

CHAPTER VII.

Monastery of Culdees at Lochlevin.—Of St Serf.—Donations.—Library.—Foundation at Dunkeld.—Reliques of Columba transported thither.—Of the Primacy ascribed to it.—The Memory of Columba long held in Veneration there.—Monastic Seal.—Culdees at St Andrews.—Of Regulus.—Of Constantine.—Endowments of the Priory.—If originally the Seat of a Bishop?

BRUDI V., son of Derili, King of the Picts, about the year 700, bestowed the island of *Lochlevin* on St Serf, and the Culdees residing there, and serving God. ¹ St Serf, or, as his name is given in Latin, Servanus, was, if we may credit Wyntown, the Prior of Lochlevin, contemporary with Adomnan, Abbot of Iona. Although not himself educated in that

¹ Reg. Sti Andr. V. Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii. 267. Keith's Catalogue, p. 237.

island ; in consequence of a visit from Adomnan, he seems to have adopted the Columban rule. For Wyntown says, that Serf

— Arywyd at Inchekeith,
 The ile betwene Kyngorne and Leth,
 Of Ycolnkil the Abbot than
 Saynt Adaman, the haly man,
 Comc til hyme thare, and fermly
 Mad spyrytuale band of cumpany,
 And tretim hym to cum in Fyfe,
 The tyme to dryve oure of hys lyfe.

Cronykil, B. V. ch. 12. ver. 1162, &c.

In consequence of this *band of cumpany*, or bond of fellowship, between Adomnan and him, his followers lived as Culdees, and have still been distinguished by this denomination. This priory, in an early period, was enriched by liberal donations. “ Successive kings,” says a writer who has paid considerable attention to this subject, “ Macbeth, Malcolm III., and Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, with the bishops Maldwin and MODOCH, were all studious to endow the Culdees of Lochleven. Macbeth gave the Culdees the lands of Kirkness, and also the village of Bolgy. Malcolm III., and his pious queen, granted them the town and lands of Balchristie. From Edgar they got Pitnemokin. Ethelred gave them the lands of Adimore. Malduin, the bishop of St Andrews, granted them the church of Sconie ; and from Fothald, the Bishop of St Andrews, they got the church of Hurken-dorach. Reg. of St Andrews. David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin, ‘ Balchristie cum suis rectis divisis, excepta

rectitudine quam Keledei habere debent.' MS. Charters, 104. A dispute ensued between the prior and canons of St. Andrews, who came in the place of the Culdees, and the monks of Dunfermlin, about their respective rights to Balchristie. King William determined, that the monks of Dunfermlin should have Balchristie, subject to the rights which the Culdees had in it, during the reign of David I. Dalrymple's Coll. p. 283." ¹

The writer of the Register of the Priory of St Andrews has transcribed, from an old volume, "written," he says, "in the language of the Scots," the memorials concerning the rents and duties, payable from lands, churches, and otherwise, and the donations made to the church of St Servanus in the isle of Lochlevin. He professes to have done this, without the prolixity of the original, in order to prevent all vain and vexatious contentions in future times.

When this transcript was made is uncertain. As far as we may judge from the intention specified, it must have been during the existence of the Culdees; and, most probably, soon after the institution of canons regular at St Andrews, and the grant made of Lochlevin to them by David I. The deed immediately preceding in the Register is dated A. 1276. But we can determine nothing from this; as, in these registers, little regard is paid to the order of time. Some of the chartularies would seem to have been first formed, by stitch-

¹ Caledonia, I. p. 437.

ing together the loose parchments belonging to a monastery, without any attention to arrangement. When these were afterwards transcribed, the transcript was made according to the order in which they had been originally thrown together.

These memorials were published by Gillan, as an appendix to his Remarks on Sir James Dalrymple's Collections; and afterwards by Crawford, who affixed them to his Lives of Officers of State, No. III., with the addition of the deed entitled *Perambulatio*. His copy, he says, was taken from the chartulary "belonging to the honourable family of Panmure." Mr Pinkerton has compendized this account, in the appendix to the first volume of his Enquiry, pp. 467—469; where he also gives the contents of the *Large Register* of St Andrews, from a MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 4828.¹ Although these papers have been already published, yet, as I reckon myself bound to bring together all the more valuable remains of antiquity on this subject, I shall insert them in the Appendix. The copy given is from the Register of St Andrews, undoubtedly the smaller one, which has a place among the late learned Macfarlane's MSS. To these papers I shall subjoin an extract from the same register, giving an account of the donation of the village of Bolgyne, by Macbeth, to the Culdees.²

Kellach, it would appear, was Bishop of St Andrews before the year 893.³ Sir James Balfour says, that he had seen

¹ Ibid. pp. 450—454.

² V. Appendix, No. V.

³ Keith's Catalogue, p. 5.

a deed of this bishop, addressed to the religious Culdees of Lochlevin. ¹ But he has given no particular account of it. Malduin, who was bishop about the year 1034, gave them the lands of Markinch.

None of our writers seem to have adverted to a singular and valuable relique of bibliography, with which the ancient record above referred to supplies us. This is a list of the books found in the Culdean Priory of Lochlevin, at the time that it was given up to the canons regular, or about the year 1150. This catalogue is valuable; not, indeed, on account of its extent; nor as containing the names of any works which have since perished, and thus exciting the vain regret of the antiquary, or of the collector; nor as giving us any high idea of the literary acquirements of these pious recluses; but as being perhaps unique in its kind, in the history of our country, and as exhibiting a fair state of the literature of the age. This list may also be viewed as furnishing a tolerably just specimen of the ancient conventual libraries. For, if we except those of Iona, Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St Andrews; considering the great antiquity of the establishment at Lochlevin, we may reasonably suppose, that the library there would be as well stored as that of any other priory in that early age. ²

It is undeniable, that there was a monastery of Culdees at *Dunkeld*, long before it became an episcopal see. Alexander Myln, a Canon of Dunkeld, afterwards Abbot of Cambus-

¹ Dalrymple's Coll. p. 129.

V. Appendix, No. VI.

kenneth, and last of all first president of the Court of Session, after its erection A. 1532, wrote an account of the lives of the bishops of this see, still extant among the MSS. in the Advocates' Library. He says, that Constantine, King of the Picts, "from his devotion for St Columba, *at that time patron of the whole kingdom*, founded and endowed an illustrious monastery" here, "about the year 729; two hundred and twenty-six, or, as some say, two hundred and forty years, after the building of the church of Abernethy."¹ Others carry down this event to the year 815.² "In this monastery," Myln subjoins, "he placed those religious called *Keldees*, having wives according to the custom of the oriental church, from whom they abstained, while they ministered in courses."

According to this writer, there was no bishop of Dunkeld, before the reign of David I., about the year 1169; that is,

¹ — Constantinus Pictorum rex tertius, Diuo Columbe totius tunc regni patrono deuotus, monasterium insigne super ripam fluminis Tayensis, in locis illis quae nunc occupatis vos, Reuerende Pater, pro orto orientali, et vos Alexander pro mansione de Crief, in ejusdem Diui Columbe honorem, ad sancti Adampnani instanciam construxit, et dotauit, circa annos Domini septingentos viginti novem, post constructam ecclesiam de Abernethi, ad annos ducentos viginti sex, novem menses et sex dies: ac ut aliorum est opinio, ducentos quadraginta quatuor. In quo quidem monasterio, imposuit viros religiosos quos nominat vulgus *Keldees*, aliter *Colideos*, hoc est, colentes Deum; habentes tamen secundum Orientalis ecclesiae ritum coniuges, a quibus, dum vicissim ministrarunt abstinebant, sicut postea in ecclesia sancti Regnuli, nunc sancti Andree, consuetum tunc fuit, &c. MS. Fol. 3.

² Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii. 267. This is the date given by Wytown.

Aweht hundyr wynter and fyftene
 Fra God tuk fleysch of Mary schene,—
 The Kyng of Psychtis Constantyne
 Be Tay than fowndyd Dwukeldyne.—
 The Byschape and Chanownys thare
 Serwys God and Saynet Colme seculare.

Cronykil, B. vi. ch. 7.

more than four hundred years after the erection of the Culdee monastery. Goodall, however, shews that Cormac was bishop here in the days of Alexander I. ¹ In the charter of erection of this bishopric by David, there is an express exception of the rights that belonged to the abbey, *exceptis rectitudinibus quae ad Abbatiam de Dunkelden pertinent*. This not only proves, as Sir James Dalrymple has observed, "that there has been an Abbacie at Dunkel before the erection of the bishopric," but that they "continued separate for some time, till the Keldees were chased out."² Even Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, subscribes as a witness to this exception in favour of the abbey, over which he had formerly presided as abbot.

Mr Pinkerton has referred to a remarkable passage, occurring in the most ancient and authentic records of Ireland, which seems to prove that the supreme ecclesiastical government remained attached to the Culdees, even after the accession of the Scottish princes to the Pictish throne. "Tighernac," he says, "and the Annals of Ulster furnish us with a bishop of Pikland much earlier [than 909, when Kellach is said to have been made Bishop of St Andrews;] for at the year 864, they say, *Tuahal Mac Artgusa, Archbishop of Fortren, and Abbot of Dun Callen, dormivit*; 'Tuahal, son of Artgus, Archbishop of Pikland, and Abbot of Dunkeld, died.' This would lead us to suspect, that after Hyona was destroyed by the Danes [A. 801,] or after its power over the Pikish

¹ Pref. to Keith's Catalogue, ix.

² Collections, p. 247.

churches ceased, the Abbot of Dunkeld [a Culdee] was for a time regarded as supreme of the Pikish church. Certain it is that St Andrews had no title to be regarded as supreme church in Pikland, till erected into a bishopric.”¹

Nearly the same idea is adopted by another writer. Having mentioned the dissolution of the monastery of Iona, in consequence of the barbarity of the Danish pirates, he says, that Dunkeld became the repository of the reliques of St Columba, adding; “A religious house was here built, upon the same system as the original establishment, at Iona. In it, a bishop resided; over it, an abbot ruled. From the epoch of 848, the church of Dunkeld appears to have formed the primacy of Scotland, for several ages, till it was supplanted, in its turn, by St Andrews.” He then quotes the passage from the *Annals of Ulster*, concerning the *Archbishop* of Fortren; subjoining, “The annalist merely means to speak of the *primate*, by the florid expression of *archbishop*. Under the year 872, the same annals state the death of Flavertach M‘Murtach, the *primate* of Dunkeld.”²

It is of no consequence in regard to the point under consideration, whether Iurastach, the Abbot of Hii, carried the reliques of Columba to Dunkeld, or not. This theory rests on the ground of a supposed error in the *Ulster Annals*, as if *Ireland* had been put for *Scotland*. The general idea seems well-founded, that Dunkeld was viewed as a second Iona. But it remains to be proved that, in this early period, there

¹ Enquiry, ii 268, 269.

² Caledonia, i. p. 428.

was a bishop, as well as an abbot, residing here. The only thing, which seems to be offered in proof of this, is the passage in the Annals of Ulster, quoted as under the year 865, [leg. 864], where we have an account of the death of Tuathal, *Archbishop* of Fortren and Abbot of Dunkeld. From what has been quoted above, from the same work, this Tuathal seems to be viewed as “*primate* of Dunkeld.” But with this it is not easy to reconcile what is said a few pages downwards; “The Ulster Annals, under the year 864, speak magnificently of the death of Tuathal, the Archbishop of Fortren, or *Abernethy*.”²

Could we for a moment suppose *Fortren* to mean the town of Abernethy, (an idea not only different from that which has always been hitherto entertained, but not easily reconcilable with any of the notices concerning it in these annals), it must necessarily follow, that this person could not be also the bishop connected with the monastery of Dunkeld; for he must have resided here, for “performing the functions of his office.”³ We have no evidence, therefore, that this *Archbishop* of Fortren was any other than the Abbot of Dunkeld.

The remarks made by Mr Pinkerton have a great degree of verisimilitude. “The Abbot of Hyona,” he says, “having such supreme power over the Pikish churches, certainly would not allow of any bishop’s see, as the title was superior to his own, and [he who bore it] could not be controuled by him. Abernethy and Dunkeld were but abbacies, even in

¹ Ibid. Note (L)

² Ibid. p. 431, Note (z.)

³ Ibid. p. 435.

the eleventh century, long after St Andrews was a bishopric. Indeed, all our writers, ancient and modern, concur that St Andrews was the most ancient bishopric, north of Clyde and Forth.”¹

The author of Caledonia admits, that Kellach, Bishop of St Andrews, “was the first bishop of any determinate see.”² When speaking of Tuathal, he finds it necessary to understand the language of the Ulster Annals figuratively; observing, as has been seen, that “the annalist merely means to speak of the *primate*, by the florid expression of archbishop.” For, he adds, that, “in opposition to the claims of the register of St Andrews,—Dunkeld long held the *primacy* of the united kingdom,” i. e. of the Scots and Picts. Now, was this *primate* in fact a different person from the abbot? If so, the very foundation of the primacy ascribed to him is destroyed, and all analogy between Dunkeld and Iona obliterated. Why did the primacy belong to Dunkeld? Because, says the learned writer, “a religious house was here built, upon the same system, as the original establishment at Iona.” But who was *primate* in Iona? Was it any nameless bishop, who has been supposed to reside there for certain functions that no one but himself could perform? We have not been able to discover a single vestige of such a character. And can even those, who believe that an ecclesiastic of this description did reside there, merely because, according to their system, it ought to have been so, satisfy themselves that he

¹ Enquiry, ii 268.

² Vol. I. p. 429.

was so completely the principal person in Iona, that the *primacy* centred in him, rather than in the abbot at the head of the Culdean college?

The only reasonable idea we can form, is, that the Abbot of Dunkeld was called *archbishop* and *primate*, as holding the honours formerly conceded, by universal consent, to the Abbot of Iona. The author of Caledonia says, that “the first bishop of Dunkeld, who came out conspicuously, on the stage of life, was Cormac, who appears under Alexander I. Yet, is it certain, that there were bishops at Dunkeld, before the early age of Cormac.”¹ But how can this be *certain*, when there is no evidence, save of that suppositious kind which we have already considered? We can form no other conclusion, than that Cormac “was the first bishop, who came out *conspicuously*,” because he was the first who had been appointed to the episcopal office, distinctly from the abbot, and as superseding his extensive authority.

From the faint vestiges of the history of these dark ages, it is evident that, even after the suppression of the Culdean establishment at Dunkeld, the memory of the Culdees was highly venerated there. This appears from various circumstances. Their successors still acknowledged Columba as their patron saint; and not only acknowledged him in this character, but ascribed a miraculous virtue to his reliques.

So late as towards the close of the fifteenth century, Bishop Livingston instituted a chaplainry, in honour of Colum-

¹ Vol. 1. p. 428, 429.

ba as patron, at the altar of St Martin, in the collegiate church of St Giles of Edinburgh. ¹ George Brown, one of his successors, seems to have consecrated a bell to the memory of the patron saint, and to have baptized it with his name. ²

Mylne informs us that, “ as in the year 1500, a most fatal pestilence raged throughout Scotland, and, according to the common report, the city of Dunkeld alone still continued uninjured, through the merits of its patron Columba, Bishop Brown ordered a daily mass to be said, at the great altar, at his own expence, in honour of their patron. At the end of the year, as the city, and the greatest part of the surrounding country, remained unaffected by the pestilence, he ordered that this mass should be perpetuated, and that ten pounds should be appropriated annually for this purpose. That those, who celebrated this mass, might be enabled to do it with due honour, and at the same time without fatigue, he chose seven vicars of the choir, who were to have a stipend of ten pounds. The service was to be honourably performed at seven altars of the church not yet founded, viz. those of the Saints Martin, Nicholas, Andrew the Apostle, of the

¹ Capellaneam etiam in honorem Diui Columbe patroni ad altare sancte Martini in ecclesia collegiata benedicti Egidii de Edinburgh perpetuauit. Mylne Vit. Episcop. Dunkeld. Fol. 17, b.

² Duas magnas campanas, vnam *Columbam*, minorem *Georgeum* vocatas adduxit. Successoribus maximam, que *Maria* foret vocanda, portandam reliquit. Ibid. Fol. 28, b. The writer seems to speak of the three principal bells of the cathedral. Two of these appear to have been hung in the episcopate of Brown, who took the name of the smallest of the two to himself. The third and largest, which was to be dedicated to the Virgin, though perhaps cast at his expence, was not brought to Dunkeld in his time.

Innocents, of All Saints, of Stephen the Protomartyr, and of John Baptist. Each of these vicars was, one day in the week, to celebrate mass, in his turn, as hitherto, at the second bell for matins; that devout ecclesiastics, seculars given to good works, and travellers, might joyfully assemble.”¹

“Some,” he elsewhere says, “in his ecclesiastical lands of Capeth, he visited, while labouring under the pestilence, and caused the sacraments of the church to be administered to them.” The dreadful disease resisting this application, as would seem, the good bishop had recourse to another, and a more powerful, remedy. “But on a subsequent day, he made holy water, in which he washed a bone of the blessed Columba, and sent it by his chancellor to be drunk by the patients. Many, receiving this, were completely cured. But one stubborn fellow replied to the chancellor; ‘Why does

¹ Et quia in anno Domini M,CCCCC. seuerissima regnauit pestis per totum regnum Scocie, et ut fama fertur ciuitas Dunkeldensis illesa meritis Diui patroni Columbe a contagione pestifera semper permansit. Ideo in honorem eiusdem patroni, integrum suis expensis cantari fecit missam cum Nota ad maius altare omni die in secundo pulsu ad matutinas. Et anno finito quia ciuitas et maxima circumjacentis prima pars a peste intacta permansit: ideo missam ipsam quotidie dicendam datis ad horam quatuor decem libris annui census prædiorum rusticorum fundando perpetuauit. Ac ut celebrantes eandem missam ecclesias decorarent tedioque nec afficerentur, septem elegit chori vicarios, decem librorum stipendio conductos. Ad septem ecclesie altaria nondum fundata, viz. Duorum, Martini, Nicholai, Andree Apostoli, Innocentium, Omnium Sanctorum, Stephani prothomartyris, et Johannis Baptistae in honestate seruanda. Quodque per singulos dies omni septimana unus illorum, in turno suo missam celebraret que hactenus in secundo pulsu ad matutinas oportune seruatur; ad quam deuoti ecclesiastici et bonis operibus seculares assueti, aduenque itineraturi exultantes conueniunt. Ibid. Fol. 25, b.

the bishop send us water to drink? I would rather he would send me his best beverage.' He, however, with all the rest who rejected the water of St Columba, died of the plague, and were buried in one tomb below the said cemetery." ¹

It may be viewed as a farther proof of the great attachment still retained to Columba at Dunkeld, that so many of the bishops, most probably at their own desire, were interred in that island which bore his name, as having been consecrated to him. This is the island called *Inch-Colm*, or *St Columba's Inch*. We learn from Myln, that a bishop of the name of Richard was buried in the church here A. 1173, or 1174; Richard de Praebenda, A. 1210; John Archdeacon of Lothian, A. 1214; another of the same name, designed John of Leicester, is also mentioned, but viewed by Keith as the same person; Gilbert, A. 1236; Richard, the chancellor, who died A. 1250. According to Myln, A. 1272, the heart of Richard of Inverkeithing was interred in the choir of St Columba's church in this island, although his body was buried at Dunkeld; and James Livingston, A. 1482-3. Galfrid, who died A. 1249, was buried in the old church of the convent at Dunkeld, dedicated to Columba.

To these observations we may add, that, long after the ex-

* Quosdam quum peste laborantes in terris suis ecclesiasticis de Capethe vi-tavit et sacramenta ecclesiastica eis ministrari fecit. Altera vero die aquam fecit benedictam, in qua laavavit os Benedicti Columbe, et cum cancellario eis ad bibendum misit; quam multi recipientes sani facti sunt. Unus vero procerus cancellario respondit, Quid mittit nobis episcopus aquam ad bibendam: malle misisset mihi optimam suam seruiciam. Ille vero, cum reliquis aquam sancti Columbe non recipientibus in peste obierunt, et ad numerum triginta personarum in vno infra dictum Cemiterium monumento sepulti sunt.—Ibid. Fol. 26, b. 27, a.

tion of the Culdees here, the monastic seal continued to exhibit the image of Columba as the patron saint. ¹

The Culdean establishment at *St Andrews* next demands our attention. It is pretended by our ancient chroniclers, that Constantius having wasted the city of Patras, rather, *Patrae*, Gr. πατραί, in Achaia, where the reliques of St Andrew were kept, Regulus was warned in a vision to take some of these, and carry them with him to a region towards the west, situated in the utmost parts of the earth; that he accordingly did so, and, after being long tossed at sea, was at length driven into a bay near the place where St Andrews now stands. According to some accounts, this took place about the year 365; while others make it somewhat later. In this quarter, we are told, Regulus lived devoutly, with his companions, in cells, for thirty-two years, occasionally travelling through the country, and building several churches. Three are particularly mentioned in the extracts from the Large Register. One, it is said, was at *Fortevioth*, one at *Monechata*, afterwards called *Monichi*, and another, beyond the Month, at *Doldanha*, in later times denominated *Chondrohedalion*. ² Hungus, son of Fergoso, King of the Picts, is represented as patronising Regulus and his companions,

¹ An impression of this seal is given.

² V. Sibbald's *Fife*, p. 164. In a note, added to the last edition of this work, it is said: "The village of Forteviot is well known. *Monichi*, Sibbald elsewhere supposes to be Moonzie, and Chondrohedalion is Nachton. See p. 36." But it is certainly more natural to think, that *Monichi* is the modern *Monikie*, a parish church in the county of Forfar, about twelve miles distant from St Andrews.

and as having given them some lands as a perpetual alms-gift.

The Large Register of St Andrews, which contained this account, has disappeared for more than a century. The extracts, made from it, are however preserved in a MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 4628. They have been published by Mr Pinkerton, in the *Addenda* to his Enquiry. As this useful work has become scarce, I shall insert the extracts which refer to Regulus, and to the Culdees, in the Appendix. ¹

The whole story, with respect to Regulus, has, it must be acknowledged, greatly the air of a mere legend. It was very probably framed by the monks, after Kilymont became the chief seat of ecclesiastical power, in order to give it more celebrity, and to wean the multitude from their attachment to religious places which had in fact a more early foundation; particularly, from Iona, Abernethy, and Dunkeld. The very name of the Pictish prince, to whom the patronage of Regulus is ascribed, seems to betray the imposture. "He was fabricated," says Mr Pinkerton, "because a Hungus had founded St Andrews about 825; and its priests wanted to pass Regulus for its founder in the fourth century." ²

This legend may be viewed as having more connexion with the history of the Culdees than what appears at first sight. Two circumstances suggest this idea. The first is, the conformity of the mode of life, attributed to Regulus and his companions, to that of the Culdees. They are de-

¹ V. No. VII.

² Enquiry, t. 294.

scribed as living in *cells*, and as planting churches, just as the monks of Iona did. The second is still more striking. The very territory, said to have been given by an early prince of the Picts, of the name of Hungus, to Regulus and his brethren, and, as we know from history, actually given for a religious purpose, several centuries afterwards, seems unaccountably to pass into the hands of the Culdees. It is even recognised as theirs, without any kind of dispute, at the very time that their adversaries were abridging their power, and depriving them of their possessions. Now, if there ever was such a person as Regulus, he might, like St Servan and others, be an associate of Columba, or of some of his followers. For, in this instance, little stress can be laid on the chronology of the Register, or of our early writers. With respect to the precious reliques of an Apostle, it is well known that the monks did not always need to go as far as to Patras for them. I am strongly inclined to suspect, that these had never been heard of at Kilrymont, till a noise had been made about the reliques of Columba at Dunkeld. Myln, as we have seen, asserts, with great appearance of truth, that Columba, the patron saint of Dunkeld, was acknowledged in the same character *through the whole kingdom*. It was therefore necessary that Regulus, who introduced the reliques of the apostle Andrew, to whom the saint of Iona must of course give place, should have a prior date.

According to the extracts from the Large Register, Hungus, king of the Picts, came to Kilrymont, and, perambulating great part of that place, presented it to God and St An-

drew, for the erection of churches and oratories. That such a gift was made by Hungus, is in the highest degree probable. For it appears indisputable, that, about the year 825, he founded a church at Kilrymont; which henceforth received the name of the Apostle to whom it was dedicated. Sibbald views this gift of the Pictish king as meant for the benefit of the Culdees.¹ But we have more direct evidence. For, as Martine speaks of *Baronia Caledaiorum infra Cursum Apri*, or “the Barony of the Culdees below the *Boar’s Raik*,”² the extracts bear, that this was given by King Hungus to St Rule. Yet we learn, from the same source of information, that this tract was afterwards taken from the Culdees; and given, first to the Bishop, and then to the Prior and Canons Regular of St Andrews: “so that,” as Sir James Dalrymple observes, “this place appeareth to have been one of the ancient seats of the Culdees.”³

In the tenth century, such was their celebrity at St Andrews, that King Constantine III. took up his residence among them, and A. 943, died a member of their society;⁴ or, as Wyntown says, abbot of their monastery.

Nyne hundyr wyntyr and aucht yhere,
 Quhen gayne all Donaldis dayis were,
 Heddis sowne cald Constantine
 Kyng wes thretty yhere: and syne
 Kyng he sessyd for to be,
 And in Sancti Andrewys a *Kyldè*.

¹ History of Fife, p. 165, 166.

² Reliquiae Divi Andreae, p. 22, 23.

³ Collections, p. 131, 132.

⁴ Fordun. Scotichron. lib. iv. c. 22, 23.

And there he lyyd yheris fyve,
 And Abbot mad, endyd hys lyve.

Cronykil, B. vi. c. x.

It is also believed that an Irish king attached himself to this religious body. For we learn from the Ulster Annals, that, A. 1033, Hugh Mac Flavertai O'Neill, King of Ailech, and heir of Ireland, *post penitentiam mort. in St. Andrewes eccl.* ¹ He has also been designed "King of A'cliath." ²

The Culdees at St Andrews seem to have had considerable endowments. But it is not easy to form an accurate judgment as to the extent of these, by reason of the mistakes of copyists with respect to the names of places, as well as the change of these names in the lapse of ages; and also, because we cannot certainly distinguish between the original possessions of the Culdees, and those lands, which, in the way of superadded donation, were given to their successors the canons regular. Another difficulty arises from the impossibility of determining, whether certain lands belonged to the Culdees of Lochleven, or to those of St Andrews. After the exclusion of this order of religious, though there was a priory of canons regular at Lochleven, distinct from that at St Andrews, the former evidently depended, in some way, on the latter: and some modes of expression occasionally occur in ancient deeds, which rather induce the idea, that, during the power of the Culdean establishments, the priory of St Andrews was dependent on that of Lochleven.

¹ Pinkerton's Enquiry, II. App. p. 319.

² Caledonia, I. 436.

Sibbald, having given an account of the lands which were held by the Culdees of Lochlevin, says; “ Besides these mentioned above, the excerpts of the Register show, that there were other lands in this shire [of Fife, which] belonged to them. *Terrae quas tenent Keledei, Kinkel, Kinnadin File, Kinnadin Egu, Lethin, Kerin, Kerner, Kynninis, Rathmatgallum, Syreis, Baletoch, Kaletuise, Baleocherthin, Pethkenin, Kingorg.*”¹

By these he undoubtedly means the lands which belonged to the Culdees of St Andrews. Some of them are particularly mentioned, as their property, in the small Register; as Kinkel, which was confirmed to them by a charter of Malcolm IV.² It is probably the same place which is elsewhere called Kinakelle.³ Kynninis is frequently mentioned;⁴ and the lands of Lethin are, in a variety of places, specified as still the property of the Culdees, *Quas Keledei habent.*⁵ Syreis is undoubtedly the town of Ceres, Pethkenin the Petkenin of the Register.⁶ Kerner may be Kernes;⁷ and Kingorg the same with Chindargog.⁸

In order to shew that the Culdean priory at St Andrews “ formed originally the residence of a bishop,” it has been observed, that, “ under the year 872, the Ulster Annals state the death of *Bishop Colman, the Abbot of St Andrews.*”⁹ This is not in the extracts given by Mr Pinkerton, though it

¹ History of Fife, p. 169. ² Reg. Sti. Andr. p. 552. ³ Ibid. p. 385.

⁴ Ibid. p. 53, 150, 385, &c. ⁵ Ibid. p. 57, 62, 71, 160, &c.

⁶ Ibid. p. 385. ⁷ Ibid. p. 374, 385. V. Appendix, No. VIII.

⁸ Ibid. p. 62. ⁹ Caledonia, i. p. 430.

occurs in Johnstone's: and even the latter gives it with evident hesitation. His extract is in these words: " Bishop Colman, the Abbot of Androis (f. ¹ St Andrews) died. ² At any rate, it must be viewed merely as complimentary language; or, as the author of Caledonia observes concerning 'Tuathal, when designed *Archbishop*, as " a florid expression."³ Besides, this writer has himself ascribed the foundation of the bishopric of St Andrews, to Grig, who did not begin to reign till the year 883. ⁴ It may be added, that, though Keith has given, from different writers, no fewer than seven lists of the Bishops of St Andrews, the name of Colman does not appear in one of them.

¹ Antiquit. Celto-Normann. p. 65.

² Fortasse.

³ See above, p. 138.

⁴ V. Pinkerton's Enquiry, ii. 179.