fire and made terrible havoc in the ranks of the foe" (Montague Summers, *The Werewolf*, pp. 20-21 and 242-243). A Polar bear, more than any other bear, was at that time considered to be a most uncanny creature of Faery, "rational, magical and super-human" and possessed of "twelve men's strength and eleven men's wit." His pelt was exceedingly rare and most berserkers had to be content with the skins of ordinary brown bears. Styrbjorn, however, may have been troll-wise and by way of marking his high rank as being of royal blood and Jarl of Jomsburg may have made use of a polar-bear's skin for

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his bjarnahamr and not merely the white Bear's son, but actually the Fairy White Bear himself, and thereby secured for his son Beorn (ber) the patronymic Bjornson or Bear's son.

In 1041 Earl Siward, apparently at the instigation of King Harthacnut 1040-1042, murdered the Earl of Northumberland. Edwulf, the half-uncle of his wife who was Alfflaed, daughter of Earl Alfred, who had been murdered in 1038. As Earl Edwulf had come to court on the King's invitation, under "grith," or formal safe-conduct, the King's action excited remark and the chronicle comments on the episode: "And so he became a belier of his wed" (pledge). Siward, however, was given the Earldom thus vacated and became Earl of all Northumbria. It seems that he was also Earl of Northampton and in 1052 was made Earl of Huntingdon as well.

In 1045 Maldred supported his father, Crinan of Dunkeld, in an unsuccessful revolt against Macbeth, who defeated and killed them both.

The death of his Regent does not appear to have affected Malcolm's position in Strathclyde as his uncle Siward acted for him until his return, probably as soon as he was fifteen, from England where he had learned to speak Latin and English in addition to his paternal Gaelic. He was, however, illiterate and nothing is recorded about his ability to talk Cumbrian-Welsh.

The reconciliation of Earl Godwin with King Edward the Confessor in September 1052 led to the hurried departure of the Normans, who had, during the Earl's eclipse, enjoyed too much of the King's favour at court. Some of them had to cut their way out of London through a hostile mob. A good many of these people went to Scone where they were welcomed by Macbeth. Opinion is divided as to whether the favour shown to them was, or was not, the cause of the English invasion of Scotland in the summer of 1054. Other suggestions have been put forward. Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, II. pp. 370-371) writes "An expedition on a great scale was undertaken against the Scottish usurper. That it was undertaken on behalf of Malcolm, the son of the slain Duncan, can admit of no reasonable doubt. To restore the lawful heir of the Scottish Crown was an honourable pretext for interference in Scottish affairs on which any English statesman would gladly seize. And to Siward it was more than an honourable pretext; it was asserting the rights and avenging the wrongs of a near kinsman." Sir James Ramsay (*Foundations of England*. I. p. 471) agrees that "this enterprise must have had the restoration of young Malcolm Canmore for its object . . . Eadward had sanctioned the war, and apparently even sent some of his own House-carles to assist Siward . . ." Sir Charles Oman (*England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 624) admits that "Siward invaded Scotland evidently in the cause of his grandson Malcolm . . . presumably Macbeth, as Mormaer of Moray, was the "Maelbaethe" who submitted to Canute during that Monarch's expedition to Scotland in 1031, as Sir James Ramsay suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 404 note) he may have considered that it was one thing to submit as Mormaer of Moray to Canute the Mighty at the head of an army on the spot; but quite a different thing to be expected, as King of Scots, to do likewise to so mild and distant a monarch as Edward the Confessor (Note 67).

Note 67. There are difficulties in the way of identifying Macbeth with Maelbaethe in order to make out that he submitted to Canute in 1031. In the first place it has been pointed out that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is wrong in dating Canute's expedition in 1031 and that it should be 1027. In the second place Gillacomgan, Mormaer of Moray,



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was not burned alive until 1032, so that Macbeth could not have appeared before Canute in the capacity of Mormaer of Moray in either 1031 or still less in 1027. Lastly, A. O. Anderson (*Early Sources*, I, 591) considers that MacIboethi or "Mealbaeath" can hardly have been the same name as Macbeth (Macbeothen) but should stand for Pictish Maelbede, "devotee of Bede." Sir Charles Oman (*England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 598, note 4), with reference to Maelbaeath, writes that he "is probably *not* the famous Macbeth."

To oppose the southern invasion Macbeth had, in addition to his own men, the assistance of his Norman visitors, and, according to one authority, that of a contingent from the dominions of his former enemy Thorfinn Sigurdsson, Jarl of Orkney and Earl of Caithness, but if the *Orkneyinga saga* is correct, that powerful ruler was not present with his men. The chief battle of the campaign was fought on 17th July at a place not mentioned in the Chronicles, but perhaps at Dunsinane. Although Siward and Malcolm killed the Normans, inflicted serious other losses on their opponents and gained much plunder Macbeth was not dethroned. On the other hand, Asbiorn Bulax, Siward's elder son, and one of his nephews, also called Siward, were killed with many of his own House-carles and King Edward's men.

As a result of this battle, in which Malcolm fought strenuously, he was able to annex Lothian and thus bring the northern frontier of Strathclyde up to approximately where it had been for a short time four centuries earlier. Although there is no record of such a cession, it seems likely that King Malcolm made over to Siward the southern part of Cumbria adjoining the Northumbrian frontier along the Lune and lying to the south-west of the basin of the Eden. This is an inference drawn by Professor Stenton from a charter of the Regent Maldred's son Gospatrick, who was Earl of Northumberland 1069-1072, in which Earl Siward is mentioned as having exercised authority in that area (Note 68).

Note 68. The Charter in question which is not dated, is printed in full with a translation and critical notes by F. W. Ragg in "A Charter of Cosparick" (*The Ancestor*, No. 7 (1003), pp. 244-247).

Siward died early in 1055 at York and as his surviving son Waltheof was too young to be made Earl of so difficult a province as Northumbria or some part of it, Harold Godwinson, who had succeeded his father as King Edward's chief adviser in March of that year, secured the appointment of his own favourite brother Tostig as Earl of all Northumbria. Tostig who had recently married Judith of Flanders, first cousin of William. Duke of

Normandy, had known King Malcolm very well while he had been living in England and was already, or was about to become, his "Blood-brother." Thus Malcolm found a close friend as his uncle's successor across the border.

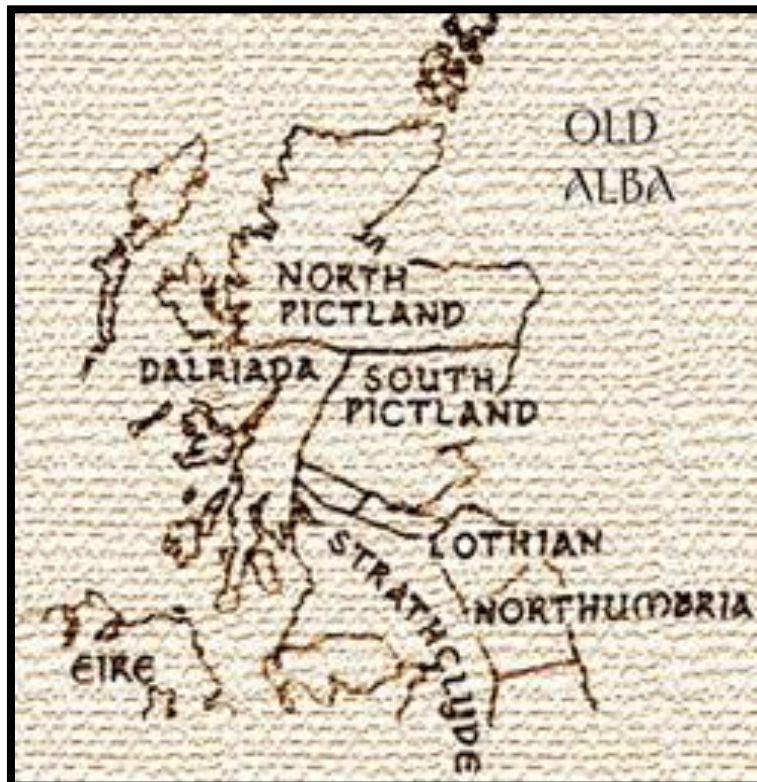
As no trouble was to be feared to the south King Malcolm made use of his recent acquisition of Lothian with its English man-power to raise a force to join with his Strathclyde-Welsh in a second attack on Macbeth. In this he was successful and was able to avenge his father by defeating and killing his murderer at Lumphanan on 15th August 1057. Queen Gruoch ("Lady Macbeth") being by no means "infirm of purpose" refused to accept his defeat as final and with the support of the Moray party put up her son Lulach as king. He was her son by her first husband Gillacomgan Mormaer of Moray 1029-1032, a descendant in the male line of Loarn, brother of Fergus Mor MacErc, and thus a member of the dynasty which had produced

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King Kenneth MacAlpin (see Note 65) Gillacomgan had helped his brother Malcolm, King of Mormaer of Moray 1020-1029, to murder Macbeth's father Findlaech King of Mormaer of Moray, in 1020, and had himself been burned alive with fifty of his retainers in 1032, possibly by Macbeth. The Moray party, however, was not strong enough to prevent Malcolm from defeating and killing King Lulach at Essie, in Strathbogie, on 17th March 1058.

By thus recovering his father's kingdom of Alban, the King of Strathclyde became Malcolm III, King of Scots, and united his Cumbrian-Welsh and Lothian English with the Gaels and surviving Picts of the North to form the Kingdom of Scotland. It is interesting to note that just before being united with Scotland Strathclyde, which was still, and for nearly another century remained, largely Welsh-speaking and retained its own laws had been, from King Duncan's murder in 1040, as entirely a separate kingdom as it ever had been, with the unprecedented advantage of having a friendly Northumbria as its southern neighbour.

Although united with Scotland, Strathclyde was not at first amalgamated with the rest of the Kingdom; its territory south of Solway was lost when King William II Rufus annexed it to England in 1092 and what was left of it, together with that part of Lothian which lies south of the Lammermuirs, was granted by King Edgar on his deathbed in January 1106-07 to his younger brother David, the ninth son of King Malcolm III, to be administered as a territory separate from Scotia, which was inherited by the elder brother as King Alexander I. This step appears to have been taken by way of simplifying the complicated feudal relations then existing with England; but David, who became Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton in 1112, ruled not as King of Strathclyde but as earl until he succeeded his brother as King of Scots, 23 April 1124, and reunited Strathclyde with the rest of his Kingdom.



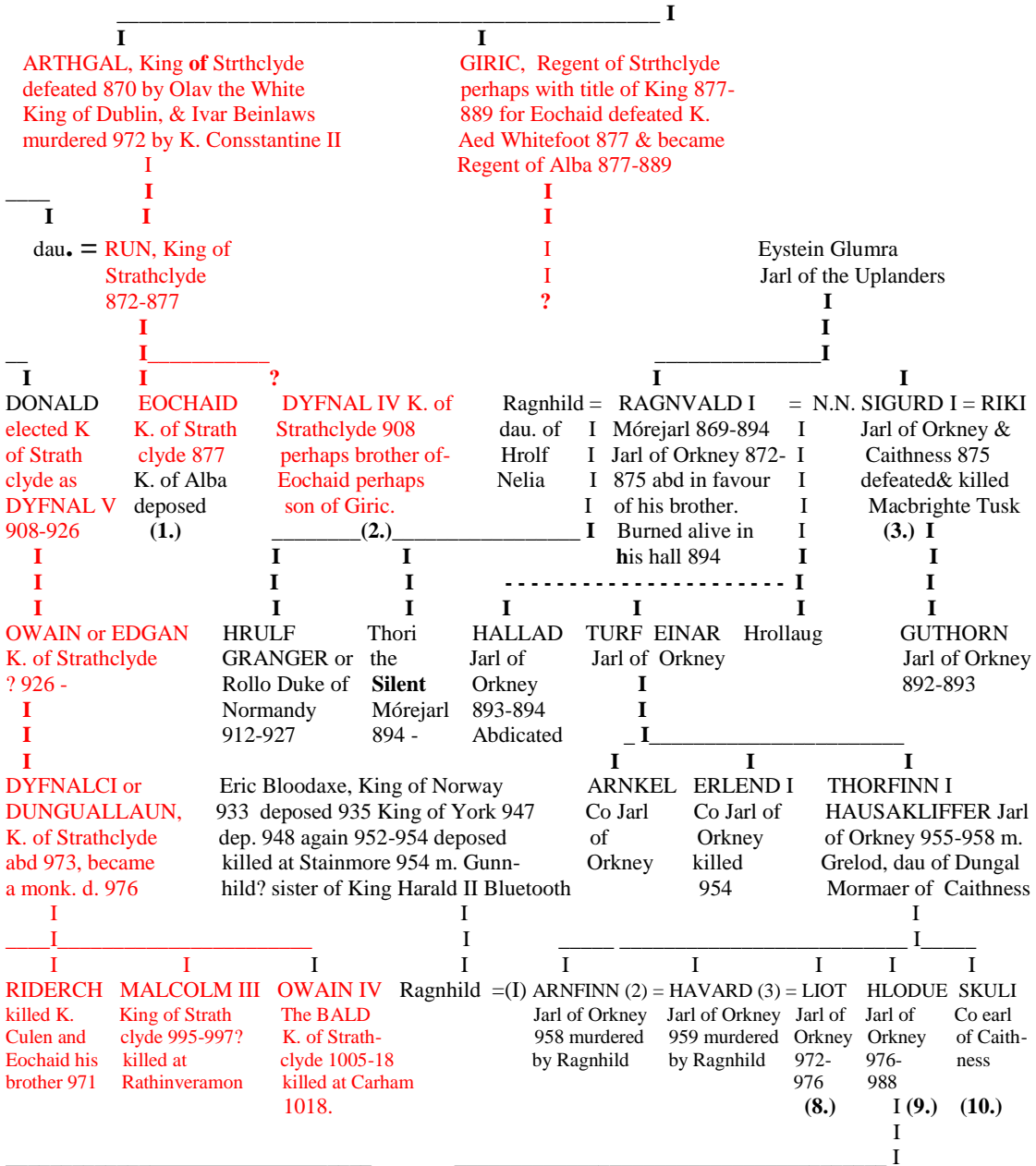


# THE SUCCESSION IN STRATHCLYDE (2) →

**MORCUNN** or **MORGAN**

**ALPIN**

**DYFNAL III**  
King of Strathclyde



I I  
 Donada = **SIGUARD II DIGRI** Jarl of Orkney & Caithness Defeated  
 2nd wife I Findlaech Mormaer of Moray 995 & had "dominion over Ross  
 I & Moray, Sutherland & the Dales" compelled by King Olav  
 I Trygvasson to submit to baptism 995 in order to save his  
 I son's life, killed at the battle of Clontarf 23 Apr. 1014  
 I  
 I  
**THORFINN II**



# THE SUCCESSION IN STRATHCLYDE (4)

	Harald III Bluteeth King of Denmark 935-985 ?killed by Palnatoki of Jomsburg I I I	Ingeborg, Dau. of Finn Arnesson = THOFINN II Earl of Caith- of Yriar Jarl of Holland ca. I ness 1014- Co-Jarl of Orkney 1051 Re-married Malcolm III I 1018-30 & 1036-46. Sole King of Scots (Malcolm IV as I Jarl 1030-36 & 1046-?57 King of Strathclyde) I Had Ross & Galloway; took I Moray 1040 & perhaps I Buchan.											
I	Thyra	Styrbjorn of I Sweden, Jarl of I Jomsburg, defeated I & killed by his I uncle ca. 985 I I	Sigrid = the Haughty I I I	SWEYN FORKBEARD = King of Denmark 987 987, King of England Dec 1013-Feb 1014 Richard I Duke of Normandy 943-996	= I I I I	Gunnhild I I I I I							
I	Beom Bearsson	Thorgils Speakalegg I I	I Richard II I Duke of I Normandy I 996-1026 I	Aelf- = ETHELRD II I King of England I 878-Dec 1013 I dep. restored I Mar. 1014-16 I d. 23 Apr. 1616 I	= I I I I	Emma = I m. 1st I 1002 I m. 2nd I 1017 I d Mar I 1051-	CANUTE the Mighty, King & the Danelaw Ap- Nov 1016. King of all England Dec 1016. King of Denmark 1019 I of Norway 1028 I of Norway 1028 I d. 12 Nov 1035 I I I I	= I I I I I I I I	Aelgifa Regent I I I I I I I I				
I	Siward Regent of Strath- clyde 1045- 1054 I (18.)	Godwin = Gytha Earl of Wessex 1020- 1053 I (19.)	ULF = Estrith = Jarl of I Joms- I or burg I Astrida (19.) I	Robert II "The Devil" Duke of Normandy 1028-35 I (20.)	EDMUND IRONSIDE King of Wessex Essex & English Mercia I (20.)	I 52 I I I I I I I	Denmark 1019 I of Norway 1028 I of Norway 1028 I d. 12 Nov 1035 I I I I I I I	I I I I I I I I I I I I I I					
I	I HAROLD II T	B S WILLIAM I	Edward	Edgyth =	EDWARD	HARTH-	S. HAROLD	PAUL	ERLEND II				
I	Earl of Wessex (23.) (24.)	III The Conqueror	The	Excile	The Confessor	ACNUT (28.)	Harefoot	Co-Jarls of	?1157-				
I	1053-66 King	(25.) Duke of Nor-	mandy 1035	(26.)	K. of England	King of	King of all	Orkney both dep. by	K. Magnus III				
I	of England Jan-	K. of England	I	I	1042-1066	Denmark	England	I (30.) I	I I				
I	Oct 1066. killed	1066-1087	I	I	1035-42	1037-40	(29.)	I (30.) I	I I				
I	14 Oct 1066	I	I	I	(27.)	(29.)	I (30.) I	I I	I I				
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
I	V	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
I		I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I				
I	DONALD III BANE	Waltheof	I Melmare = N.N.	Helga =	HAXON	= 1st wife	St MAGNUS						
I	K. of Scots Nov. 1093-	Earl of Hunt-	I	Dau. of	Paulsson	I	Erlendsson Co-						
I	May 1094. Dep. Again	ingdon and	I	Moddan I	Regent of	I	Jarl of Orkney						
I	K. Nov. 1094-Oct	Northamp-	I	of Dair	I Orkney for	I	1108-1117 de-						
I	1097. Again deposed	ton 1065	I	I King	Sigurd	I	feated & murdered						
I	Blinded & died 1099	(33.)	I	I Magnusson	I	I	by Jarl Hakon						
I		I	I	I (34.)	I	I	16 Ap. 1117 d.s.p.						
I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I						
I	DAVID I.	= Maud	Matilda = HENRY I	1st wife =	MADOCH	= Marg-	HARALD I	PAUL the silent					
I	Sovereign	I m. 1113	m. 1100 I King of	I or MADD	I aret	Slett mali	Co Jarl of Orkney						
I	but without	I d. 1131	d. 1118 I England	I Earl of Atholl	I 2nd	Co Jarl of-	1126-31 Sole-						
I	title of K. of	I (38.)	I 1100-	I 1116-a	1152	I wife	Jarl & Earl of						
I	Strathclyde	I	I 1135	Malcolm	I	Earl of	Caithness 1131						
I	King of Scots	I	V	Earl of Atholl	I	Caithness	Betrayed & dep.						
I	1124-1153	I		a 1152 - a 1198	I	?1126-31	137? d.s.p.						
I	(37.)	V		I	I	I	I						
I	Gormflaeth or	=	HARALD II Maddadsson	= 1st	ERLEND III Haraldsson								
I	Hvaflda, dau	I	b. 1150 Co Jarl of Orkney	wife	Co-Jarl of Orkney & Earl of								
I	of MALCOLM II	I	1139-58 Sole Jarl 1158-	I	half Caithness 1153-1156								
I	Mormaer of Moray	I	1206 Earl of Half Caithness	I	murdered by Jarl Harald II								
I		V	1158 of all Caithness 1200-06	V	(39.)								

## THE SUCCESSION IN THE KINGDOM OF STRATHCLYDE

### NOTES ON CHARTS

1. EOCHAID, King of Strathclyde 877-? Became King of Alba after the death from wounds of King Aed Whitefoot. Deposed by Donald Dasachtach after death of
2. DYFNAL. IV. King of Strathclyde ?-908, Perhaps brother of Eochaid, perhaps the same as Eochaid, perhaps the same as Domnal MacGiric Benefactor of the Abbey of Deer c. 880.
3. SIGURD I RIKI. Jarl of Orkney and Caithness 875. Defeated and killed Maelbrigte Tusk Mormaer of Moray 892. Died after the victory.
4. OLAY II SIHRICSSON or Anlaf Cuaran. King of York, 941-943 deposed. Restored and deposed 944. Regulus of York. 949-952. deposed by Eric Bloodaxe. King of Dublin 945-949 and 953-981.
5. BRUNANBURIL. Daughter of Constantine III.
6. MALCOLM II. King of Strathclyde 990-995. deposed; again 997-1005. King of Alba 1005-1034.
7. MALCOLM. Co-benefactor with Donald MacRuadri of Moray of the Abbey of Deer c. 1000.
8. LIOT . Jarl of Orkney 972-976. Defeated Macbeth I Mormaer of Moray 972-and 976. Died of wounds after the victory.
9. HLODUE. Jarl of Orkney 976-Mar. Audna, daughter of an Irish King.
10. SKULL. Named Earl of Caithness (by Kenneth V. King of Alba, but Kenneth V could not put him in possession of the Earldom) 972 in opposition to Jarl Liot. Defeated and killed by Liot 972.
11. FINDLAECH. Mormaer of Moray. defeated by Sigurd II Digri Jarl of uncle 1020. Burned alive in his hall 1032.
12. MACBETH II. Mormaer and Ri of Moray to Thornfinn II, Jarl of Orkney, 1040, Murdered Duncan King of Alba and became Macbeth King of Alba 1040-1057. Defeated and killed by Malcolm IV of Strathclyde 15 August 1057.
13. GILLACOMIGAIN. Mormaer of Moray 1029-1032. Murdered his uncle 1-20. Burned alive in his Hall 1032.
14. MALCOLM I. Mormaer of Moray 1020-1032. Murdered his uncle 1020. Benefactor of the Anney of Deer.
15. EADULF CUDEL. Earl of Northumberland 1016. Defeated at Carham by Malcolm II and Owain IV King of Strathclyde. Died 1019.
16. UHTRED. Earl of Northumbria 1006-1016. Murdered by Thurbrand the Hold.
17. DUNCAN I. King of Strathclyde 1018-1034. King of Alba 1034. Defeated by Thorfinn II Jarl of Orkney and murdered by Macbeth Mormaer and Ri of Moray, 10th August, 1040.

18. SIWARD. Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton 1033. Earl of Northumbria 1041. Regent of Strathclyde 1045-1054.
19. ULF. Jarl of Jomsburg. Regent of Denmark. Murdered by King Canute September 1026.
20. EDMUND IRONSIDE. King of Wessex, Essex and English Mercia April-November 1016. Died 30th November 1016.
21. ALDRED. Son by first wife. Earl of Northumberland. 1019-1038, Killed Thurbrand the Hold 1034. Killed by his son 1038.
22. EDWULF, son by second wife, Earl of Northumberland, Defeated 1039. Murdered by Siward his successor 1041.
23. TISTUG. Earl of Huntingdon, Northampton and Northumberland 1055-1065, deposed. Killed at Stamford Bridge 25th September 1066.
24. BIORN. Earl of Middle Angles 1045. Murdered 1045.
25. SWEYN III. King of Denmark 1047-1076.
26. EDWARD THE EXILE. Married Agatha daughter of Saint Stephen King of Hungary 1000-1038.
27. HARTHACNUT. King of Denmark 1035-1042. King of Wessex 1036-1037. King of all England 1040-1042.
28. SWEYN. Regent in Norway 1030-1035, deposed. Died 1036.
29. HAROLD HAREFOOT. King of Mercia and Northumbria 1036-1039. King of all England 1037-1040.
30. PAUL and ERLEND II. Co-Jarls of Orkney ?1157. Both Jarls deposed by King Magnus III Barelegs of Norway who made his son Sigurd King of Orkney and the Isles 1099. Both died in captivity c. 1099.
31. GOSPATRICK. Earl of Northumberland 1067-1072. Deposed by King William I. Made Earl of Dunbar by King Malcolm III. Died c. 1075.
32. MALCOLM IV. King of Strathclyde. 1034. Won Lothian 1054. Defeated and killed Macbeth 1057 and Lulach 1058. Crowned at Scone as Malcolm III King of Scots 25th April 1058. Killed at Alnwick 13th November 1093.
33. WALTHEOF. Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland 1065. Earl of North Northumberland 1072. Beheaded 31st May 1076. Married Judith, niece of King William I.
34. HAKON PAULSSON. Regent of Orkney for King Sigurd Magnusson 1099 until 1105 when King Sigurd gave him Orkney. Sole Jarl 1105-1108. Co-Jarl 1108-1117 when he murdered Saint Magnus Sole Jarl 1117-? 1126.
35. MALCOLM II. Mormaer and Ri of Moray 1130-1134. Deposed by David I, King of Scots. Imprisoned at Roxburgh 1134-1157 by King Malcolm IV. Died 1168.



36. EDGAR. Deposed his uncle King Donald Bane and became King of Scots October 1097. Died unmarried 8th January 1106/1107.
37. DAVID I. Sovereign but without title of King of Strathclyde and South Lothian 1107-1124. King of Scots 1124-1153. Defeated Oengus Mormaer and Ri of Moray 1130. Deposed Malcolm II Mormaer and Ri of Moray 1134 and annexed Moray.
38. MAUD. Countess of Huntingdon and Northampton, *suo jure*. Married 1113. Died 1131.
39. ERLEND III HARALDSSON. Co-Jarl of Orkney and Earl of half of Caithness 1153-1156. Last male of the line of Jarl Turf-Einar. Murdered while drunk at Damsay 21st December 1156 by Jarl Harald II Maddadsson.
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End

