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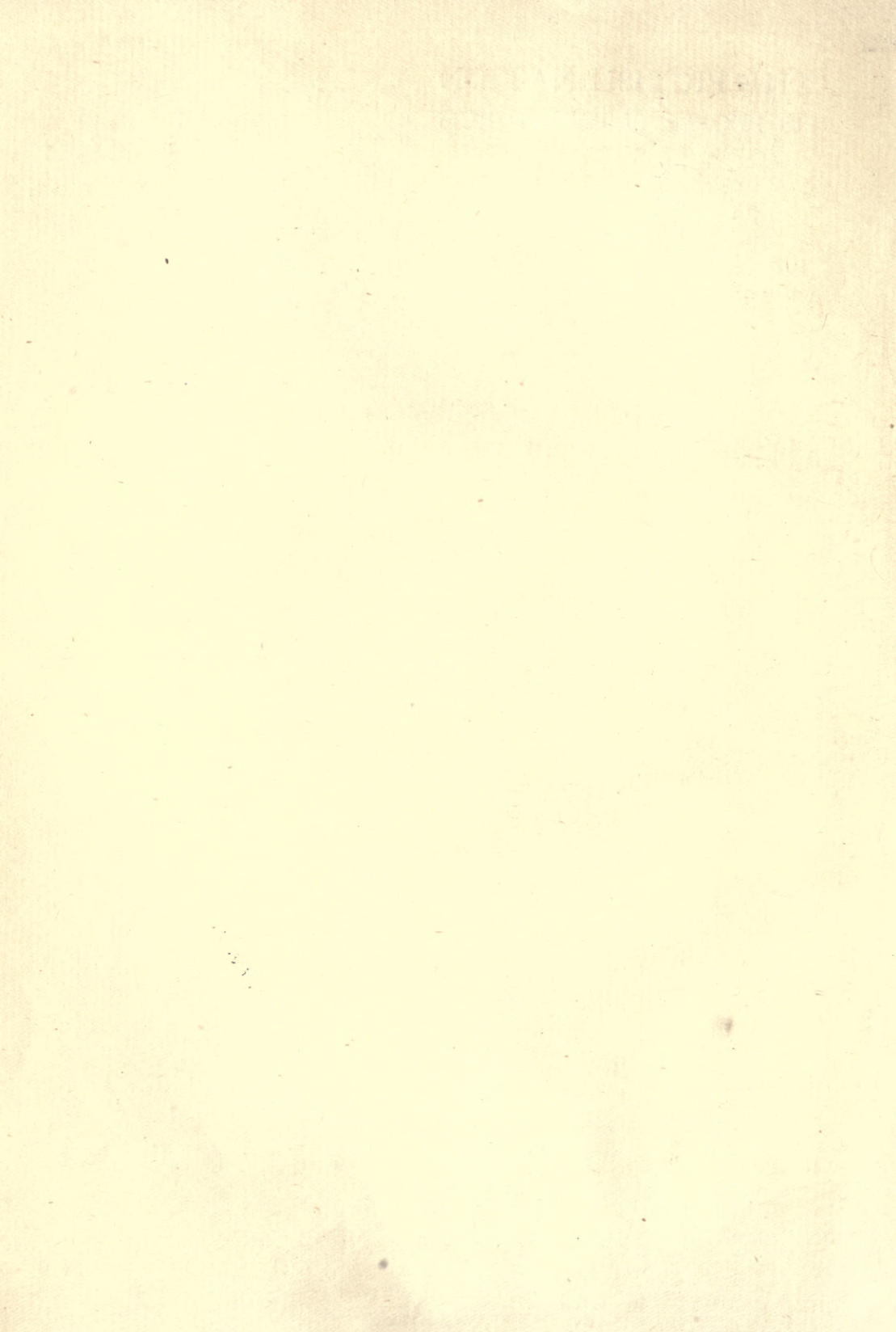






THE PICTISH NATION  
ITS PEOPLE & ITS CHURCH





# THE PICTISH NATION

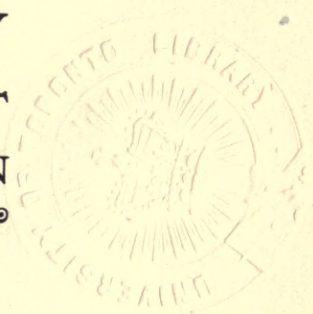
ITS PEOPLE & ITS  
CHURCH • BY

ARCHIBALD B. SCOTT

B.D. AUTHOR OF S. NINIAN

APOSTLE OF THE BRITONS &

PICTS, &c.



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TO

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

AND TO THE MEMORY OF MY YOUNGEST BROTHER

WHO DIED, IN 1916, OF WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION

AND SLEEPS IN FRANCE WITH OTHER COMRADES OF

THE 1ST CAMERON HIGHLANDERS



## PREFACE

A HISTORY of the Nation and Church of the Picts is centuries overdue. Others have contemplated the task; but they shrank from it almost as soon as they began to enter the maze of deliberately corrupted versions of ancient manuscripts, of spurious memoranda introduced into ancient documents, of alleged donations to Gaidheals or Scots of what had been Pictish property, and of fabulous claims to great antiquity made for pretended missions of the Church of Rome to the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. To these the late Dr. Wm. F. Skene referred when he stated, in spite of his regard for the Scotie ecclesiastics, that '*the fictitious antiquity*' given by Roman ecclesiastics to the settlement of the Scots is accompanied by '*a supposed introduction of Christianity, by Roman agents, equally devoid of historic foundation.*' Several mediaeval fabricators of early history are now known and have been exposed. The late Bishop Forbes timidly drew attention to the fabulists employed by the prelates of Armagh, York, and Glasgow, in the interests of their Sees and the claims of their Churches to antiquity and primacy. These fabulists were sometimes more honest under one employer than under another. When Joceline wrote up the *Life* of S. Partick for Armagh, he was much less scrupulous than when he elaborated the ancient *Life* of S. Kentigern; because in the latter in-



## THE PICTISH NATION

stance he retained much that is valuable from the original which was before him.

Consequently, in writing an Introduction to the History of the Nation and Church of the Picts, the research and patience have at times been exacting. It has not only been necessary, where possible, to get back to ungarbled original sources, or fragments of sources; but, where these have perished, to collect and to compare versions drawn up from motives not often historical, and then by critical examination, and elimination of what might turn out to be mutually destructive, or unconfirmed, to get close up to what had been before the author of the version. Although, for example, there is more than one version of the original *Pictish Chronicle*; it is not difficult for an equipped and experienced student to isolate what now remains of the original, or at least of the oldest versions, and even to tell the dialects of Celtic in which the latter were written. The mediaeval hands that wrote introduction or added information to this *Chronicle* have not always revealed their actual identity like the York copyist of the most valuable of the manuscripts, Robert de Popilton; but it is nearly always possible to tell where they wrote, with what motive they wrote, and to identify the source or sources of their additions, when they had any.

In connection with the critical examination and comparison of documents, and the identific-  
viii

## PREFACE

ation of places, referred to under their ancient names, the author is indebted to many correspondents and librarians both at home and abroad.

The history of the Pictish Nation and Church does not provide a mere pastime for antiquaries. It has a modern interest and value, especially to a world which in these past years has been compelled to contrast the spirit of the Teutons with the soul of the Celtic peoples, and to ask the explanation of the moral gulf between. Men have learned in these latter days that Culture and Civilization devoted to materialistic ideals, though wearing Christianity hypocritically as a mask, may suddenly plunge back into primeval savagery. The appreciation of the Celtic soul is more likely to grow than to wane, because it has a natural affinity for the spiritual and moral ideals of decent men and women.

The Picts cherished Culture and Civilization as means to attain moral ideals. They believed in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, and strove that personal and communal righteousness should be recognized as necessities of life and progress. The memories of the heroic Pictish Christian leaders proclaim to the modern Church that it is false to Christ, if it does not take pains to secure that His Spirit pervades human life and governs human action. Put another way, neither sincerity of assent to theological dogmas nor abject submission to alleged apostolic tradi-

## THE PICTISH NATION

tions can take the place of individual conformity to the moral standard of life set up by Jesus Christ in Himself as the abiding rule for all mankind. A study of the Pictish Church cannot but have a rousing effect on the modern Church with its materialistic ideals of success; calling it back from the idolatry of Mammon, and from theological to ethical and evangelical standards.

At the time when the Picts ceased to continue as an undiluted people, independent, organized, under their own native sovereigns, they were no effete and decadent nation. They were the same indomitable soldiers that their fathers had been when freedom, home, and country were assailed. They knew that their ancestors had thwarted and baffled the legions of Imperial Rome, and had swept them behind the Wall of Antonine which remained a standing monument to their triumph. They remembered 'Dun-Nechtain,' and how their fathers had smashed the last great army which the first Teutons sent into Pictland that they might complete the conquest of Britain, and how they had left but a handful of fugitives to reach the safe side of the same Wall of Antonine. That liberty and the maintenance of their own nation were still Pictish ideals in the eighth century is seen in the way that the Pictish people arose to throw back into the sea the second Teuton inrush, known as the Viking invasions. If they failed, it was through no cowardice, and no sec-



# CONTENTS OF CHAPTERS

I. PERIOD AND ORIGIN OF THE PICTISH CHURCH . . . . .	page 1
II. PICTLAND OF ALBA . . . . .	„ 6
III. THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS . . . . .	„ 15
IV. THE LITERATURE OF THE PICTS . . . . .	„ 41
V. HOW THE PICTS LIVED . . . . .	„ 63
VI. THE BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE PICTISH CHURCH . . . . .	page 77
VII. <i>CANDIDA CASA</i> (WHITHORN) . . . . .	„ 90
VIII. THE MEN WHO CONTINUED S. NINIAN'S MISSION-WORK, AND ORGANIZED THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS . . . . .	page 107
IX. RACIAL, POLITICAL, AND OTHER CHANGES IN BRITAIN IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. THE EFFECT ON THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS, THE ORGANIZING OF THE THREE CELTIC NATIONS . . . . .	page 171
X. BANGOR OF THE IRISH PICTS, AND GLAS- GOW OF THE BRITONS, GIVE HELP TO <i>CANDIDA CASA</i> IN CONTINUING AN EDUCATED MINISTRY TO THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS OF ALBA . . . . .	page 233

# THE PICTISH NATION

- XI. S. DAGAN OF *CANDIDA CASA*; AND THE  
ATTEMPTS OF THE ROMAN MISSION TO  
ABSORB THE BRITO-PICTISH CHURCH  
*page 275*
- XII. THE LEADERS OF THE CHURCH IN PICT-  
LAND IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY *page 291*
- XIII. THE FIRST ENGLISH ATTEMPT AT CON-  
QUEST IN PICTLAND NORTH OF THE  
FORTH AND CLYDE LINE; AND THE  
INCIDENT OF TRUMWINE'S EPISCO-  
PATE . . . . . *page 311*
- XIV. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH  
OF THE PICTS COMPLETE EVERY-  
WHERE IN PICTLAND AT THE BEGIN-  
NING OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY *page 332*
- XV. CHURCH AND KING IN PICTLAND DUR-  
ING THE PUBLIC LIFE OF NECHTAN THE  
SOVEREIGN OF PICTLAND A.D. 706-724  
*page 360*
- XVI. STATE AND CHURCH IN PICTLAND DUR-  
ING THE REIGN OF ANGUS I. MAC FER-  
GUS, SOVEREIGN OF THE PICTS, 12  
AUGUST A.D. 729-761 . . . . . *page 396*
- XVII. THE PROGRESS OF UNION, BY ABSORP-  
TION, BETWEEN THE PICTS AND SCOTS.  
THE EFFECT OF THE COMING OF THE  
VIKINGS, AND ALSO OF KENNETH  
MAC ALPIN . . . . . *page 433*



# CONTENTS OF CHAPTERS

- XVIII. THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS : THEY  
DISORGANIZE EXTENSIVELY THE  
PICTISH SOVEREIGNTY AND PICTISH  
CHURCH : THEY DESTROY CULTURE  
AND REVIVE PRIMEVAL SAVAGERY IN  
MANY PARTS OF PICTLAND . *page 447*
- XIX. AN ANTICIPATION OF THE DEVICES BY  
WHICH KENNETH MAC ALPIN AND  
HIS SUCCESSORS PENETRATED THE  
CHURCH OF THE PICTS WITH ROMAN  
AND SCOTIC INFLUENCES . *page 468*
- XX. KENNETH MAC ALPIN'S EFFORT TO SET  
UP ROMAN MONARCHIC AND DIO-  
CESAN EPISCOPACY IN PICTLAND.  
THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE SOLE  
BISHOP OF 'FORTRENN' TO ABER-  
NETHY. KING GIRIC'S GIFT OF  
'LIBERTY' TO THE ROMANIZED  
SCOTIC CHURCH IN PICTLAND. ITS  
EFFECT ON THE ANCIENT CHURCH  
OF THE PICTS . . . . *page 477*
- XXI. CONSTANTINE III. MACAEDHAND CEL-  
LACH THE BISHOP OF ALBA MOCK  
THE PICTISH CHURCHMEN WITH A  
PROMISE OF RELIGIOUS EQUALITY  
WHICH IMPLIED CONFORMITY TO  
THE CHURCH OF ROME . . . *page 487*



# THE PICTISH NATION

XXII. CORRECTIVE OBSERVATIONS CONCERN-  
ING THE *CELE DE* ('CULDEES') OF  
PICTLAND OF ALBA . . . . *page 496*

XXIII. HOW THE *CELE DE* ADAPTED THEM-  
SELVES IN ORDER TO CONTINUE  
THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS IN ALBA  
AND FAILED. THEIR GRADUAL AB-  
SORPTION INTO THE CHURCH OF  
ROME . . . . . *page 505*

XXIV. THE SPIRITUAL AND ETHICAL VALUE  
OF THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS TO  
CHRISTENDOM . . . . . *page 519*

INDEX . . . . . *page 545*

## PRINCIPAL SOURCES

- I. Those collated and critically analysed. Used in so far as by internal evidence they remain true to the ancient original sources; or where they are wholly or partly confirmed by external documentary evidence, by the inscribed stones, or by the ancient Church-sites of Pictland.

Version of *Cronica de Origine Antiquorum Pictorum* (Colbertine MS.), discarding the Isidorean preface; but, for the kings of the Scotie dynasty, retaining the confirmed Additions of the Scottish Continuator.

The other Versions of the *Pictish Chronicle*, including that added to *Historia Britonum*, 'Do Bunadh Cruithneach.'

The historical matter in the *Fragment relating to the Irish Picts*, especially the Picts of Dalraidhe and Uladh (MSS. Rawlinson B. 506 Bodleian; and *Book of Lecain*).

The *De Excidio* of Gildas, and the *Historia Britonum* (Nennius). The *Additions* to *Historia Britonum*, for the early Anglian kings; and for the names and pedigrees of the chiefs and kings of the Britons.

The *Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach* (MSS. Rawlinson, *Book of Lecain*, and Kilbride), checked by the *Duan Albanach* and the *Irish Annals* for the Scotie kings of Dalriada, and for the kings of the Pictish dynasty of Dalriada, after Angus I. Mac Fergus.

The historical part of the pedigrees of the Saints of the Britons and Iro-Picts as recorded by the genealogists and in the *Senchus*; *Y Cymmrodor*, 9, 173; *Bonedd Saint Ynys Prydain*, *Myvrian Archæology* (Morris).

The *Life* and *Acts* of S. Martin of Tours as related by Sulpicius Severus, Fortunatus, and Gregory.

The fragments relating to S. Ninian and *Candida Casa*, and S. Ninian's successors there, in Bede's *History*, in the ancient Irish *Kalendars* and *Lives*, and in the basic matter from the 'Old Life' in the *Vita S. Niniani* of Ailred.

The Versions of the *Old Lives* of the Saints of the Britons including fragments from Irish sources relating to Căranog, Pawl Hên ('Pauldoc'), Servanus, Nidan, and others.

## THE PICTISH NATION

The Versions of the *Old Lives* of the Iro-Pictish Saints, the fragments belonging to S. Finbar's *Life* scattered under the Irish, the Britonic, and the Pictish forms of his name, the references to him in the *Vita S. Comgalli* and in the *Vita S. Columbae*, and other *Lives*.

*The Tract on the Mothers of Saints in Ireland*, and especially the reference to the historical S. Servanus.

The *Confession* of S. Patrick and the *Epistle to Coroticus*.

The Papyrus, No. 417 British Museum, and other fragments referring to the *Papas*.

*The Chronicle of St. Mary's Huntingdon*, for the account of the rebellion of Alpin grandson of Aed Finn, and his clan.

The *Spelman Fragment* dealing with the Paschal date.

The *Geographikē* of Ptolemy, and the Versions of the Latin translators.

*Vita S. Comgalli*, *Vita S. Cainichi*, various Versions and Texts.

*Vita S. Columbae*, Adamnan et Cumine, various Texts; and the 'Old Life' or Eulogy (three Texts).

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Fragments relating to S. Kentigern in the ancient *Kalendars* and *Lives*; and the basic matter from the *Old Celtic Life* in the *Vita Kentigerni* of Joceline.

*De Mensura Orbis Terrae*, Dicuil; ed. Letronne.

*Annales Cambriae*, checked by other sources, and compilation by J. W. ab Ithel.

*Annals of Tighernac*, *Annals of Ulster*, *Annals* by the Four Masters, (checked by various sources, and corrected where, especially in the latter, place-names belonging to Alba have been confused with similar names in Ireland. The author has found the verified dates compiled by the late Dr. Reeves of great use). *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Thorpe.

*The Chronicon Scotorum*, W. M. Hennessy.

*Fragments of Annals*, MS. 5301, Burgundian Library, Brussels.

*Vita S. Malachi*, S. Bernard.



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S. Maelrubha, Reeves, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii.  
Texts of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*,  
and his Continuator.

Extracts in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating  
to Great Britain and Ireland*; ed. Haddan and Stubbs.

Versions, in *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*; ed. by Skene.

*The Martyrology of Tallagh* (MS. in possession of the  
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*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, Stokes and Strachan.

The 'Antiphonary' of S. Comgall's Bangor.

*Books of Ballymote and Lecain.*

*Feilire of Aengus* and Glosses.

*Liber Hymnorum* and Glosses, ed. Todd.

*Saltair na Rann*, ed. Stokes.

*Amra Cholumchille*, by Dallan Forgaill.

*The Martyrology of Donegal*, ed. Reeves and Todd.

The Entries in the *Book of Deer*.

*The Martyrology of Aberdeen.*

*The Breviary of Aberdeen.*

*Kalendar of Fearn.*

'*Litany of Dunkeld.*'

*Rerum Orcadensium Historia*, Torfaeus.

*Statistical Account of Scotland*, comp. Sir John Sinclair.

The Inscribed Stones of the Britons and Picts.

- II. Authors whose works contain matter belonging to  
the history of the Picts of Alba or to the Church  
of the Picts; noted, quoted, or considered. In  
several instances authors have not taken pains to  
relate this matter correctly to the proper division  
of the Celtic people, or to the proper branch of  
the Celtic Church.

For early references to the Picts—

Tacitus, *Agricola*; Summary of Dion Cassius by Xiphili-  
nus; Eumenius; Ammianus Marcellinus.

For the period covering the reorganization of the Britons  
after the departure of the Roman legions—

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# THE PICTISH NATION

- The works of Gildas, Nennius, and Bede's *H.E.G.A.*  
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 Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*; and the earlier *De Primordiis*.  
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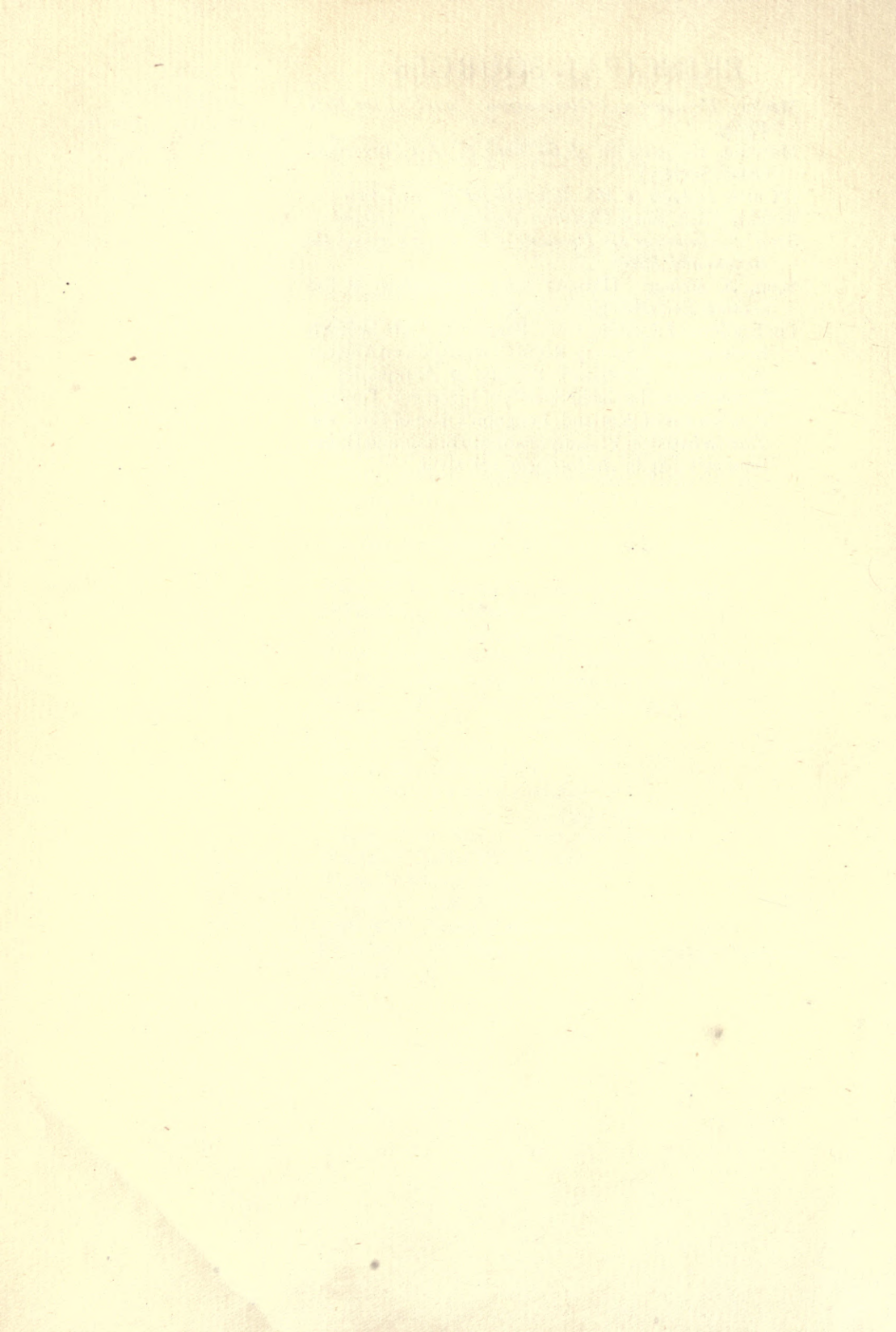
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# MAPS

## I. SHOWING PICTLAND ACCORDING TO

PTOLEMY . . . . . *To face page 80*

## II. SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF BRITONS, PICTS, AND GAIDHEALS OR SCOTS WITH TRUE POSITION OF DRUM-ALBAN

*To face page 171*

## III. SHOWING RANGE OF THE CHURCHES OF

THE PICTS . . . . . *To face page 336*





# INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS

## PERIOD & ORIGIN OF THE

## PICTISH CHURCH

### CHAPTER ONE

THE Church of the Picts originated from the great mission \* conducted along the east † coast of Alba (Pictland) by S. Ninian, ‡ a Briton, during some period between the years 400 and 432 A.D. § While a native ministry was being reared, the ministry of the Church thus founded was supplied from the *muinntirs*, || or religious communities of the Celtic Britons who lived south of the Wall of Antonine; and, also, from the religious communities of the Irish Picts, ¶ particularly from the overflowing community of the Picts of Ulster at Bangor where S. Comgall the Great ruled as Ab. It continued to be the sole Church of the Picts of Alba until A.D. 842, when Kenneth

\* Cf. V. Bede's *H.E.G.A.* lib. iii. cap. iv., and his reference thereto, which will be explained afterwards in these pages.

† Owing to the geographical ideas of the time, Bede's 'Southern Picts' would be our Eastern, *i.e.* east of *Drum-Albain*.

‡ For a full discussion of S. Ninian's work, see the author's *S. Ninian and the Founding of the Celtic Church among the Britons and the Picts*.

§ S. Ninian died in 432. He began his work about 397 at the place then called *Candida Casa*, now Whithorn, in Galloway.

|| *Muinntir* was the Celtic name for a clerical 'family,' or community.

¶ The Northern Irish Picts ('*Cruithnii*'), at the end of the fifth century, occupied most of Antrim, Down, Louth, and Armagh. Their chief kingdom was *Dal-Araidhe*. The kings were descended from Fiacha Araidhe.

The Southern Irish Picts, who included *Manapians* and *Brigantes*, occupied Dublin, Wexford, Wicklow, and Waterford with their hinterlands. Spike Island in Cork harbour was '*Innis Pict*.' Originally the Picts occupied the whole east coast of Ireland; but the southern branch of the Gaidhealic Nialls drove a wedge through them at Meath.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Mac Alpin, king of the Gaidheals,\* or Scots† of Dalriada, seated himself on the throne of the Picts in Fortrenn (Kingdom of Earn), and assumed the sovereignty. By this act, the Kingship of the Gaidhealic colony of Dalriada became merged in the High-kingship‡ of Pictland. The Gaidheals, or Scots, had a Church of their own, founded at Hy (Iona) A.D. 563 by S. Columba, a Gaidheal. Clerics of this Church naturally followed their king and his court into his new realm; and we possess a record of their presence there, in Fort-

\* *Gaidheal* is the name owned by the Q-using Celts. At the beginning of the sixth century they occupy the West, the Upper Midlands, and the North-west of Ireland. They were descendants of Cairbre Ríghfada, and claim to have migrated northward by the west coast from Munster. Their north-eastward pressure drove the Picts to the eastern sea-fringe in Ulster. The Gaidheals of the North and Upper Midlands were the race of Niall; those on the West the race of Brian; the Gaidheals who emigrated to Scotland and founded the colony of Dalriada (Argyll) were the race of Erc; and related to the Nialls.

† This name occurs in Claudian (fourth century) referring to certain Irish Allies of the Picts of Alba. Continental Latin-speaking people applied the name to *all* natives of Ireland. S. Columbanus and S. Gall, although both were Picts, are 'Scots' to the people on the Continent. The Vikings (c. 800) restrict the name 'Scot' to the Gaidheals of Dalriada and the name Pict to the Picts of Alba. In the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* the Gaidheals of Scotland are *Albanaich*—men of Alba. After the tenth century, Latin writers begin to restrict the name 'Scot' to the Gaidheals of Scotland; and ultimately these Gaidheals monopolized this name entirely.

‡ At first the Gaidhealic kings followed Kenneth's example and were styled 'rex Pictorum'; but in A.D. 900 there is a sudden change, and they begin to be styled 'rex Alban,' which was a return to the pretentious title which the Annalists dropped after the disastrous defeat of the *Gaidheals* by Brude Mac Maelchon in 560. *Rígh Alban* was then changed to *Rígh Dalriada*. When the style of 'rex Alban' was revived after 900 we find that it began to be translated 'King of Scotland' and also 'King of Scots.'

## THE PICTISH CHURCH

renn,\* about a century after Kenneth Mac Alpin's time, trying to adjust their claims with the interests of the clerics of the native Pictish Church. Although, in name, Kenneth united the two dominions of Gaidheal and Pict at once, he did not unite the two peoples, or the two Churches. Union of the peoples and Churches was a gradual process which continued through centuries. It was effected, district by district, sometimes by absorption on the part of the Picts, sometimes by suppression and penetration on the part of the Scotie dynasty. For example, the people in the districts once ruled by the Pictish mormaors of Moray withheld recognition from the Gaidheals until compelled by the terrors of the sword; and the old native Church was still represented at St. Andrews in the *tenth* century.† Again, the ancient Pictish Churches at Deer‡ and Turriff§ were not taken over by Gaidheals until the early part of the *twelfth* century, after the Roman episcopate had been organized with the help of the Ceanmor group of Scottish kings. Although the Gaidhealic intrusionists had the countenance of the Crown, they required some sort of title with which to soothe the local sentiment before entering into

\* *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Skene, p. 9.

† C. 906 attempts were made apparently by Cellach, *first* Roman bishop at St. Andrews under the Scotie kings, to bring the clerics of the Pictish Church into communion with the new Gaidhealic clerics.

‡ In Buchan; founded by S. Drostan, a Briton, and dealt with later.

§ Also in Buchan; founded by S. Comgan, a fugitive Pictish prince from Erin.



## THE PICTISH NATION

possession of these old native establishments. They were equal to the situation, however, here as elsewhere, and proceeded to edit in their own interest the history of the origin of Deer, subordinating S. Drostan, the founder, to their own Saint Columba, thus creating what is known as '*The Legend of Deer*.'\* Although they could use Columba's name to influence the Celtic sentiment of local officials, they show nevertheless that, by that time, this Saint had been deposed from his once high place in the esteem of Gaidhealic ecclesiastics; because in the memorandum of a genuine dedication of property made after the Gaidhealic intrusion was complete, '*Petir Abstoil*,' that is Peter the Apostle, is added to 'Columcille and Drostan' and takes precedence of both.† We thus learn that the Gaidheals who took possession of Deer in the twelfth century had already been romanized. Farther north, in the diocese of Caithness, the clerics who represented the very ancient Pictish foundation of S. Finbar, at Dornoch ‡ continued to survive into the early *thirteenth* century in spite of and apart from Gilbert Murray, the fourth prelate but the first Gaidhealic bishop who had been able to secure a footing in that part of the diocese. The community of S. Finbar worked undisturbed; but Saint Gilbert

\* Cf. *The Book of Deer*.

† See Entry iii. fol. 4, first side, *Book of Deer*.

‡ Now the county town of Sutherland.

## THE PICTISH CHURCH

required to import a colony of Murrays to insure his security.

These are merely three widely separated examples of survivals of the ancient Pictish Church, indicating the long period that elapsed before the churchmen of the Gaidheals gained effective control of the congregations that gathered affectionately to the sacred centres of the ancient native Church. Incidentally, we learn that the Celts of Scotland have never been for long without a dissenting minority somewhere. Most interesting, however, it is to note that altogether, apart from isolated survivals later than the reigns of Kenneth Mac Alpin and King Giric or Grig (*c.* 889), the Church anciently founded by S. Ninian, the Briton, flourished as the sole Church of the Pictish people for *four hundred and seventy years* (*c.* 420–*c.* 890), that is, roughly, one hundred and ninety years longer than the period in Dalriada of the Church of the Gaidheals, or Scots, founded by S. Columba (563–*c.* 842), and two hundred and five years longer than the period of the mixed Church of Alba (*c.* 842–1107) which was partially romanized, and recognized by the Scotie dynasty of Pictish sovereigns; and, roughly, twenty years longer than the period in Scotland of the organized and conformed Roman Catholic Church of the Scots (1109–1560), and, roughly, nearly one hundred and thirteen years longer, to date, than the period of the Reformed Church in Scotland.

# PICTLAND OF ALBA\*

## CHAPTER

## TWO

*ALBION*† is the name of Britain preserved by the Greek writers; probably it was taken down from the early shipmasters of the Mediterranean. Ptolemy's spelling (c. 127) is *Aloutōn*, due, very likely, to a copyist's error. Pliny also gives the name as *Albion*. The early literary Irish use the forms *Alba* and *Alban*, and ultimately apply the name to what is now Scotland, that being the part of Britain with which they had most traffic.

When the Vikings (c. 800) landed on the northern part of Britain they called the country 'Pictland.' This is exactly the name which is applied to that part of the country in the *Annals of Ulster* (a. 866) in the Celtic form '*Cruitin-tuait*,' where *Cruitin* stands for Pict, and *tuath* ‡ for land or nation.

*Cruithne*, a Pict, comes to us in the spelling of the C-using Gaidheals. It was the name which the Gaidheals of northern Ireland applied to the Picts of Ulster. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, also a Gaidheal, latinizes it into '*Cruithnii*,' § and uses it in referring to the same people.

This short excursus among national names brings us round in a circle to the point from which

\* Latinized as *Pictavia*, and the people's name as *Picti* or *Pictones*. There was also Pictland of Erin, namely the east-coast districts of Ireland. The Gaidheals called these districts *Crich-na-Cruithne*, that is, Bounds of the Picts. Cf. Reeves, *V. S. Columba*, p. 94, note *h*.

† Whiteland.

‡ Not *tuath* meaning north, as Dr. Skene states.

§ *V. S. C. lib. i. cap. vii.*



## PICTLAND OF ALBA

we started. The P-using Britons spelt '*Cruitin*' (Pict) as *Priten*\* and *Pryden*. This the Teutonic Angles transformed into *Briton*. Therefore, *Cruithne* or *Cruitin*, on the one hand, and *Priten* (or *Briton*) on the other, are one and the same name, meaning Pict, and taken from two different Celtic dialects.

An early Greek name for the British Isles is *Pretanikai Nēsoi*. This is based on the native name for Britain, '*Ynys Prydain*,' which means, literally, Picts' Island.† Britain takes its name from the *Picts*; and the use of this name stamps the fact in every literature throughout the world.

It is manifest to any patient inquirer that, so far as Britain is concerned, the Picts who submitted to Imperial Rome, and who took on something of Roman manners and Roman culture, came, through Latin usage, to have the name 'Britons' reserved for themselves alone; whereas the Picts who had spurned Roman power and culture, and who had retired, independent, north of the Wall of Antonine, came, through the influence of Gaidhealic writers, to be distinguished as '*Cruitnich*' or '*Cruithnii*.'

After the Roman general, Lollius Urbicus, had driven the powerful Pictish tribe known as the *Brigantes* beyond the Wall of Antonine (c. 139) this wall became the southern boundary of Pict-

\* *Y. Cymmrodor*, ix. 179.

† *Celtic Researches*, E. W. B. Nicholson, pp. 25, 173.

## THE PICTISH NATION

land. From this frontier-line, stretching between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, Pictland extended northwards to the remotest island of Shetland; and the Hebrides, outer and inner, were included in the country.

This was the territorial extent of Pictland when S. Ninian led his mission along the whole east coast, and crossed the sea as far as Shetland between 400 and 432 A.D. This also represents the territory over which Brude Mac Maelchon, the Sovereign of Pictland, reigned at his capital in Inverness from 554 to 584 A.D. Cantyre with its colony of Gaidheals or Scots was at this time within the lordship of Mac Maelchon; because A.D. 560 this sovereign had expelled many of the encroaching Gaidheals from South Argyll, had shut up a remnant in Cantyre, and after slaying their *rìgh*, or king, Gabhran, in battle, had left their new chief with the title of a mere tributary '*toiseach*,'\* or military magistrate.

It was into the Pictish dominions thus defined, and to this sovereign, Brude Mac Maelchon, that, A.D. 563, SS. Comgall and Cainnech, the Pictish ecclesiastical leaders, introduced S. Columba the Gaidheal, outcast† from the Gaidheals of Ireland who had turned to the Dispersed among the Picts of Argyll. Columba was discreetly

\* Conall, Gabhran's successor, is so termed by the authorities on which the *Four Masters* drew.

† S. Columba was exiled from Ireland after 561, the year of the battle of *Cul-Dreimhne* which he provoked.

## PICTLAND OF ALBA

angry\* at the broken state of his race-brothers, the colonists in Cantyre; but he restrained himself enough to crave from Brude, the Sovereign, an island in the West, where he could dispense the consolations of Religion to the children of the Captivity who wept among the Isles to the moan of the Atlantic; and where, afar from the supervision of the monarch, he could exercise warily his aggressive diplomatic genius to restore freedom and progress to the conquered Gaidheals.

In the Irish additions to the *Historia Britonum* the mainland of the Picts is described as '*O chrìch Chat co Foirciu*,' that is, from Caithness to the Forth. Within this stretch of territory Ptolemy of Alexandria places ten tribes or provinces. The *Epidioi*, Horsemen, inhabited *Epidium*,† Cantyre and South Argyll. The *Kerōnes*,‡ Shepherds, occupied the whole West Coast from about Loch Linnhe to Cape Wrath. The *Kornavioi*, People

\* 'Woe to the Picts to whom he will go East,  
He knew the thing that is,  
It gave him no pleasure that a Gaidheal  
Should reign in the East under the Picts.'

The explanation of S. Columba's mission in the *Prophecy of S. Berchan*.

† This name not only indicates Ptolemy's accuracy; but the *P* in the name indicates one of the distinctive features of the Pictish dialect of Celtic. Professor Kuno Meyer discovered the form of this name used by the Gaidheals, namely *Echidium*.

‡ The best authorities regard *Kreones*, *Karini*, *Karnōnes*, and *Karnōn-akai* as copyists' variants of this name.

The writer considers that, as the *Karnōnakai* were flanked on both sides by *Kerōnes*, *Karnōnaki* was merely a sectional name for a part of the *Kerōnes* who were distinguished by their prominent burial *Karns*, Celtic *Carn*. At the present time '*Càrnan Cruithneachd*' is a place-name in the locality of the *Karnōnakai*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

of the Horn of Pictland, dwelt in the parts represented by the present county of Caithness. The *Lougoi* occupied the arable coast-land of Sutherland between the Ord of Caithness and the Dornoch Firth. A large, chambered burial-cairn on the left bank of the Ìlidh within a quarter of a mile of Helmsdale is still called *Carn-Lougie*. The *Smertai*,\* the Quick-people, lived in the interiors of Sutherland and north Ross. One of their surviving burial-cairns is situated on the bank of the eastern Carron, and still bears the name *Càrn Smeirt*.† The *Dekantai* dwelt on the fertile coast-lands that extend from the Dornoch Firth to Moray. The *Taizaloi* were on the coasts of Banff and Aberdeen. The *Vernikōnes*, or *Vernikōmes*, occupied the plains by the sea, from Kincardine, through Forfar and across the Tay into Fife. As *V* in Ptolemaic names sometimes represents Celtic *Mh*‡ as well as *Fh*§ and *Ū*,|| it is possible that

\* With this name Dr. Watson compares the Gaulish *Ro-Smerta*, Deep-thinking.

† Discovered by Dr. Watson in the parish of Kincardine, Ross-shire.

‡ As in Ptolemy's '*Varar*,' which is an attempt to render the Celtic accusative for the sea.

§ As in Ptolemy's '*Vir*,' which is an attempt to render the Celtic *Fhar*-, *over*, in the sense of towering *over*, or projecting *over*.

|| Compare Ptolemy's *Tarve* with the old British *Taru*, Cornish *Tarrow* which he was striving to represent; and also the first part of his '*Vol-sas*' with its Celtic antecedent *Ūll* in the hybrid, Ullapool. Ullapool is in the safe anchorage of Loch-Broom, which is believed to be Ptolemy's '*Volsas sinus*.' Loch-Broom agrees better with Ptolemy's data than Loch-Alsh, and the charting of the anchorage of Loch-Broom would be a greater testimonial to the Massilian sailors than the charting of treacherous Loch-Alsh with its incessant squalls and want of sea-room.

## PICTLAND OF ALBA

the variant *Vernikōnes* contains the antecedent of 'Mearns.' Throughout the eastern half of the Pictish midlands from the Tay to Moray were the *Vakomagoi*; and throughout the western half were the *Kalēdonioi*, whose capital was Dunkeld.

On the east coast, south of the Forth, were the *Otadinoi*; and still farther south, occupying the country from sea to sea, were the *Brigantes*. When about A.D. 139 Lollius Urbicus, general of Antoninus Pius, drove the *Brigantes* and the *Otadinoi* north of the Roman Wall, there was a fusion of tribes, and new names appear in the South. From Xiphiline's summary of Dion Cassius we learn that during the campaign of the Emperor Septimius Severus (c. A.D. 211) the two chief tribes of southern Pictland were the *Miathi*,\* Midlanders, and the *Kalēdonioi*. The *Miathi* appear out of the fusion of the unyielding *Brigantes* with the *Otadinoi* in the southern territories of the *Vakomagoi* and *Vernikōnes*; and they were still surviving as a distinct Pictish clan in the sixth century.†

In a reference by Ammianus‡ to the tragic campaign of the Roman general Fullofaudes, A.D. 365, the *Kalēdonioi* are called '*Dicalydone*,' and the fused tribes between the Roman Wall and the Tay are roughly summed up as '*Verturiones*,'§

\* The name occurs in the midlands of the Irish Picts, now *Meath*. The word is the Britonic *medd*, central point; and the Irish *med*, later *meidh*. An old spelling of *Meath*, in Ireland, is 'Midhi.'

† When Aedhan, King of the Gaidheals of Dalriada, fought against them.

‡ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 8. 1.

§ Corrected by Rhys from *Vecturiones*. Initial *V* here equals *F*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

that is, Men of Fortrenn (Earn), whose centres were at Dun(d) Earn, Forteviot, and Scone.

Beyond these mainland tribes were the Picts of Orkney, the *Orkades* of Ptolemy and *Innis h-Ork* of the Picts; and, also, the Picts of *Sketis* (Skye) and of *Dumna* (Lewis).\*

Some time before the ninth century the Picts were organized into seven provinces. From an early Gaidhealic pen we learn that these † were

‘Cait, Ce, Cirigh,

Fibh, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.’ ‡

*Cat* is Caithness proper, that is, including Sutherland. *Cirigh* is the later *Magh-Chircin*, the name of the *plain* along the coasts of Forfar and Kincardine; and ‘Mearns’ is regarded as a surviving corruption of this compound name. *Fotla* is the later *Ath-Fodla* now Athole. *Fib* is Fife; and *Fortrenn*, the kingdom of the fused tribes between Forth and Tay, whose centres were as just stated.

These provinces were governed by chiefs or petty kings; but all were ruled by one ‘high-king’ or sovereign elected from the previous king’s brothers, whom failing, from the sons of the previous king’s sister; and, if these failed, from the sons of the daughters of the previous king. The elected sovereign reigned from the capital of his own clan.

\* These particulars show that the Picts were not

\* The islands are put out of true position by Ptolemy’s data.

† Represented in the *Book of Ballymote* as the ‘*Sons of Cruithne*.’

‡ These names are all in the genitive case.



## PICTLAND OF ALBA

the unorganized hordes of many histories. On the contrary, they were carefully organized as distinct clans in separate provinces enjoying local government under a chief whose rule was patriarchal; and all the clans with their chiefs were federated under one supreme government directed by the sovereign. The *Draoidhean*, who were seers and orators, were also counsellors of the sovereign; and the clan-chiefs formed the Executive throughout the realm. The people were homogeneous, and united by a true national spirit; because not only did they repel the advance of Imperial Rome as one man; but also the attempted encroachment of the Gaidheals led by Gabhran Mac Domongairt in A.D. 560, and under the Pictish sovereign Angus I. Mac Fergus they almost shattered the power of the Gaidheals or Scots.

The effective occupation of all Pictland by the Picts is confirmed by many place-names conferred either by the Gaidheals or Vikings, and still in use. For example, in Shetland there are *Pettidale*, Picts' valley; *Pettwater*, Picts' Water; *Pettgarths-fell*, Hill of the Picts' Walled Inclosure, or Town.\* At Orkney, the *Pettland's Fiord* is the Firth of Pictland, the 'Pentland Firth' of common speech. In Stoer on the north-west of Sutherland there is *Clais nan Cruitneach*, Hollow or Ditch of the Picts, referring either to a boundary between them and Gaidhealic settlers, or to the cuttings from

\* The Varangians and the Viking Jerusalem-pilgrims called Constantinople the Big *Garth*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

which they dug their fuel. In Abercrossan ('Apple-cross') in Ross, where the Pictish saint Maelrubha established his community of clerics, there is *Airigh nan Cruitneachd*, that is, The Summer-pasture among the hills, whither the Picts led their cattle and where they sojourned in shielings to make the cheeses for the winter stores. In Kintail, also in Ross, there is *Càrnan Cruitneachd*, that is, The Cairns of the Picts, the reference being to the Cairns in which they buried their dead. Doubtless, this name reaches back to the *Karnōn-ākai*, a section of the *Kerōnes*, who in Ptolemy's time inhabited this very locality. In Moray the Abbots of Kinloss Abbey possessed a thirteenth-century charter containing the bounding description, 'ad *rune* Pictorum,' which is explained as Picts' Fields. *Rune* is still used colloquially in Moray as '*Run*,' meaning a border-stretch of field, or path.\* In Aberdeenshire, at Turriff, the stretch of land between the haugh and the heights on which the old Pictish Church of S. Comgan stands is *Cruithen-righe*,† that is, Pasture-stretch of the Picts. In Lochaber, Inverness-shire, is *Cruithneachan*, that is, Picts' places.

Wherever foreigners crept into Pictland they bore unconscious testimony, in the names which they conferred, to the hold which the Picts had and kept of their own country.

\* See *Place-names of Ross*, p. xlvi, where Dr. Watson equates 'Rune' with Gaelic *Raon*, a field, or road.

† The later Celtic form is *ruighe*.

# THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

## CHAPTER THREE

IT is desirable to think of the speech which the Picts used—the speech in which Christianity was taught to them. All the scholars who have a practical acquaintance with the topographical names of Pictland are now agreed that the speech of the Picts was a dialect of Celtic, that it differed considerably from Scottish Gaelic and other Celtic dialects of the Gaidhealic group; but, on the other hand, that it agreed closely with the Celtic speech of the Britons, now represented by Welsh. Professor Watson puts it thus: \* ‘Linguistic evidence goes to show that the Pictish language was Celtic, and belonged to the Cymric branch represented now by Welsh and Breton, and until recent times by Cornish.’ As stated by Dr. Macbain † the main difference between Pictish, or other Britonic tongues, and the dialects of the Gaidhealic group is that *Aryang*, when labialized by association with *u* or *w*, making *qu*, becomes in Pictish, or other Britonic speech, a simple *p*; but in the Gaidhealic dialects it becomes *c*, *qu*, or *k*. The standing illustration is the word for the number ‘five,’ which in Welsh is *pump*, in Cornish *pym*, in Breton *pemp*, in Gaulish *pempe*; but in Scottish Gaelic it is *cóig*, in Manx *queig*, and in Irish *cúig*.

Venerable Bede ‡ stated that besides Latin there were four ‘languages’ in Britain, namely,

\* *Place-names of Ross*, p. xlvii.

† Cf. *Etymological Gaelic Dictionary*, p. iii.

‡ d. A. D. 735.



## THE PICTISH NATION

English, British, Scottish, and Pictish. Bede was quite untravelled\* and his work shows that he had little personal knowledge of the Celts, and was not in a position to distinguish between a dialect and a language. Nevertheless, he has been much relied on by those who, as Dr. Macbain expressed it, with 'wasted ingenuity' theorized that Pictish was non-Aryan and pre-Celtic.

We have seen that the 'Cruitin' (Pict) and the Briton were one in name; it would have been contrary to expectation if they had differed in speech otherwise than dialectically. Nevertheless, however similar the dialects of the British tribes, including the Picts, were at the time of the Roman occupation; it is well not to forget that between the days of the Roman colony and the eighth century, when Bede wrote, the speech of the conquered Britons would, owing to the influence of the Gaulish Legions and Latin culture, diverge markedly from the speech of the unconquered Britons or Picts which for a long time was preserved from foreign influences.

On the other hand, the expulsion of the *Brigantes* to the north of Antonine's Wall, A.D. 139, before the legions of Lollius Urbicus, would only intensify the Britonic nature of Pictish speech. These *Brigantes* were the most numerous and

\* 'In this Community (Jarrow) Bede spent his whole life' (Adolf Ebert).

'Except for a few short absences, such as the visits to York and Lindisfarne, we may fairly assume that his whole life was spent in the monastery' (Miss Sellar's sketch of Bede's Life, *E.H.E.* p. xxxvi).

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

powerful people among the Britons. They occupied the country from the Humber and Mersey line to the Firth of Forth, that is, all the ground that became the province '*Maxima Caesariensis*,' and the eastern half of *Valentia*; and with their relatives the Manapian Picts they also occupied the south-eastern coasts of Ireland. Pausanias tells us that the *Brigantes* were *deprived* of their lands.\* Julius Capitolinus adds to this that they were *expelled* from the province by Lollius, that is, driven with the *Otadinoi* north of the Forth and Clyde line, behind the new Wall which the Roman general had made; and, as we have already noticed, penned up in Pictland among the southern *Vakomagoi* and the *Vernikōnes* making a mixture of peoples that unite and emerge later as *Miathi*, Midlanders, out of whom, still later, emerge the *Verturiones* or Men of Fortrenn. The expulsion of these *Brigantes*, not to mention the *Otadinoi*, from their far-stretching territories, and their withdrawal behind the Wall before the Roman drive must have turned Pictland into a 'Congested District' for the first time in history. This event must also have increased the Britonic characteristics of the Picts, if that were possible, and accentuated the Britonic features of Pictish speech to an extent that ought to have enlightened the sceptics who doubted the close original affinity of the *Cruitin* (Pict) and the Briton.

\* Cf. Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Chronicles relating to Scotland*, p. 19.

## THE PICTISH NATION

The close affinity between the speech of Pict and Briton is further indicated in the ease and speed with which the British Christians occupied the mission-fields of Pictland. Hardly had S. Ninian, a Briton, completed the foundation of *Candida Casa* in Galloway as a centre of the Christian religion when he set out\* with a number of his community to found Churches, and to place ministers all along the east coast of Pictland.† From the then border-town of Glasgow the line of his Churches extended to S. Ninian's Isle in Shetland. Ailred, who drew his facts about Ninian from the *Old Life*, states that the saint taught the Picts 'the truth of the Gospel and the purity of the Christian faith, God working with him and "confirming the Word with signs following."'‡ There is not the slightest hint that either S. Ninian or his helpers had the least difficulty with the language. Even Bede lays stress on S. Ninian's *preaching*§ as the means by which he converted the Picts of the East coast.||

In the beginning of the sixth century S. Finbar of Maghbile and Dornoch, a pupil at *Candida Casa* but an Irish Pict by birth, took up and

\* Between A.D. 400 and 432.

† See the Author's *S. Ninian, Apostle of the Britons and Picts*.

‡ *Vita Niniani*, Ailred, cap. vi.

§ *H.E.G.A.*, Bede, lib. iii. cap. iv.

|| Bede calls these particular Picts '*Southern*.' The Picts were not divided into 'Northern' and 'Southern' either politically or geographically. Bede's geography was Ptolemaic, as he indicates. His 'South' was our East, and his 'North' our West, so far as Pictland is concerned.



## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

continued S. Ninian's work in Sutherland, Ross, and elsewhere. He, of course, would have no difficulty with the Pictish tongue.

About the same time S. Drostan,\* another Briton, established a missionary-base at Deer in the lowlands of Aberdeenshire, from which he worked with the members of his community and strengthened the Faith in Buchan and Caithness.

Later, in the same century, S. Kentigern, another Briton, with his base at Glasgow, led a mission to the uplands of Aberdeenshire, and sent members of his community 'towards the Orkneys.'† Joceline, his biographer, who also drew his facts from an old Celtic *Life*, emphasizes the effect of his *preaching*, 'the Lord working with him, and giving power to the voice of his preaching.' Again, there is no suggestion that preaching to the Picts was other than easy to a Briton.

About the same time that S. Kentigern was in the Pictish mission-field S. Comgall the Great,‡ another Irish Pict, friend of S. Finbar and neighbour to him, was teaching the Western Picts; S. Cainnech of Achadh-Bo, also a Pict, was teaching the Picts of Fife; and S. Moluag, yet another Pict, a relative of S. Comgall, was joining up his missionary community at Lismore in Argyll with his other community at Rosemarkie in Ross, and linking this in turn to the missionary-communities

\* See the history of S. Drostan's mission in the body of this book.

† *V. Kentigerni*, Joceline, cap. xxxiv.

‡ See the history of S. Comgall's work in the body of this book.

## THE PICTISH NATION

of the Britons in Aberdeenshire. Here, once more, we have no sign that the Britons were divided from the Picts by any difficulties of language.

The first outstanding Celtic ecclesiastic who appears in history as having difficulties with the speech of Pictland was a Gaidheal; and he, none other than S. Columba of Hy. He stands in history, written too by a Gaidheal,\* to confirm all that philologists and historians have discovered in the way of indicating that the speech of Pictland though closely akin to the speech of the Britons was decidedly different from the Celtic dialect spoken by the Gaidheals or Scots.

Thrice we hear of S. Columba depending on interpreters in his conversations with the Picts. When he went to Brude Mac Maelchon to seek permission to settle in Hy, or Iona, for his work among the Gaidhealic colonists, he required to attach himself to the company of two Picts, S. Comgall the Great and S. Cainnech. This fact is only hinted at by Adamnan, but is suppressed altogether in the *Old Life* of S. Columba, which was of Gaidhealic origin. Dr. Reeves, on the other hand, candidly directs attention to it.† Again, when S. Columba was visiting the Pictish island of Skye an old chief called *Artbrannan* was brought to him for baptism. When the Saint proceeded to give the necessary preliminary instruction he

\* See his biography by Adamnan.

† Adamnan's *V.S.C.*, Reeves, p. 152, note *d*.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

could only convey the 'Word of God *through an interpreter*.'\* Once more, an interpreter appears in connection with an incident which Adamnan associates with S. Columba's second journey to Brude. S. Columba had halted in some Pictish district when 'a certain rustic, with all his household, heard the Word of Life through an interpreter when the holy man (Columba) preached. As a result he believed; and believing was baptized, the husband with his wife and children and servants.'† Yet this is the man to whom is credited the Christianizing of Pictland,‡ although he had been preceded there by distinguished British and Pictish teachers; and although in S. Columba's own time famous missionaries like S. Moluag, S. Kentigern, and S. Cainnech were at work in the very heart of Pictland where no enemy Gaidheal would have been allowed to travel on any pretext.

The plea has been put forward that S. Columba only required an interpreter 'twice,' and at a time when he was imparting the Gospel.§ It would have been more accurate to say that Adamnan only gives two instances to his Gaidhealic readers

\* *V.S.C. lib. i. cap. 33.*

† *Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 32.*

‡ Bede's reference to S. Columba converting the Northern (our Western) Picts is dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

§ The most puerile attempts have been made by the Exaggerators of Columba, and by the Gaelic-everywhere-and-from-all-time philologists to explain away S. Columba's need of an interpreter in Pictland. 'On two occasions only,' pleads Skene, 'does S. Columba require an interpreter.' Adamnan, who wrote for Gaidheals, did not require to be continually mentioning what they knew, that Pictish was a different tongue from Gaidhealic.



## THE PICTISH NATION

of what to them was an obvious necessity; and, surely, if S. Columba could not give simple instruction in Pictish to an adult candidate for baptism, or to a rural family interested in hearing the Gospel, he could not make any effective use of the speech of the Picts whom some writers allege that he converted; and his work among the Picts cannot for a moment be compared with the work of Pictish teachers such as S. Comgall the Great, S. Moluag, or S. Cainnech, not to mention the missionaries from the Church of the Britons.

Beyond what has been stated, some ancient names in our present-day speech witness to the differences between Gaidhealic and Pictish; and show the Britonic character of the latter tongue. For example, the name of S. *Maelrubha* of Abercrossan,\* a Pict, means Red Cleric.† In the districts of Pictland where he laboured the traditional pronunciation of his name, still used, is 'Malruf,' 'Maruf,' or 'Marüve.'‡ The *b* in his name is clearly aspirated. Among the descendants of the Gaidhealic Colonists in the West, however, his name is spelt *Maolruadha*. It has the same meaning; and in colloquial Gaelic has frequently been translated *Sagart Ruadh*, 'Red Priest.' The Gaidhealic form is seen in the west-country names, 'Kil-Molrui,' 'Kil-Marow,' and

\* Now Applecross in Ross.

† Literally Red Tonsured-one.

‡ As in 'Keth-Malruf' for Keith in Banffshire and in 'Sa-Marüve' for Sanct Malrubh.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

'Kil-Maree.' The important point is that the name gives us the Pictish *rubh* and the Gaidhealic *ruadh*, both meaning *red*.

Again the *Landnamabók* of Iceland informs us of certain place-names '*Papeya*' and '*Papyli*.' The places so designated were occupied by Clerics called '*Pápas*,' before the Scandinavians went to Iceland. Dicuil,\* the Irish geographer, knew of these Clerics being in Iceland about A.D. 725. But the names are in everyday use among ourselves designating *Papa Stour* in Shetland, *Papa Westra* in Orkney, *Pab-Ei* in the outer Hebrides; and other places. '*Pápa*' came into the child-speech of Greece with Phrygian nurses, took the form *pápas*; and needles to state meant 'father,' or later, 'grandfather.' The Greek-speaking Christians applied the name† to ministers of the Church, regarded as 'fathers' of their congregations. It came into Gaul on the lips of various bodies of Christian, Greek-speaking exiles, not to mention traders and professional men. Having been already applied to monks in Greek-speaking districts, the name was naturally transferred to S. Martin and other presidents of Celtic monastic communities who were imitating the Greek-speaking monks. The president of the monastic community generally spoke of the members as his 'children' or 'family,' or to use the Celtic word,

\* He wrote A.D. 825.

† Kaor, *Papa* of Hermopolis, is the writer of a letter preserved in *Papyrus* 417, British Museum, dated c. A.D. 350.

## THE PICTISH NATION

his '*muinntir*,'\* a name which still survives at S. Martin's establishment at Tours, in '*Marmoutier*' or '*Mormuinntir*, that is '*Magnum Monasterium*,' Great Monastery. '*Papa*' found its way to the daughter '*Magnum Monasterium*' in Galloway with S. Martin's disciples, Ninian the Briton and his followers. It is a word that no Gaidheal ever popularized; because no Gaidheal could easily pronounce it. In fact the Gaidheals rejected it, and adopted the Syriac '*Ab*,' the title of the presiding monk in certain communities of the East. On the other hand, '*Papa*' with its *p*-sounds is such a word as Britons and Picts would welcome. It occurs in early documents, in the *Epistle* wrongly attributed to Cumine of Hy, and is applied to S. Patrick, a Briton. The survival of the name in Iceland goes to confirm Joceline's statement that S. Kentigern sent his missionaries 'towards Iceland.' The use of the word at all by the Picts and Britons reveals to any one who knows the early history of the Church in Gaul that their missionaries had been in touch with S. Martin's monasticism and its nomenclature among the Celts of Gaul while the Roman Church was still looking askance at monasticism, and while the Bishop of Rome had little influence

\* Dr. Macbain stated that Stokes, Zimmer, and Güterbock regarded this word as an early borrowing from Latin. The early nomenclature of monasticism, with which the Celts of Gaul were familiar, was mostly from Greek and slightly from Chaldaic and Coptic. The Latin Church was at first opposed to monasticism.



## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

among the Gallic bishops. Although monasticism and its nomenclature were brought to Gaul from Greek-speaking centres the name *Papa* disappeared and *Ab* or *Abbas* took its place there and elsewhere in the West as soon as the Bishop of Rome won control; because with clever humility he had chosen *Papa* as his own particular title, rejecting *Patriarchēs* or other names equally grand. *Papa* survived only in places where it had been firmly rooted in the speech of the people before the influence of Rome overtook it, as on the coasts of Pictland; or throughout the Eastern Church where the influence of Rome was never felt, and where it still designates the humbler clergy.

Other borrowed words seen in the place-names of the Picts are—

*Cill*\* (English Kil-), dative of *Ceall* (Early Irish *Cell*), from Latin *Cella*, a cell. The name now means Church. Originally it was attached to the founder's name. The cell of the Ab was the centre of the monastic settlement, and close by stood the Church of the community. The great Pictish monastery of Bangor was a town of detached cells within a guarded rampart. The missionaries from Bangor and other centres of the Irish Picts in-

\* In this and other words the current Scottish Gaelic is given for convenience even when it does not represent the present or the old vernacular pronunciation.

It is not clear how initial Latin *C* was articulated; but the Gaidhealic scribes reproduced as '*Circ*' and '*Ciric*' the names which in Pictland were pronounced '*Grig*,' for example, '*Eccles-Grig*' in Kincardine; and '*McGiric*' and '*Mal-Giric*' in the *Book of Deer*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

troduced the detached bee-hive cell into Pictland, just as S. Columba, the Gaidheal, introduced it into Dalriada according to the examples which all had seen at Clonard and Glasnevin. It is worth noting, in this connection, that S. Columba's teacher at Clonard was educated among the Britons, and that his teacher at Glasnevin was an Irish Pict. 'Cill' was not applied originally to Churches founded by missionaries from the Britons; *Llan* was common. Among the Picts and Gaidheals the Church frequently grew out of the Cell; among the Britons the Church and Cell were contemporaneous. S. Ninian's Cell was *Casa*, a hut; because it was an effort to keep true to the type of Bothy at which S. Martin introduced and began to organize monasticism in Gaul, on the farm which S. Hilary gave to him for his great experiment. Here S. Martin began in the 'Logo-Tigiac'\* or White-Hut which was the original of *Candida Casa*. 'Casula' was the name applied to the Cells of S.

\* Mr. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, p. 145, gives this as a sixth-century form of the name. The place is now Ligugé, Poitiers.

Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus preserve the name as '*Loco-ciacum*' and '*Logotegiacum*' and '*Logotigiacum*.' Longnon gives '*Loco-diacus*' of which there is a variant '*Lucoteiac*-' The latter part of the name is clearly the diminutive of the Celtic *Tigh* (*Teach*) or *Ty*, a House. The root of the first part of the name is seen in the Greek prefix *leuko*- which means Bright-white; and in the ancient Celtic prefix *Leuce* (*Leucetios*, God of Lightning). The Celtic root also survives in the personal name '*Luag*' which Angus the Culdee paraphrases as 'clear and brilliant'; or in '*Cat-luan*,' Light of Battle. It is seen also in the current Gaelic word *luachair* (rush), the light-maker. The whole name means literally Bright-white Hut, and is correctly translated by '*Candida Casa*.' Compare with the last part of the name '*Moguntiacum*,' House of the god Mogun, the ancient name of Mainz.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

Kentigern's settlement, showing that in his time the 'little houses' were maintained. In an old Irish manuscript, '*Botha*'\* is the name applied to the cells at Glasnevin. *Both-* was also used in Pictland of Alba.

*Eaglais*, formerly *eclais* (Brit. *eglwys*), is the Greek *ekklesiā*, Assembly or Church. It occurs throughout Pictland, and, when associated with the Ancient Church-foundations, is attached to the ecclesiastical founder's name. It is seen in such names as Eccles-Machan, West Lothian; in 'Eggilis,' the short name recorded in the early twelfth century for the ancient *Eccles-Ninian*, now S. Ninian's near Stirling; in Eccles-Grig, Kincardineshire; and in Egilshay, Church-island, Orkney.

*Tempul* (Brit. *tempel*) is a name that abounds in Pictland; and, indeed, wherever Celts were settled. It came to mean Church. In the preface to the *Hymn of Mugent*, who was one of S. Ninian's successors and presided at *Candida Casa* at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, the scholiast calls the Church at *Candida Casa* 'templum.' The Church-site which S. Ninian on his northern mission marked off at Glen Urquhart, and where his Church stood for centuries, is still called '*Tempul*.'† Notwithstanding the later use of '*Tempul*' and its application to the Church

\* Quoted by Dr. Reeves, *V.S.C.* (Adamnan), p. 360, note r.

† *Saints of the Valley of the Ness* (Dr. W. Mackay), p. 5.



## THE PICTISH NATION

at *Candida Casa*, there is evidence that in Pictland the name was not restricted to buildings but sometimes was used in its original sense of a place marked off and enclosed for a sacred purpose. The name had been, apparently, first applied in Pictland to the sacred enclosures of the heathen Picts; and, afterwards, bestowed upon the Christian Churches erected there. When Ailred, doubtless following the *Old Life*, relates concerning S. Ninian's northern mission 'temples are cast down and Churches erected,' he means no more than that the *templum* proper, the inclosed space, was broken into by the Christian pioneer, and the ceremonial standing stones laid flat.

*Seipeal* (Ir. *Sépél*), Chapel, is an interesting name. It has been applied in Pictland, in the vernacular, to the most ancient Church-sites, foundations not dedications, where there has been nothing but dry-built stone foundations time out of mind, and perhaps a disused Churchyard. Thus we have in the north of Scotland, where ancient names have been little displaced, such examples as *Sépél-Ninian*, *Sépél-Finbar*, *Sépél-Drostan*, *Sépél-Donnan*, and the like. Yet the philologists declare that *Sépél*, because of the initial *S* which is articulated as *Sh*, was imported from English after the tenth century when extra apses with an altar came to be added to the main structures and were called 'Chapels.' The Gaidheals, for example, had no need to borrow from English; because they took

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

their word *Caibeal*, Chapel, direct from the Latin *Capella*; and it is seen in such a name as *Portincaple*, Port of the Chapel, reproduced in the fourteenth century as '*Portkebbil*.' Manifestly the initial *Sh*- sound in *Sépél* was due, not to English, but to the influence of a tongue which disliked simple initial *S* as much as initial *C*. Both the Britons and Picts had these dislikes, hence in Pictland there still survives in the native pronunciation of place-names *sépél* for *capella*; '*shantor*'\* for *cantor*, a choirmaster; '*shant*' † for *sanct*, and even '*Shanonry*' for Canonry, ‡ the place where Canons resided. § There is a further indication that '*sépél*,' a chapel, was used by the Celts long before its application in the tenth century to extra apses. The name goes back to the period of the true *capella*, that is, little *capa* or covering. The true 'chaplain' was the minister who dispensed the sacraments under the *capella*, which was an extemporized canopy of thatch-work raised over the field Communion-table of a minister accompanying the Christian legions of the Emperor, or of a pioneer missionary sealing his converts.

As Ailred, with the *Old Life* before him, states that S. Ninian in his northern mission through Pict-

\* 'Ach-na-Shantor,' the Precentor's glebe, is at Dornoch.

† 'Shant's Cross' is in Buchan.

‡ 'Canonries' were in Aberdeen, Ross, and Moray and elsewhere.

§ To these may be added: 'Giltrioh' for 'Gilchrist,' where both the *C* and the *S* are avoided—a pronunciation which has been foolishly explained as a desire to avoid pronouncing the sacred name of Christ.

## THE PICTISH NATION

land joined his converts 'to the body of Believers, by faith, by confession, and by the Sacraments,' the *Capella* would be a feature of his field-services; and it is only natural that the dry-stone building with heather-thatched roof which succeeded it as a permanent shelter for the Holy Table, should continue to possess the name *Sépél*, *Capella*, or Chapel. In the early Celtic Church '*Capella*' and '*Casula*' became interchangeable names,\* apparently because of the thatch-work covering common to both; for, of course, while the *Casula* had walls, the early *Capella* was supported on poles.

*Disert* is from the Latin *deserta*, waste-places; but the meaning was enlarged. There is a recorded Church of S. Ninian at '*Disert*' in Moray, believed to be at Dyke. The place is no longer known by its first name. *Disert*, originally, meant any solitary place where the cleric might retire for a short time from the community for meditation and devotion. S. Martin had his *Casa* some miles away from Poitiers; and his cave on the Cher, well outside Tours; S. Ninian had his cave on the sea-shore some distance from the '*Magnum Monasterium*' at *Candida Casa*; S. Servanus had his cave

\* This usage was even applied to the *Cuculla* or Hooded Garment which covered the Cleric. Sometimes it was called *Capa*, sometimes *Casula*. The hood of the *Capa* was the only head-covering of the Celtic Clerics; and it was used only in cold or storm. Those who seek an explanation of the unexplained word *Cap* should note this. Those, also, who wish a further example of how initial *C* was avoided in Pictland, should note the word '*Hap*' still applied there to any garment like the ancient *Capa* or *Cuculla* which was a wrap for the day and a blanket for the night.



## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

at Dysart in Fife; S. Kentigern retired '*ad deserta loca*' where his dwelling was a cave; S. Finbar and S. Comgall had retreats in the 'Holy-Wood'; S. Cainnech had a solitude on an island in a loch. In these solitary places these leaders of men meditated on God and rejoiced in Nature. They made friends with the wild creatures around them; the wild swans came to S. Comgall at his call; S. Kentigern had a wolf and a stag for companions; and S. Cainnech was followed by a hind. In their monastic organizations the Picts and Britons left room for the anchorite as well as the cenobite. The Irish Christians at a later period recognized *Diserts* specially intended for men who had no external interests, religious or otherwise, who had imprisoned themselves *ar Dia*, 'for God,' that is, for continued devotional exercises. The Irish also, in the late period, used *Dithreabh*, Wilderness, for *Disert*. Disert is still in use in Pictland, but only in secular place-names.

*Bachall* (Brit. *bagl*), from Latin *baculum*, was the pastoral staff of an Ab or bishop. When sent by a messenger who was the bearer of a verbal order from the Ab; the staff was a sign that the order had been authorized. The pastoral staves of SS. Moluag and Fillan are still preserved. The staff of S. Donnan the Great vanished at Auchterless Church at the Reformation. Certain lands at Kilmun went with the custody of S. Mund's staff; and the property called 'Bachul' in Lismore is

## THE PICTISH NATION

still held by the hereditary keepers of S. Moluag's staff. After the period of the Celtic Church the *Bachalls* of the saints were venerated as relics, used in healing the sick, and, to bring victory, were carried in front of the fighting-men as they marched into battle, which explains why the '*Bachul*' of S. Moluag was in the custody of the standard-bearer of the lords of Lorn.

*Cathair* is a name associated with the sites of many cities and *muinntirs* in the territories of the Britons and Picts. Etymologists insist that it represents two words—(1) *Cathair* (Brit. *Caer*, Latin *Castrum*), a fort; seen in '*Caerleon*,' Fortified camp of the Legions; and in '*Caer Pheris*,' the thirteenth-century *Dun-Fres* (Dumfries), Fort of the Frisians. (2) *Cathair* (Welsh *Cadair*, Latin *Cathedra*), a chair, particularly a bishop's *Cathedra* or Chair. If the etymologists are right; mediaeval Latin translators of Celtic documents would be wrong; because they call early monastic settlements 'cities,' not seats, and indicate, what is correct, that as a rule they were fortified. 'Car-Budde' near Forfar, for example, is known to be 'Castrum Boethii,' \*Fort of S. Buidhe; not Chair of S. Buidhe. Joceline writes 'ad Cathures'† in the sense of 'ad castra,' that is, to the place that became known as the *camp* of S. Kentigern's community. On the other hand, there are places

\* It was a gift from Nectan, the Sovereign of Pictland.

† The first name of the *City* of Glasgow.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

in Pictland connected with the early Celtic missionaries called '*Suidhe*,' a seat, and an alternative name among the people is '*Cathair*.' The *Suidhe-Donnan*\* in Sutherland, for example, is a deeply concave rock, associated with the field-preaching of S. Donnan the Great. It is also called '*Cathair*'; and it is in a protected position. These stones called *Cathair* or *Suidhe* are not all associated with saints, the best known is the *Lia Fail* now in Westminster. '*Cathair*,' if equivalent to *Suidhe*, appears in Pictland to have the simple sense of the original Greek *kathédra*, a seat. There seems, however, to have been but one word '*Cathair*' which in course of time took a secondary meaning, designating not the fort but the seat protected by the fort. In neither sense was '*Cathair*' an episcopal word. It was used in Pictland centuries before the introduction of the monarchic or diocesan bishop with his official '*cathedra*.' It was not the Chair of the bishop, but the Chair of the Ab which was the seat of authority in Pictland for many long centuries. The writers who interpreted *Cathair*, when linked to a saint's name, as referring to his 'city' rather than to an episcopal chair were conforming to historical truth.

*Bangor*. In Pictland this name takes the forms

\* Apart from the fact that it was one of S. Donnan's preaching-places; the tradition is that at the *Suidhe Donnan* he 'judged' the people. In Ireland the *Suidhe* is frequently associated with some Brehon or Law-giver.



## THE PICTISH NATION

Bangor, Banchor-y, *Banagher*. Among the Britons are '*Bangor Padarn*,'\* '*Bangor y Ty Gwyn ar Dav*'† and many others. Among the Irish are the '*Bangor Mor*' of S. Comgall, '*Lis-Banagher*,' and Church of 'Ross Bennchuir,' besides many others. One Irish writer refers to '*Bennchair Britonum*,' that is, Bangor of the Britons. Also, among the Britons were the famous '*Côr Tewdws*,' destroyed in the fifth century during a raid from the Irish coast and restored by S. Illtyd;‡ and, besides others, '*Côr Tathan*' which originated in the beginning of the sixth century, and sometimes called *Bangor Tathan*.§ Associated with many of the Bangors among the Britons were the houses bearing the name '*Ty Gwyn*,' that is, White House, a name already noticed at S. Ninian's *Candida Casa*, Whithorn.

Legends have been invented, and etymological analyses applied to explain '*Bangor*' as a topographical name. The results have been amazing. The name has been discussed at length in this work in connection with S. Comgall's labours. It is sufficient to state here that '*Bangor*' was the name of an organization or institution. All the features of a '*Bangor*' were present in S. Martin's *Magnum Monasterium*, and in the daughter-house at

\* *Padarn ap Pedredin*. This place is now *Llanpadarn Vawr* in Cardiganshire.

† Now Whitland Abbey, Caermarthenshire.

‡ Now *Llan-Illtyd Vawr*, Glamorganshire. S. Illtyd died A.D. 512.

§ In *Caer Went*.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

*Candida Casa*, namely, the monastic community with means for training and discipline; a Church; Schools for the training of outsiders not intending the Church. Only in two features did the Bangors improve on S. Martin's or S. Ninian's establishments; the communities were more numerous, and the *Laus perennis*,\* the continuous course of Divine praise, was more perfectly celebrated by huge choirs, which were divided into large groups† who took regular turns of the duty and sang with a refinement not possible when S. Martin was organizing his choir out of the raw converts in Gaul. So far as dates can be compared, they are in favour of the view that the name 'Bangor' was carried from the Britons to Ireland along with the perfected organization of the *Laus perennis*, which was a feature of S. Comgall's Bangor,‡ by men educated among the Britons like S. Finian of Clonard and others who were Britons by birth as well as education. Just as the monasticism of S. Martin in Gaul was for a long time regarded with disfavour by certain authorities in the Western Church, so in the Eastern Church the cenobites who gave themselves to the celebration of *Laus perennis* were regarded as a sect and were called '*Acoimetæ*.' Their great centre in the

\* Mabillon states that S. Martin's *Marmoutier* was one of the first places in Western Europe to adopt the celebration of the '*Laus perennis*.'

† At *Bangor Illtyd* each group numbered one hundred, according to the *Triads*.

‡ Columbanus also made it a feature of the daughter-house at Luxeuil.



## THE PICTISH NATION

East was at Constantinople, in the famous *Studion* founded c. A.D. 460.

The following names are Celtic, most of them are Pictish or Brito-Pictish.

*Andat* or *Annat* meant a Church whose staff ministered to outlying congregations, or a Church which provided ministerial supply to other smaller Churches when required. The word has been happily translated, Mother-Church. '*Andat*' is still the name of the site of a Church at Methlick in Aberdeenshire founded by S. Ninian on his northern mission. The name alone indicates the antiquity of this place. '*Andat*' and '*Annat*' are found throughout Pictland, and mostly at sites dating from before the Roman Catholic period. In Ireland one of the Churches\* founded there by the earliest British missionaries was called '*An-doóit*.' After c. 727, when veneration of 'Relics' began among the Irish Celts under Roman influence, the relics were enshrined at the *Andat* or Mother-Church. Relics were not venerated in the Church of Pictland until it had been overtaken by Roman influence in the eighth century. The original meaning of '*Relig*' in Ireland was Cemetery.

*Nemhidh* is a name that came to be applied to a place rendered sacred by the existence of a Church or other sacred institution. It is, however,

\* The Church of a certain Earnan regarded (c. 800) as one of S. Patrick's disciples.



## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

a pre-Christian name, and is one of the oldest names in Pictland. It was originally applied to a sanctuary in a grove. The people pronounce it '*Něvie*' and *Nāvie*. Professor Watson equates it with the Gaulish *Nemēton*, and quotes Zeuss, '*de sacris silvarum quae nimidias vocant.*'\* The Indo-European root of the word is seen in the name of the famous *Nemi* of the Alban mount in Italy, the 'sanctuary of *Diana Nemorensis* or Diana of the wood.' The wood where S. Comgall and S. Finbar had their 'retreats,' now Holywood, was called '*Nemus sacrum.*' There is a parish *Nevey* in Forfarshire, and the name is frequent in Pictland.

*Dair*, genitive *darach*, means Oak. It is the original of the place-names *Deer*, *Darra*, and 'Tear,' the Caithness pronunciation of a Church founded from and named after Deer. *Dair* came to mean Oak-grove, as we know from the place where the Celtic fort of Derry originally stood. '*Derteach*' and '*Deartaighe*' meant Oak-house, and also an oak-built prayer-house. Drostan, the anchorite of the heights of Brechin, was known as '*Drostan Dairthaighe*,'† that is, Drostan of the Oak-house cell.

*Gomrie*, *Comrie*, and in Ireland '*Innis-Coimrighi*.' S. Maelrubha's, Abercrossan (Applecross), is '*Combrich*' Maelrubha. Irish has also

\* See Prof. Watson's full discussion of the name in *Place-names of Ross*, p. lxii.

† Died 719.

## THE PICTISH NATION

'*Comairche*.' Modern Gaelic is *Comraich*. The *Comraich* was the defined area around the Church where the shedder-of-blood could claim the protection of the Church and fair trial. It was the Pictish 'City of Refuge,' and restricted the range of the blood-feud. If a refugee reached the *comraich* of a daughter-Church; he could claim the intervention of the Ab of the Mother-Church however distant he might be; and this ensured trial away from local prejudices. An Irish ruler's son slew a man who had claimed sanctuary at the Church of one of S. Columba's monks, for which act S. Columba organized armed hostility\* against him.

*Garth*, seen in 'Girth-Cross,' Kingarth, and other names, is the Scandinavian rendering of *Comraich*. *Garth* originally meant an inclosure. 'Girth-cross'† is one of the Cross-marked stones that marked the boundaries of the *Comraich*.

*Llan* is a Britonic word. It originally meant a place marked off and inclosed, then it came to mean the fortified inclosure of the Church, and was finally applied to the Church itself. *Llan* is seen in Lamlash, the Church of S. Mo-Lias; in Lumphanan (Llan-Fhinan) the Church of Finan;

\* This was the battle of *Cuil-Feadha*, organized by S. Columba against Colman mac Diarmid because Cuimin, son of the latter, slew Baedan mac Ninnidh.

† One of the Girth-crosses of Kildonnan, Sutherland, was on a rock-face at Suisgill.

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE PICTS

in Lhanbride, Church of Brité. This name has nothing to do with S. Brigit. The two latter names, referring to a certain Finan and a certain Brité, are in the area of Pictland worked by the British missionaries. The first name, Lamlash, is in the old territory of the Britons.

*Lis* (Britonic *llys*, Breton *lis*) also originally meant an inclosure with a rampart. It afterwards came to be applied to the Church-inclosure, and in modern times to a garden. In Ireland *lios* means a fortification. The name is seen in S. Moluag's 'Lismore' and in many minor places throughout Pictland. The ramparts of S. Donnan's *lis* at the Church of Auchterless used to be visible. The fortifying ditch and wall can still be seen at some of the early Church-sites in Pictland where they have not been disturbed. The sites of the Churches founded by S. Ninian on his northern mission at Dunottar, Navidale, and Wick Head were on sea-washed cliffs protected on the land side by ditches or natural ravines and approachable only by narrow footways. S. Ninian's '*Tempul*' in the Great Glen at Glenurquhart was inclosed in the '*Lis-ant-Rinian*,' S. Ninian's inclosure.

*Dabhach*, seen in 'Doch-Fin,' S. Finbar's Davach at Dornoch, and in 'Doch-Moluag,' S. Moluag's Davach, was a measure of land in Pictland. Wherever it is used with a Celtic saint's name it indicates the old benefices and endowments of the Pictish Church.



## THE PICTISH NATION

Examples of secular names drawn from Pictish speech are—

*Pit* as a prefix. Originally it meant Portion or share. From 'share of land,' it came to mean homestead and town.

*Pen*, Head. Seen in *Caer-pen-tulach* now 'Kirkintilloch.' *Tulach* is Gaelic duplicate of *pen*.

*Dol*, in Pictland as in Brittany, is Flat-ground on a higher plane than the *machair* or plain-land.

*Oykel and Ochil*, High. The Pictish pronunciation of the original word is indicated in the 'Uxella' of the early Greek geographers.

*Rhos* is Moor.

*Pefr* is Clear (applied to water).

*Preas* (-fhreas) is Bush.

*Cardenn* is a Thicket.

*Gwydd* is a Wood, seen in 'Keith.'

*Gwaneg* is a Wave of sea or loch, seen in 'Fan-nich.'

*Pawr* (-fhawr) is Pasture, seen in Bal-four.\*

\* For these last and other unquoted examples see *Place-names of Ross*, Prof. Watson, p. lii.

## THE LITERATURE OF THE PICTS CHAPTER FOUR

'No scrap of Pictish literature ever existed.'\* Such was the ill-founded decision of an accepted Scottish historian. It was an audacious deliverance to make to a generation which had seen the literary treasures of Europe greatly enriched by the manuscripts from the libraries of the famous Celtic monasteries founded, one at Bobbio in Lombardy by S. Columbanus, † the other at St. Gall in Switzerland by S. Gall. ‡ Both founders were Pictish scholars educated by S. Comgall the Great at Bangor in Ulster, the chief centre of learning among the Irish Picts. Both were born in the ancient territories of the northern Irish Picts in the north of Leinster, S. Gall in the north of Louth on the Ulster border; and S. Columbanus, also on the border-land, in the district lying between Louth and southern Loch Erne. S. Columbanus surveyed the locality about Lake Constance within the two years of his wanderings after his banishment from Luxeuil, A.D. 610; and there he left S. Gall to settle. S. Columbanus then made

\* Yet in the *Irish Nennius* reference is made to the Books of the Picts, 'As it is written in the Books of the Cruitneach.'

† Born A.D. 543. His first instructor was S. Sinell, who had been a pupil of Finnian of Clonard, who was educated in Britain. S. Sinell's cell was on Cluain Innis, Loch Erne.

‡ He was born c. 545. In an old MS. from the St. Gall library his father's name is given as 'Kethernac Mac Unnchun.' His own name means *Stranger*. 'Kethern' was the name of one of the early Pictish heroes. Dr. Reeves states that he was of the race of Ir, progenitor of one branch of the Irish Picts. Ir was a sovereign of Ireland.

## THE PICTISH NATION

his way into Lombardy, and in A.D. 612 he settled at Bobbio in the Apennines.

The catalogues of the libraries of Bobbio and St. Gall have been published.\* The tenth-century catalogue used by the students at Bobbio† has been reproduced; and the catalogue of St. Gall, compiled there for the convenience of readers in the ninth century, is still accessible. In the ninth century St. Gall possessed five hundred and thirty-three volumes; and in the tenth century Bobbio contained seven hundred. From the Bobbio collection came the *Antiphonary*‡ of Bangor. It contains prayers, canticles, hymns, especially an alphabetical *Hymn* in honour of S. Comgall, the founder of Bangor, and rules as to the order of prayer. It is a purely Pictish '*Liber Officialis*'; and it enables us to have an idea of the service which S. Moluag introduced from Bangor among the Picts of Alba, and to realize that the same order of worship was followed in Alba that was followed at Bangor, and at its daughter-houses at Luxeuil, Bobbio, and St. Gall. Bobbio naturally possessed the manuscript of the Gospels which, as we know from his *Life*, S. Columbanus carried with him wherever he went. It bore the inscription '*Ut traditum fuit illud erat idem liber quem Beatus Col-*

\* The Catalogue of Bobbio, by Muratori and Peyron. For St. Gall see Ferdinand Keller's *Bilder und Schriftzüge in den irischen Manuskripten*.

† See Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, vol. i. pp. 493-505.

‡ The MS. is now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. It was edited in 1893 by Dr. Warren.



## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

umbanus Abbas in pera secum ferre consuevat.' In the University library at Turin are fragments of a *Commentary on S. Mark's Gospel* with notes in Celtic. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan is a complete *Commentary on the Psalms*,\* also with Celtic notes. Both works belonged to Bobbio; and both are ascribed to S. Columbanus. The latter is regarded as the '*Commentary on the Psalter*,' catalogued in the tenth century as part of the Bobbio collection. To this library founded in a Pictish monastery we owe the only surviving Canon of the New Testament, the famous *Muratorian Fragment*. Among its manuscripts, as fragments in the Imperial Library at Vienna indicate, confirming the old catalogue, were most of the Apostolic Epistles, texts of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, and many other Greek and Latin authors. These texts were copiously annotated, often in Celtic.†

The library of St. Gall was more than once pillaged by scholars who entered it as borrowers and left it thieves. A certain Poggio of Florence, who was interested in the works of Cicero, arrived at St. Gall in 1416 with two confederates, and on his departure to Constance took with him two cart-loads of priceless manuscripts which included Texts of Cicero, Quintilian, Lucretius, Priscian, the unfinished *Argonautica* of C. V. Flaccus, and other

\* Codex Ambrosianus, C. 301.

† Cf. Dr. Heinrich Zimmer's *Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

writings. These manuscripts were taken to Italy ultimately. An 'Oecumenical' Council receives much blame for these thefts. To this library of a monastery founded by a Pictish scholar came secretaries from the most Catholic Council of Constance\* to borrow books which would reinforce any inspiration or knowledge that this despised Synod presumed to possess. One sign of knowledge in the borrowers was that they knew something of the value of the manuscripts; because they never returned them. It is not out of harmony with other acts of this Council that the members apparently sought authority for their doings in the works of pagan orators and poets while they left excellent copies of the *Gospels* and *Epistles* unconsulted.

Europe owes to St. Gall the Dresden *Codex Boernerianus* which has S. Paul's *Epistles* in Greek; various Fragments of the *Gospels*; a palimpsest of Virgil; a thirteenth-century *Nibelungenlied*; and certain books with unread glosses in Celtic, together with the 'iron-bound book' ascribed to S. Gall himself. There was also at St. Gall what from old descriptions appears to have been another copy of the *Antiphonary of Bangor*.†

Of the thirty volumes written in Celtic script, which were in the library of St. Gall in the ninth century, according to the surviving catalogue of

\* A.D. 1414-1418.

† From a reference by Notker Balbulus.

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

that period, only one volume remained twenty-five years ago.

Continental scholars are generally very wary in referring to the Celtic glosses in the manuscripts that belonged to Bobbio and St. Gall. They are usually satisfied to call the language 'Celtic'; but some British writers have boldly pronounced it 'Goidelic'; although they candidly admit that it is often difficult to interpret, except through known Britonic words and orthography. Gaidhealic scholars doubtless wandered to the Continent of Europe as well as Picts, especially after the Vikings began their ravages; but the organized missions from Bangor and the communities of the Britons in the sixth century, which founded Luxeuil, Bobbio, St. Gall, and other Celtic monasteries in the European uplands, were led and staffed by men who were born Picts, or Britons, educated at Pictish or British monasteries, who spoke a Pictish or Britonic dialect of Celtic when they did not speak Latin or Greek. Many writers have followed the Gaidheals in assuming that the continental designation 'Scot' signified a Gaidhealic Celt; but from early times on the Continent 'Scot' was applied to a native of 'Scotia,' that is Ireland, without consideration as to whether he belonged to the Pictish or Gaidhealic branch of the Celts.\*

No scholar has yet applied himself seriously to

\* Among others, Columbanus was called a Scot on the Continent, and he spoke of himself as a native of 'Scotia,' *i.e.* Ireland.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the Continental Celtic writings for the purpose of separating what is Pictish or British dialect from what is Gaidhealic dialect. In like manner no scholar has yet attacked the Celtic manuscripts of Britain and Ireland for the purpose of separating the literature which originated among the Picts of Alba or Ireland from the literature which originated among the Gaidheals. After the deluge of Viking barbarism had subsided in the Pictish territories of Alba and Ireland, the Gaidheals gradually served themselves heirs to Pictish lands and heritages; and, when they had secured control of education, served themselves heirs to Pictish literature. The memory of Pictish scholars like Cainnech and Columbanus was revived; but in a Gaidhealic atmosphere. S. Comgall, the greatest Pictish Abbot, was represented as a protégé of S. Columba the Gaidheal. The motive for the Gaidhealic usurpation of all Celtic greatness that had preceded the rise of the Gaidheals was at first political, and was also designed in view of the Pictish properties. The romanized Church of the Gaidheals, too, saw and seized its own opportunity of forwarding its own claims to primacy, and to the property of the old Celtic Church. It exalted the Gaidhealic claims into a system, and applied it everywhere without scruple. In Ireland the old Pictish territory of Armagh was represented as having been Gaidhealic from all time. When the inventions of the Irish Churchmen were ex-

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

hausted Latin Churchmen were brought from England\* to rewrite the *Lives* of the old Celtic Churchmen, in the professed interests of elegant Latin and orthodoxy; but, really, to ground the claims of the new Church. The saints of the ancient Pictish Church are put into the background to show up the figure of an unhistorical S. Patrick. Although the Gaidheals and their king Laeghaire were hostile to the historical S. Patrick and the king died an 'obstinate pagan'; † the S. Patrick of fable is represented as rising into power through the favour of the Gaidheals of the race of Niall who in course of time became the patrons and protectors of Armagh, the seat of the primacy. The 'obstinate pagan,' Laeghaire, is also passed through history as S. Patrick's convert. Again, the historical S. Bridget, who belonged to the Pictish district of Louth, is transformed into the slave of a Gaidhealic bard, and exalted to later ages as the 'Mary of the Gaidheal.' Other pre-Gaidhealic saints and heroes are treated in similar fashion.

Many fragments of history, poems, and stories now presented to the world as Gaidhealic litera-

\* Joceline of Furness and others. Joceline re-wrote the *Life* of Kentigern from a Celtic original. At the request of Thomas of Armagh, John de Courcy, and others, he re-wrote the *Life* of S. Patrick. He gave both *Lives* abundance of Roman colouring. John de Courcy had a political purpose in getting the *Life* of Patrick garbled; just as the purpose of Thomas was ecclesiastical.

† Another of the old *Lives* states that Laeghaire had vowed to his father that he would never receive Christianity. His brother Cairbre led S. Patrick's followers naked into a cold river, and ordered them to be flogged there.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ture can be detected by internal as well as external evidence as having been altered from their original form. They are merely Gaidhealic *versions*, bearing traces of the Gaidhealic editor, of works composed where Pictish was the dialect of Celtic in general use. In various Gaidhealic vocabularies, many words marked 'early Irish' and 'old Irish' are word-forms current among the Picts.

As an example of a Gaidhealic version of a work originally written in a different dialect of Celtic there survives the *lorica* called *Feth-Fia-dha*, 'Cry of the Deer,' S. Patrick's well-known Celtic hymn. There are various editions; but one often figures as a specimen of 'Gaidhealic literature.'\* The matter may be little changed from the original; but the form is certainly much changed. The author, S. Patrick, was a Briton, his dialect was Britonic, his historical work was performed in the territories of the northern and southern Irish Picts where his Britonic dialect would be understood. The pagan Gaidheals were, as we have seen, hostile to him, and did not allow him to do more than touch the fringes of their clan settlements. Once, he visited their king after the Gaidheals had begun to wedge themselves in between the Picts of the north and south in Ireland. He and his disciples, who were Britons and Picts, approached, chanting this hymn. In the strange dialect it was so unintel-

\* 'Gaelic Composition,' Dr. Magnus MacLean calls it.



## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

ligible to the Gaidheals, that it sounded with no more meaning than the 'Cry of the Deer' on the hill-slope, so they expressed it, and thus the *lorica* received its popular name.

Another work frequently represented as a 'Gaelic composition' is the metrical memoir of S. Patrick known as the 'Hymn,' ascribed to S. Fiac or Fiag of Sleibhte in Leinster. The work is partly Celtic and partly Latin with extensive *Scholια*. If S. Fiac really composed the work, and if the surviving manuscript is 'Gaelic,' then it is merely a *version*; because S. Fiac lived and laboured in Leinster among the Manapian Picts and the Brigantes who were Britons. It is safe to assume that he wrote for his own clerics and people in their own dialect of Celtic, and not for their enemies the Gaidheals, who had little interest in Patrick while he lived, and only took up his name many long years after S. Fiac's time, when the romanized Gaidheals were seeking to centre the primacy in Armagh; and when they required a saintly founder who could more easily be set up as in communion with Rome, and as of 'Catholic' ways than any of the Pictish or Gaidhealic Saints. The Picts of Leinster (where S. Fiac laboured) had even more reason to keep clear of the Gaidheals than the Picts of Ulster; because the Picts of the north-east sought only to keep their lands against the covetous Gaidheals, when at the end of long intervals they came out for an increase of terri-

## THE PICTISH NATION

tory; but the Picts of Leinster required to contend with the yearly fever of blood-lust which seized the Gaidhealic Nialls of the Midlands, who tried to wedge them apart from their kin in the north-east under the excuse of collecting the notorious *Boromhe*.\* It was not hymns about Patrick that the Gaidheals took from Leinster in S. Fiac's time, or long after, but tribute, when they were able to collect it.

The authenticity of S. Fiac's 'Hymn' has been doubted because of the reference in it to the desolation of Tara, the old capital. That reference, on the contrary, might be a sign of genuineness; because, in the eyes of a Pict, Tara was *desolated* when the Gaidheals took it and hoisted their flag there early in the fifth century, long before it was cursed, and made desolate after the death of King Diarmait, the Gaidheal, A.D. 565. The correct criticism of the Fiac manuscript is, that if S. Fiac was the author of the hymn, the manuscript is a Gaidhealic version of a Pictish work which was written by a Pict for Picts in the Pictish dialect of Celtic. Once more, therefore, we may have an item of Pictish literature; but it has come to us through a Gaidhealic editor, like many another Pictish work.

It is asked why Pictish compositions have come down to us through Gaidhealic hands. The answer is, that the turn of historical events towards the

\* The Gaidheals wished the Picts to bribe them with this payment to let them alone, but the Picts steadily refused.

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

close of the first millennium gave the Gaidheals the hegemony of the Celts in Ireland and Scotland, and the control of education and literature.

The Viking invasions laid the Pictish colleges of Ireland and Scotland in ashes. Pictish libraries were burned, or their contents were scattered and mostly lost. The scholars who escaped massacre fled to the Continent, some of them to the Pictish communities already securely established there. At a few places in Pictland of Alba (Scotland), units of the scattered forces of the Pictish Church managed to survive; but they represented remnants doomed to ultimate decay. Their controlling and supplying monasteries, both in Ireland and in their own land, were 'burned,' as the Annalists put it. Bangor, the mother of Churches, was left desolate. When the Church was, in course of time, revived there, and at other centres, it was a new Church, Gaidhealic not Pictish, Roman not Celtic.

The Vikings paralysed Pictish power, and shattered Pictish organization in Church and State. The Picts fell a comparatively easy prey to the Vikings; because, while they fought the Vikings on their front, they were assailed in the rear by Gaidheals; and both in Ireland and in Scotland the Gaidheals never relaxed their pressure on their possible lines of retreat from the easily accessible and much devastated East Coasts of both countries. As the Viking deluge subsided, it became plain that the Gaidheals would possess



## THE PICTISH NATION

the future. They had been able to keep their government, their organization, and some elements of culture; because their lines of retreat to inaccessible mountains and quiet islands had remained open. The Gaidheals possessed also either a power or opportunity of absorbing the Vikings which was not given to the Pict. In Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness, the Viking absorbed the Pict, putting it broadly; but in the Southern Hebrides and in North-western Ireland the Gaidheal absorbed the Viking.

The resurrection of Celtic power from the grave of Viking barbarism was a Gaidhealic resurrection. Everywhere in the Celtic territories of Great Britain, except among the remnant of Britons penned up in Wales, Gaidhealic lords or Gaidhealic ecclesiastics began to dominate. The Picts gradually ceased to exist as a separate people and became merged among the other Celts. They lost most of their ancestral lands in Alba, sometimes by force under the excuse of exacting tribute for the sovereign, sometimes by the high hand of the Gaidhealic provincial rulers, sometimes by intermarriage with Gaidheals. After A.D. 842, in Alba, their clan-organizations, their system of monarchy, their Church organization, and their central monastic communities began to disappear or to change by degrees as each new Gaidhealic king stepped to the throne. In A.D. 851 the Gaidhealic clerics forsook Iona, which like the Pictish

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

monasteries had been repeatedly desolated by Vikings, and tried to centre themselves at Dunkeld within the borders of the old Pictish kingdom. Each succeeding half-century sees their tentacles seizing the ancient Pictish Church-centres one by one. First it is Abernethy, then St. Andrews, by and by Brechin, and later Deer. Mortlach was left to itself, but new centres were fixed at Birnay and Aberdeen. The Gaidhealic propaganda was persistent but slow, in spite of special missions conducted at refractory Pictish centres like Dornoch by such men as S. Dubthac, a much-lauded saint of the Gaidheals, who came from the Gaidhealicized Church of Armagh to establish a mission at Tain in Ross about the beginning of the eleventh century. Before the Gaidheals had completed the control of the religious and educational centres of Pictland, the Roman Church, under political influence, threatened to undo much of their work by sending into the Highlands Norman or Anglo-Saxon prelates. This policy reanimated the few scattered details of the ancient Pictish Church that survived in odd places; but the Roman Churchmen soon saw their error, and took up the Gaidheals anew, sending to the Highlands, as far as possible, only those who could speak what they called 'Irish.'

The result of these carefully calculated efforts was that if the Picts did not consent to be Gaidhealicized, they were left outside education and



## THE PICTISH NATION

power, and tended to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to the Gaidhealic and, later, to the Saxon incomers. The Gaidheals thus controlled education and the care of the literature of past and present.

*This Gaidhealic control of power and education, which continued slowly to extend from A.D. 842 onwards, is the reason why what remained of Pictish literature after the Vikings, has come down to us through Gaidhealic editors. They were the most unscrupulous editors that, perhaps, the world has known. Everything was altered in favour of their own interests and their own race. There is one document, typical of many, where 'Scoti' is substituted for 'Picti.'\** The Gaidheals were overweeningly vain, and loved to exalt the age and exploits of their race to the Anglo-Saxons, who had emerged from barbarism before their eyes. It helped their political and ecclesiastical claims too. For this reason they represented themselves as older than the Picts or Britons, or any other Celts. They did not hesitate to garble versions of the *Pictish Chronicle* in their own favour, apart from the corruptions due to Gaidhealic orthography. They traced the origin of the Gaidheals to the Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Egyptians, and repudiated a half-hearted romancer who was content to start the race from the Trojans. Although two Picts and a scholar of the Britons had educated and

\* One of the Fragments of the *Pictish Chronicle*.



## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

trained S. Columba, the greatest ecclesiastic of the Gaidheals, the Gaidhealic writers regularly refer to the Picts as 'ravenous,' 'savage,' or 'barbarous,' descriptions hailed by many historical writers down to Mr. Andrew Lang. Although the Gaidhealic writers annex S. Patrick in face of the historical truth that their forefathers spurned him they have very little to say about S. Ninian, whose community at *Candida Casa* sent out many of the most successful missionaries to Ireland. If the world depended on Gaidhealic writers, men would believe that the Picts, S. Comgall the Great and S. Cainnech, had been humble followers and dependents of S. Columba the Gaidheal. With similar historical recklessness the historical S. Servanus\* is lifted away from his true period and associated with S. Adamnan, a romanized Gaidheal.

That there was a Pictish literature in Alba (Scotland) before the Vikings is beyond doubt. The evidence is too strong even for cynical historical writers. That some of this literature survives to the present time in Gaidhealic versions which wait the critical analyses of some competent Celtic scholar is apparent. The *Pictish Chronicle* at least had a Pictish original. The confusing efforts of the Gaidhealic copyists to render Pictish proper names is evidence of that, apart from other considerations.

\* A version of the fabulized *Life*, with all its extravagances, is printed by Skene, *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. 412.

## THE PICTISH NATION

One of our oldest native Latin hymns is the work of a Pictish author. It was written by Mugent,\* the Ab, a successor of S. Ninian in the presidency of the Brito-Pictish monastery at *Candida Casa* (Whithorn). In passing, let us not forget that Latin was a living tongue to the early Picts. S. Ninian's flock heard the Roman legions drilled in the Imperial tongue; traded with them in the regimental market in Latin; actually, as we know from remains, helped the Roman colonists to erect headstones on their family graves, graven with Latin inscriptions; and when the Imperial armies were retreating, said 'Good-bye' to them in their own Latin speech, colder than Celtic. It was, therefore, not merely ecclesiastical fashion that moved Mugent to write his dignified prayer in the Latin, so restraining to the deeply-moved Celt. Mugent's prayer is usually called *Mugent's Hymn*, sometimes it is referred to by the opening words, '*Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo quem redimisti.*' It is a remarkable devotional appeal. It dates from the first years of the sixth century.

Incidentally we learn from the ancient scholiast's preface to the '*Parce, Domine,*' concerning the schools which at this early period were at *Candida Casa* for young men and women, other than those who intended the Church. Two of these pupils are named, Talmag, a Pict, and Drus-

\* Cf. *Liber Hymnorum*, Todd, Part I. p. 97. See also Bishop Forbes' Notes to *S. Ninian*, p. 292.

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

ticc, daughter of Drust, sovereign of Pictland of Alba. The schools for laity and clerics imply a literature: and Drusticc\* indicates that there was a Library at *Candida Casa*; because, as a bribe to gain a certain end, she offers to one of the masters, S. Finbar, 'all the books which Mugent has.'

This is S. Finbar of Maghbile and Dornoch who continued S. Ninian's mission-work in what is now Ayrshire, and the East and North of Scotland. We know from his *Life* that he was a lover of manuscripts and very jealous of those which he possessed. He made his own manuscript copy of the *Gospels*, the *Psalter*, and other parts of Holy Scripture. † The Scholiast in the *Kalendar of Angus* states that he brought the *first* complete manuscript of the *Gospel* into Ireland, when he returned from Pictland. The *Kalendar of Cashel* goes further and states that he brought the manuscript of the Mosaic Law and the complete *Gospel* into Ireland. The uniqueness, in Ireland, of S. Finbar's *Gospel* is confirmed by the account of how it was stolen for a time by strategy in order that S. Fintan might have a copy of it. S. Columba, while a pupil of S. Finbar, also secretly copied this same *Gospel* or *Psalter* ‡ with disastrous consequences; because a royal

\* Daughter of Drust Gurthinmoc, King of Pictland, died c. A.D. 510.

† One account states that it was the '*Gospel*,' another, that it was the '*Psalter*' which S. Columba copied. The explanation probably is that '*Gospel*' is used, in the not uncommon Celtic fashion, to include the *Psalter* as well as the *Gospels* proper.



## THE PICTISH NATION

demand that he should give up the copy to S. Finbar helped to bring on the sanguinary battle of *Cul Dreimhne*. The early Gaidheals called this version 'S. Martin's Gospel,'\* indicating clearly that S. Ninian had brought the manuscript from S. Martin's community at Tours to *Candida Casa*, and that through S. Finbar it came into use in Ireland.

The mention of the School at *Candida Casa* brings to mind the Schools founded, later, in the sixth century and after, throughout Pictland of Alba (Scotland) by missionaries from the Britons; and also by S. Moluag and other Picts from Ireland. The names of these schools remain attached to the sites until the present time. Wherever in Scotland the names 'Bangor,' 'Banchory,' or 'Banágher' survive, we have the locality of one of the schools that was attached to a community of Pictish or British Clerics. It is safe to assume that these schools were not conducted without the aid of native literature. One feature of the Bangors was that the Psalms were learned and sung with artistic care.

Another Pictish manuscript which long survived in Ireland was the famous '*Glas Cainic*' written by S. Cainnech of Achadh-Bo and St. Andrews. It was, apparently, a manuscript of the

\* The Gaidhealic fabulists of a later period invented a story that Columcille went to Tours, opened S. Martin's grave, and took from it the actual manuscript which S. Martin used.

## LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

*Gospels* with expositions. S. Cainnech's powers as an expositor were so widely admitted that even S. Columba's admiration was freely given to him.\*

The Picts had their bards as well as the other Celts. One of their widely known compositions was the Brito-Pictish historical romance, *Llalllogan*.† The characters are historical, but they are brought together without regard to their correct places in time. Vortigern, the leader of the Brito-Pictish confederation, Llalllogan the bard, S. Kentigern the Briton and missionary to the Picts, all appear together. Historically, Llalllogan was the twin-brother of Gwendydd and kinsman of Urien Rheged of the Strathclyde Britons. His life was a weird one. He went mad after he had gazed on the horrible slaughter of the Brito-Pictish hosts at the close of a battle which had been instigated by his own perfervid verses. Demented he fled to the wilds, lived in the recesses of the woods like a wild beast among wild beasts, and fed on the roots and herbs of the forests. It happened on a day when S. Kentigern was in his retreat in the woods near Glasgow that he encountered this wild creature. After hearing the madman's story of his life the Saint gave him his blessing, and the outcast came to himself, and was re-admitted to Christian fellowship.

\* Cf. *V. S. Kynici Abbatis*, cap. xlviii. p. 155.

† 'Llalllogan' was his pet name. He is Myrdinn, otherwise 'Merlinus Caledonicus.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

Joceline in the twelfth century was acquainted with some version of this story, because he refers to Llallogan as 'homo fatuus,'\* who was kept by the King of the Britons. Walter Bower had also a version of this romance before him in the fifteenth century, and he quotes the main part of the story.† Incidentally he indicates that the acquisitive Gaidhealic editor had not disappeared in his time; because not only is the British name Gaidhealicized to 'Lailocen,' but he candidly avows that some people regarded the bard as a 'wonderful prophet of the Scots' (Gaidheals). How little of the Gaidheal was about Llallogan can be seen from the *Avellanan* in the verses ascribed to him, where his friends and the localities named are British and Pictish.

Ah me; Gwendydd shuns me, loves me not!  
The chiefs of Rhydderch hate me,  
After Gwenddolen no princes honour me  
Although at Ard'eryd I wore the golden torques.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

Long used to solitude, no demons fright me now;  
Not at the dragon presence do I quake  
Of the lord Gwenddolen,‡ and all his clan  
Who have sown death within the woods of Celyddon.

A fragment of another purely Pictish poem§

\* *V. S. Kentigerni*, cap. xlv.

† In the continuation of the *Scotichronicon*.

‡ Gwenddolen ap Ceidian, who, along with Saxon allies and S. Columba's friend, King Aedhan 'the False,' fought against Rhydderch the Briton and were defeated at Ard'eryd, c. 573.

§ Quoted by Reeves from *Annals of Mac Firbis*, MS. Brussels 5301, p. 80.



# LITERATURE OF THE PICTS

has come down to us through Gaidhealic hands.  
It is known by the opening lines:

*'Iniu feras Bruide cath  
Im forba a shenathar'*

(To-day Bruide fights in battle \*  
For the land of his ancestor).

This poem was written in Pictland of Alba, A.D. 686, by Riaghail, titular Abbot of Bangor in Ulster. Riaghail had fled for safety to Pictland of Alba; because the Gaidheals of the race of Niall had invaded the kingdoms of the Irish Picts. The Gaidheals burned Dungal the Pictish King, Suibhne, the Pictish lord of Kianachta, Glengiven, and captured the great border-fortress of Dun Ceithern. They then wasted the Pictish kingdoms with fire and sword. Apparently the clerics of Bangor and the other religious houses of S. Comgall took flight for a time to the daughter-churches of Bangor in Pictland of Alba. Riaghail was hospitably received by Brude Mac Bilé, the Sovereign of Pictland of Alba (Scotland). He repaid Brude by becoming his laureate and intercessor, and in this surviving fragment champions him in verse against Egfrid the Anglian invader.

This is not a history of Pictish literature. That subject still awaits the competent Celtic scholar who can divest himself of Gaidhealic and Anglo-Saxon prejudices. Enough has been written to show that the Pictish Churchmen did not minister

\* The Battle of Dunnichen ('Nechtansmere'), 20th May A.D. 686.

## THE PICTISH NATION

to a people without a literature; and also to show that the Picts did not derive their love and practice of literature from the Gaidheals. On the contrary it is apparent that the Gaidheals were taught and schooled by Britons and Picts. S. Columba, the greatest of the Gaidheals, was instructed by Pictish and British masters.

## HOW THE PICTS LIVED CHAPTER FIVE

A STORY used to be current at a southern university of a student, fresh from the works of a certain historian, who declared that Pictland of Alba was a 'land of lakes and shallow estuaries where the people lived in crannogs.' In Pictland certain fishing communities did live in crannogs amid the shallow waters of lakes and estuaries; and artificial islands, planned with much engineering skill, were constructed as defensible habitations in the same areas; but the majority of the Picts had no special affection for the marshes where ague and rheumatism prevailed. The Picts, considered as a whole, were a pastoral people as is indicated by the wide range of the name *Ker-ōnes*, shepherds. These pastoral folk owned three precious possessions—their dog, their flocks, and their pasture. The Celtic names for these enter into the three expressions of intense love which still survive in colloquial speech. *Mynghu* \* (S. Kentigern's pet name), my dear one, means, literally, my dog; *m'eūdail*, my kind one, means my little cattle; *m'ullie*, my treasure or my precious one, means my pasture. The Picts supplemented their pastoral work by agriculture and hunting. Stone querns, the hand-mill for grinding corn still used in Eastern countries, have been recovered from hut-circles, lake-dwellings, brochs, and even

\* *Mochu* in Gaelic. *Myn* is the British form of the pronoun *mo*, and among the Britons and Picts *g* took the place of *ch*, giving the form *Mungo*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

from the earth-houses and caves. These querns are constructed with wonderful mechanical balance. The upper stone revolves sunwise with perfect smoothness; but jams if revolved in the opposite direction, just as the shaped, Pictish, stone-weapons and implements, when laid on a smooth surface, can be spun sunwise successfully; but if turned contrary to the sun they wobble and refuse to revolve. Indeed, this is a test of the genuineness of Pictish stone weapons and implements; and the most skilled modern forgers have not yet discovered the secret of this feature.

The Picts were enthusiastic sportsmen. On foot they hunted the deer and wild cattle with dogs and weapons. They fought the wolves in their dens. They knew the best salmon-pools in rivers; and, in banks on which they watched for their prey the flint heads of their fish-spears are frequently found embedded. They were acquainted with the fishing net, and could make fish-traps of woven willow-wands which they set at the head of streamy parts of rivers. They marked the haunts of *doran*, the otter, whom other Celts called the 'fish-hound.' The number of Pictish names signifying Otters' Bank or Otters' Burn indicate how carefully the Picts followed the ways of this fisher; doubtless because they knew his habit of leaving an acceptable salmon on the bank minus his favourite mouthful. In the kitchen-middens of the brochs remains of nearly

## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

all our common animals, birds, and fishes are found, together with the remains of creatures now extinct. In a grave within the area of S. Ninian's Churchyard, Sutherland, were found, along with human bones, a flint implement and part of a palmated antler of one of the larger, extinct, deer. That the Picts were prouder of their prowess in the chase than in battle may be inferred from their carved stones which oftentimes show fights with beasts than with men. Their beasts of burden were the horse and the ox. For transport they used a two-wheeled cart of which a sketch has survived on one of their incised stones.

The Picts were acquainted with the working of iron and bronze. Charcoal and slag-heaps have been discovered deep in the peat at the sites of primitive iron-furnaces. Flint weapons and implements continued in use among the Picts long after they had learned to work metals. A perfectly constructed bronze swivel, which various modern artificers could imitate but badly, was found in Sutherland on the gravel, beneath the peat, beside a flint hide-scraper and a flint spear-head. The smith ranked almost as a noble among the Picts as among other Celts. His professional name is linked with many Pictish place-names. The capital\* of one of the principalities of Pictland was called 'The Smith's Mount.' This worker

\* Dr. Carmichael's *Barra Gowan* or *Beregonium*, capital of the Western Picts before the coming of the Dalriad Gaidheals.



## THE PICTISH NATION

might be called on to make any metal article from a sword or spade to a golden torque for a lady, a chief, or a poet. One of the Pictish saints had learned the smith's craft, and one of his 'miracles' was the making of charcoal from reeds for the forge fire. He was brazing the plates of a Celtic hand-bell, and probably 'miracle' was the popular description of some special flux which he had discovered for uniting the metals. The remains of wood-charcoal heaps have been found in the *solum* of brochs near the excavated fire-places; although, a mile or so away, there was an outcrop of coal on the sea-beach.

The Picts were exceedingly fond of the precious metals, which they worked into torques, brooches, and other ornaments of simple but artistic designs. Amulets of pebble and serpentine, and necklaces of shale have been recovered from Pictish burial-cairns. Bronze armlets were used by men to reinforce the *biceps* in a thrust blow from the hand, or in a lightning sword-stroke.

The Picts knew the use of the potter's wheel. Food-vessels as well as urns associated with the dead have been found on the sites of dwellings and in graves. The pottery is usually of a heavy type, due more to the coarse nature of the clay and inferior kilns than to want of skill on the part of the potter; because the latter frequently attempted to atone for coarse material by skilful and symmetrical ornamentation. The genuine



## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

'Barvas pottery' of comparatively recent times is primitive compared with some of the food-vessels and urns dug up on the west coast, and dating back more than a thousand years earlier. Fragments of Samian ware, found in forts and brochs, point back to Mediterranean and Gaulish traders, or to the Pictish raids into the Imperial Roman colony in Britain. Recently, while a foundation was being dug in what was formerly part of Caithness, an early Greek coin was found four feet from the surface beside encisted burials in an ancient Pictish burial-ground. If it were not for Ptolemy's *Geography* and certain references of early ecclesiastical writers, we would forget that Mediterranean and Gaulish merchants visited Pictland.

Spinning, weaving, and dyeing were practised by the Picts. The carding-comb, which also may have been a dressing-comb, is the least mysterious of the symbols carved on the stones of Pictland. Although the Pictish warriors, according to Latin and Greek authors, loved to expose the *cruits* or figures tattooed upon their bodies, and so fought with the minimum of clothing, knowing the benefit of laying aside every weight; they also knew how to clothe themselves comfortably, and even gaily, in time of peace. The Picts of Alba do not appear to have differed from the Picts of Ireland, who came to the battle-ground clothed, but they divested themselves of their garments before entering the

## THE PICTISH NATION

fight. A king of the Gaidheals when entering a battle refused to wear a short cape although it had been given to him by S. Columba, and to this was ascribed his defeat. The Pictish clerics, although they denied themselves all luxuries, wore woollen garments of native make. We learn of an undergarment, apparently a long shirt, reaching below the knees, and of an outer garment reaching equally far down, and having wide sleeves and a capacious hood. The colour was apparently the native shade known as '*moorag*.' The Picts could also weave vegetable fibres. Part of what appeared to be a woman's skirt made of coarse fibrous material was unearthed\* from a deep bed of dry peat which had acted as a preservative.

The Picts understood the dressing and curing of pelts. The flint flaying-knife, the flint hide-scraper, and the stone for smoothing the inside of the hide are common relics in Pictland. Fleece and fur furnished clothing, and hides and skins were spread out to sleep on within the huts. Slaves and furs, secured apparently by raids, are understood to have been the attractions which brought the trading ships of Marseilles† to Pictland from before the time of Christ. There was also considerable intercourse between the Celts of northern Gaul

\* In Sutherland, and was in the care of the late Rev. J. M. Joass, LL.D.

† The traders of this port sent an expedition to Pictland before the Christian era, which sailed as far as the Orkneys.

## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

and the Celts of Pictland, until the 'migrations of the barbarians' in the fifth century interrupted communications. The Britons and Picts have not been regarded as sea-going folk for the extraordinary reason that many of the nautical terms in modern Scottish Gaelic are of Scandinavian origin. As a matter of historical fact, when the ships of Caesar met the fleet of the Britons, the British ships were larger and of better build; S. Ninian's *Candida Casa* in the early fifth century possessed a fleet which sailed on regular voyages; and there was sea-borne traffic between the Picts of Ireland and the Britons and the Picts of Alba. The Picts organized warlike expeditions by sea; and even the Gaidheals, in spite of the Scandinavian terms in Gaelic, were no mean sailors. The Irish Gaidheals organized a raid by sea on the island of Islay while it was still Pictish; and the Gaidheals of Scottish Dalriada in the sixth century sent their battle-fleet from Argyll in the direction of the Pictish Orkneys.

The Picts did not excel in architecture. Almost all their erections were circular. In districts like Sutherland, where the face of the land has been little changed by agriculture, the sites of Pictish villages may still be seen. Groups of hut-circles with adjacent groups of burial-cairns occupy sunny slopes on the sides of valleys, or comfortable situations on plateaux where once there were clearings in the original forest. It is evident from



## THE PICTISH NATION

remains that exist that the *machair*, or plain-land by the sea, and the flat stretches by the rivers were also occupied by these villages, although the modern road-boards and cultivators have within recent years competed in removing the last traces of them. The Pict evidently built on the principle that here we have no continuing city. His dwelling was of the simplest. His finished hut was like a hollow cone, the apex being slightly open to draw away the smoke. This cone-like structure was made with the trunks of forest trees and thatched with branches, reeds, or heather. The heavy ends of the trunks were firmly bedded at the desired angle in a thick circular retaining wall, the remains of which are known to-day as a 'hut circle.' The doorway was made through this retaining wall and faced invariably towards the south. Frequently it was defended by massive stone outworks which concealed a short angular passage with one or even two guard-rooms. Sometimes huts contained underground chambers with a tunnelled exit into the open beyond the circle of the hut-wall. The sides of these chambers and of the passage were built up with irregular-shaped stones; and all, roofed over with heavy flat undressed stones. Inclosures with wide entrances, as if for cattle, oblong in shape, square in a few instances, are found in or near the hut villages.

The Pictish towns and villages were situated

## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

on some naturally strong site, or close to a *broch*.\* From S. Ninian's time, the first Churches were planted near these strong places, which reminds us how old the proximity of Church and Castle is. Some of the Pictish settlements were within earthen ramparts still clearly defined. A Pictish *broch* was constructed by raising two massive concentric walls tied together by long stones winding round the outer circumference of the inner wall and ascending gradually to the top, forming steps to the summit for the defenders or watchers. There was no opening in the outer wall except one low and narrow doorway leading, through a narrow passage easily blocked and indented with guard-chambers, into the circular area within the inner wall. The structure was roofless. Chambers on the ground level were opened out in the inner wall and entered from the interior. Windows also opened through the inner wall, letting in light from the interior to the stairways between the walls. Very often these *brochs* were accessible by only one narrow footway. They are believed to have been places of refuge for women and children and their defenders, in time of sudden attack. Although some *brochs* had wells others had none, and these could not have sustained long sieges. Weapons and implements of stone, bronze, and iron have

\* Called also *Caer* (*Cathair*), *Dùn*, *Tor*, and *Caisteal*. To different *brochs* within the single parish of Kildonnan these names are applied.



## THE PICTISH NATION

been found in the *brochs*, as well as women's ornaments, combs, bone hair-pins, and bone needles threaded by the side of the eye. Built hearths have been uncovered in the inner area; and, in one case, bones broken for the sake of marrow, were found beside two grease-stained stones that had served as hammer and anvil.

Some have thought that the Picts learned the art of broch-building from the Phoenician traders and slave-raiders who visited the coasts; because structures nearly akin in type have been found in Sardinia and North Africa. Towers resembling them in many features have been noted as part of the remarkable buildings at the Phoenician gold-workings at Zimbabwe. Whatever the origin of the *brochs* they agree with the Pictish preference for circular buildings. In what is now the mainland and islands of northern Scotland we see them arranged in such relation to one another that fire-signals lighted on the summit of one would convey information to another, and so to every *broch* over an extensive area. The site of one of the best known *brochs* bears a Celtic name meaning, Rock of the signal-fire. When the Vikings came to the locality of this *broch* they found it necessary to erect a fort to watch it, and, in the old Icelandic, continued the name, calling their stronghold, 'Town of the signal-fire.'

The Churches of the Picts were at first constructed of oak-logs on stone foundations. One



## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

of the native colloquial names for them was *Dair-teach*, the oak-house, and among the Celts this name came in time to mean prayer-house or Church. The Churches were apparently rectangular and for a long time represented an innovation upon the circular building favoured by the Picts. In storm-swept districts like the north coast of Caithness, where wood was scarce, the whole Church appears to have been of stone, roofed with logs and heather-thatch, as was the case into the early Roman Catholic period. The high Round Towers associated with rectangular Pictish Churches emphasize the Pictish partiality for circular building. They were used as watch-towers to anticipate foreign raiders; ecclesiastical valuables and manuscripts were carried into them in time of danger. The only entrance was at a considerable height from the ground, and was reached by a ladder which was hoisted inside and the door locked, while the enemy continued to lurk about. The doorway could be defended with missiles from above, and the tower was proof against fire laid to it. Examples of these Pictish towers are seen at S. Cainnech's, Kilkenny, at Abernethy, Brechin, and Deerness, the headland of the *Daire*, or Oak-Church.

Venerable Bede is responsible, through misinterpreting his information, for the impression that stone buildings were unknown to the Britons and Picts until S. Ninian built *Candida Casa*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

This of course is incorrect, because wherever the Imperial Roman colonists settled, or the legions formed permanent camps, stone buildings were erected, before the date of *Candida Casa*. The Picts in their many successful raids were only too familiar with these buildings and with their contents. Archaeologists have shown that after the Romans departed the Picts occupied the Roman structures, although they do not appear to have imitated them, except in the construction of a few of their churches.

The Picts, like many other fighting nations who gave their enemies a bad time, were wantonly libelled by their foes. Roman historians of the minor order accepted the slanders of the mercenaries, and stated that the Picts were cannibals, and that they offered human sacrifices. They allege that their women submitted to polyandry. The Gaidheals called the Picts 'savage' and 'cruel.' The Angles spoke of them as 'vile.' There is not a word in the story of the dealings of the Pictish missionaries with their converts which indicates that these charges were true, or that the Picts were worse than their unscrupulous assailants. Domestic infelicities with which S. Comgall, S. Kentigern and others were called upon to deal, indicate that a woman's unfaithfulness to her own husband was regarded as a serious breach of the tribal as well as of the moral law. The wives of kings, chiefs, and commoners are always repre-

## HOW THE PICTS LIVED

sented as living in family with their own husbands.

Certain historians have professed to see confirmation of the charge of polyandry in the peculiar law regulating the Pictish sovereignty, by which a sovereign's brother, or his sister's son, or, in certain circumstances, his elder daughter's son, was preferred before the sovereign's son. These historians have failed to make clear that the Pictish sovereign acceded from the royal race after election and approval by the petty kings and chiefs of Pictland. The story that the Gaidheals supplied wives from time to time for the Pictish kings so that their children only might claim the throne of Pictland is a stupid fable promulgated by the Gaidheals to justify the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpin and the continuation in line of his dynasty to the Pictish sovereignty; an accession which the Picts considered illegal, because won by treachery; and a continuation which they disputed and which was only maintained by force of the Gaidhealic soldiery when the Picts had been weakened by repeated Viking onslaughts.

Although the system of Pictish succession offers no room for the moral reflections of some historians; its practical advantages \* should be

\* Mr. Andrew Lang regarded succession in the direct line of the father as a sign of superior civilization. It may have been so; but it had serious practical disadvantages when a nation depended on unity and strong leadership.



## THE PICTISH NATION

noted. It bound those chiefs who used their votes in favour of the sovereign to support him on the throne, a very important result among a people organized in clans any one of which was sometimes more powerful than the clan of the successful nominee. Again, the election of a grown-up member of the ruling caste to the supreme power always saved the Picts from the rule of a minor, with a consequent regency and the intrigues and abuses connected therewith. The succession of a minor or incompetent king, apart from the will of the people, simply because he, or she, was nearest heir in direct line from a royal father was the cause of some of the greatest woes that befell Pictland after it came under the rule of the Scotie dynasties. Science, forethought, and adaptation to the needs of a nation of clans, were all in the Pictish system of succession; in spite of the fact that certain historians have been able to see only signs of moral laxity and want of moral progress.

## THE BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE PICTISH CHURCH CHAPTER SIX

BETWEEN the years 400 and 432 A.D. the CHURCH OF THE PICTS, as we have noted, was founded, and gradually extended, by S. Ninian\* the bishop, a Briton, working from the Brito-Pictish mother-Church which he had established at *Candida Casa* (Whithorn) about A.D. 397. S. Ninian had been a pupil of S. Martin who laboured among the Celts of Poitiers, and who also ministered as bishop at the Celtic military city of Tours from the year 372. S. Martin was regarded as the inventor of a new organization for the Christian ministry; although, in reality, he only revived the old apostolic organization and multiplied it. He embodied active, ascetic, missionary ministers in small clans called *muinntirs* under a president or father, known, at first, among the Celts by the Greek title of *Pápa*† and, later, by the Syrian title of *Ab*. These religious clans S. Martin fitted into the clan-system of the Celts of Gaul.

S. Ninian imitated his master S. Martin to the smallest detail in method and organization. When he returned from Gaul to Britain, shortly before A.D. 397, he settled at *Candida Casa* in Galloway with certain companions. Ailred, who had the *Old Life* of S. Ninian to guide him, but interpreted it

\* The history of S. Ninian and his Mission will be found in the Author's *S. Ninian and the Founding of the Celtic Church among the Britons and Picts*.

† This name, lifted from the Greek nurseries, was in S. Martin's time a current title among the Greek Christians for a Christian minister.

## THE PICTISH NATION

by his own mediaeval ideas, assumed that these companions were 'masons.'\* They were, without doubt, his *muinntir* or 'family' including artisan brethren such as accompanied S. Martin's other missionaries, and all the Celtic missionaries after them, for the purpose of helping to organize and build up congregations; because to the Celts the Church was the Christian people rather than the Christian buildings. S. Ninian imported even the names of S. Martin's houses from Gaul to Galloway. *Candida Casa*, White Hut, is simply a translation of '*Logo-Tigiac*'† or *Leukó-Teiac*, Bright-White Hut, the name of the bothy on S. Hilary's farm near Ligugé where S. Martin first organized his 'family' or community. The use of the diminutive *teiac* or *casa* prevents us from thinking of *Candida Casa* as the conspicuous stone building which Ailred implies. It was more likely to have been, like the buildings which were afterwards modelled from it, a modest house suited for prayer and the dispensation of the sacraments to small gatherings. This view is supported by the references to *Candida Casa* when Paulinus of York and F. A. Alcuin gave help to prevent its dilapidation. These 'White Houses' are found associated with Celtic Churches from Dornoch in the north of Pictland to *Ty Gwyn ar Daf* among the Britons, in Wales.

\* *Vita Nyniani*, ii, iii.

† For the various forms of this name in Latin, *Logotigiacum*, *Locotegiacum*, *Lucotetiac*, cf. Gregory of Tours, Fortunatus, and Longnon's map of Gaul.



## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

Again, S. Martin's community were housed, like S. Ninian's followers who imitated them, in hutlets or cells. The whole community at Tours was called, and the name still survives, '*Marmoutier*,' *Magnum Monasterium*, the big *muinntir* or community. S. Ninian's community at *Candida Casa* was called '*Magnum Monasterium*' by the Latin writers, indicating that he had also imported the name *Mormuinntir*.

Just as S. Martin had his Cave or Retreat in the sandstone rocks at *Marmoutier*; so S. Ninian had his Retreat at the Cave in the rocks on the shore at Glaston,\* now Glasserton, a place much venerated of yore, which has yielded many interesting sculptured stones, and whose traditions and antiquity have been ascribed by the fabulists and ignorant writers of the middle ages to Glaston of Somerset, now Glastonbury.

In describing S. Ninian's mission-work in Pictland of Alba, now Scotland, Ailred,† drawing on the *Old Life*, writes: 'The holy bishop began to ordain presbyters, *consecrate* bishops, distribute the other dignities of the ecclesiastical ranks, and divide the whole land into distinct districts. Having confirmed in faith and good works the sons whom he had begotten in Christ, and having set in honour all things that referred to the honour of God and the welfare of souls, S. Ninian bade the

\* Near *Candida Casa*.

† Ailred's dates are 1109-1166.

## THE PICTISH NATION

brethren farewell and returned to his own Church (Candida Casa).’ This description, allowing for Ailred’s rather grand way of expressing himself, appears to be taken from the *Old Life*; because the procedure ascribed to S. Ninian and the nature of the work accomplished were contrary to the rules and claims of the Roman Church in whose interest Ailred was re-writing the Saint’s *Life*.

Venerable Bede,\* as Ailred knew, had previously in the eighth century, incidentally, and without details, described S. Ninian’s mission into Pictland. Bede, however, was quite untravelled, and drew his geographical details from the library at Jarrow, with the result, as his writings indicate, that he fell a victim to Ptolemy’s *Geography* and its famous error† with regard to Scotland. If a map be sketched according to the measurements given by Ptolemy; Pictland, or the greater part of what is now Scotland, is thrown into the North Sea at right angles to England. Consequently, our *west* of Pictland (Scotland) was Ptolemy’s and Bede’s *north*, and our *east* of Pictland was Ptolemy’s and Bede’s *south*. The persistent failure of historians to translate Bede’s geographical terms into harmony with modern geography has led to the falsification of the localities and the extent both of S. Ninian’s and of S. Columba’s work in Pictland. To bolster

\* Bede’s period was c. 673–735.

† Ptolemy was wonderfully accurate in the data which he tabulated. The error in this instance was due to a mistake in the distance from his initial meridian line to the coast of Pictland or Scotland.







## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

up the blunder, the 'Grampians,' which were never either a political frontier or a name\* in ancient Pictland, were invented† to play the part of 'Drum-Alban.' Drum-Alban was the chain of mountains which runs, roughly, northwards from the head of Loch Lomond to Ben Hee in Sutherland, dividing the rivers of Scotland and sending some to the East and some to the West. The southern end of Drum-Alban corresponds, roughly, to the line of the border between Argyll and Perthshire. It was the true historical divide between the consolidated nation of the Picts who lay to the East, and the diluted Picts who lay to the West, whose territory had been penetrated by the Gaidheals of the Dalriad Colony, and actually overrun by them, for a time, between the death of Brude Mac Maelchon, A.D. 584, and the reign of Angus I. Mac Fergus, c. A.D. 729-761.

With regard to the *extent* of S. Ninian's mission to the Picts, Ailred confirms Bede's account. Bede makes it clear that S. Ninian evangelized the whole Pictish nation, as Bede knew it, namely, Pictland east (Bede's south)‡ of Drum-Alban, the Gaidhealic or Scotie border.

\* The true name really belongs to Perthshire, and is, correctly, with Latin termination, *Graupius* (Stokes). The Gaidheals varied it to '*Dorsum Crup*' and '*Monid Chroibh*,' to accommodate their dislike of initial *G*.

† MacLure, in his *British Place Names*, writes truly: 'The Grampian mountains are an antiquary's invention of the sixteenth century.'

‡ Distinct from this, Bede states that the conversion of the Picts west (Bede's north) of Drum Alban was due to S. Columba, that is to say all the Picts in the area ultimately occupied by the Gaidhealic Colonists until the kingdoms of the Picts and Gaidheals were united.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Bede's statement is—'For the Southern (our Eastern) Picts themselves, who have settlements up to the inner side of the same mountains (Drum-Alban), long before, as is told, having left the error of idolatry, had received the faith of the Truth from the preaching to them of the Word by Ninian the Bishop, a most reverend and most holy man of the nation of the Britons.'\*

Archaeological examinations of the actual surface of eastern Scotland have confirmed these accounts of S. Ninian's work. A chain of S. Ninian's Church-sites has been traced northwards from *Candida Casa*, passing through the former border-city of Glasgow on the old Brito-Pictish frontier, and extending to S. Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness, Shetland. At this last site an ancient stone† was dug up bearing the inscription in Ogham, 'THE LIS‡ (or inclosure) OF THE SON (or disciple) OF NINIAN THE BAPTIZER.'

The ancient Church-sites that represent S. Ninian's actual foundations among the Britons and Picts were, or are:

at *Candida Casa*, the mother-establishment, Whitehorn, Galloway;

at S. Ninian's, Colmonell, Ayrshire;

at 'Kil Sanct Ninian,' Ardmillan, Ayrshire;

\* *H.E.G.A.* lib. iii. cap. iv. Bishop Moore's MS.

† Discovered by Mr. Goudie, and now in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. The stone is fully discussed in the author's *S. Ninian, etc.*, Chap. x.

‡ *Lis* was a regular ecclesiastical word meaning *inclosure*, of the Church, etc. It is seen in Lismore which is the Big Inclosure of S. Moluag.



## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

at 'Cathures'\* on the Molendinar, now the site of  
S. Kentigern's Cathedral, Glasgow;  
at '*An Eaglais*,' the Church, now the Church of  
St. Ninian's, Stirling;  
at Coupar in Angus, where are S. Ninian's lands;  
at Arbirlot, Forfarshire, where S. Ninian's Well  
remains.

Here the memory of the locality of S. Ninian's *muinntir* was preserved in the name 'the College,'† which was on the north bank of the 'Rottenrow' burn, about a mile north-west of the present Church of Arbirlot. Over twenty years after the dedication, in A.D. 1178, of the Roman Abbey of Arbroath, the ancient Celtic community of Arbirlot was still represented by a lay Ab and a clerical chaplain, evidently his vicar.‡

Another site was at 'S. Ninian's Inch,' Arbroath, Forfarshire. The Celtic 'Inch' or *Innis* is no longer current in Arbroath speech. The 'Inch' was apparently the pasture-stretch on the shore at Seaton, where S. Ninian's Well is, and where there was an ancient Churchyard. The Churchyard was on the high ground of Whiting-Ness headland above the Well. Here several

\* The name is Joceline's. It is apparently a bad reproduction of *Cath-air*, a fortified city or seat.

† The authority is Rev. R. Watson, minister of Arbirlot, 1792. There are *three* sites of ancient Pictish *muinntirs* remembered by the name 'College,' one at Kildonnán, Sutherland, one in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, and this one.

‡ 'Mauricius, Abbe of Abereloth,' witnessed four charters of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, between 1201 and 1207.

## THE PICTISH NATION

ancient burials were opened out. The original Church was, of course, also at this spot. The situation of the ancient Churchyard, and the position of the Well, with all the surroundings, are strikingly duplicated at S. Ninian's, Navidale, Sutherland. The whole district is rich in remains of the Pictish Church, including the sites of the Churches of S. Vigean,\* S. Muredoc, and the graven crosses dug up thereat. George de Brana erected a new Church here in 1483, and dedicated it to S. Ninian, the original founder.

Tracing S. Ninian's actual foundations farther north, there are sites :

at Dunottar, Kincardineshire, where Earl Marischal, extending the Castle about 1380, invaded the inclosure of the ancient Church of S. Ninian, then in ruins;

at *Andat*,† Methlick, Aberdeenshire. *Andat* means a Mother-Church;

at S. Ninian's, Pit Medan, Aberdeenshire. A. S. Medan was nearly contemporary with S. Ninian;

at S. Ninian's, Morayshire, 'near where Spey enters the sea,' apparently the pre-Roman Catholic Church of Fochabers;

at S. Ninian's, 'Diser,' ‡ in Moray, believed to be

\* The local pronunciation is 'S. Vigean's' or Figean's. The Gaelic form of the name would probably be Fechin. The Picts used *G* where the Gaidheals used *C*. *V* represents *F* or *Fh*.

† Old Celtic *Andoít*, modern Gaelic *Annat*.

‡ The Celtic *Disert*. Compare Dysart. A Retreat for the clerics of a Celtic Church.

## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

at Dyke;

at 'An Teampull' or 'Tempul Rinian,' Loch Ness, Inverness-shire;

at Fearn, Edderton, Ross-shire, the original site of the Celtic Abbey of Fearn; and, for a short time, the site of the Roman Catholic Abbey of Fearn.

The Roman Abbey was moved to *Nova Farina*, the present Fearn, south of Tain, c. 1238. The Abbey of Fearn remained a daughter-house of *Candida Casa*, from the Celtic Church period until about the time of the Reformation. Part of the memorial cross, dating eighth century, of Reodatus, Ab of the Celtic Abbey, has been recovered, and the uncial inscription has been read, 'IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST. A CROSS OF CHRIST, IN MEMORY OF REODATIUS. MAY HE REST (IN CHRIST).' \* Reodaidhe, Ab of Fearn, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died A.D. 762.

Tracing S. Ninian's foundations still farther northward there are sites:

at S. Ninian's, Navidale ('*Ni'andal*'), Sutherland, where in one of the graves of the Churchyard were found a bronze knife, a flint implement, and the palmated antler of one of the extinct deer. His well, 'Tober 'inian,' flows in the gorge near the Churchyard.

At S. Ninian's, Head of Wick, where the inlet be-

\* Fearn Abbey and this stone have been fully treated in the author's *S Ninian, etc.*, Chap. x.



## THE PICTISH NATION

low is known as Papigoe, the *Papa's* (Cleric's) inlet.

at S. Ninian's, Orkney, now North Ronaldshay; at S. Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness, Shetland, where the stone with Ogham characters was recovered, which indicates that the site was occupied by members of S. Ninian's ecclesiastical 'family.'

This chain of Church-sites, almost prehistoric, and the Church-sites, bearing later native names, that historically were linked on to it, and the ancient stones with Pictish symbols whose meaning has been forgotten, which these sites have yielded, confirm decidedly and accurately Bede's information that S. Ninian christianized the Southern (our Eastern) Picts; and also Ailred's statement, drawn doubtless from the *Old Life*, that he divided the whole land, namely Pictland, into distinct districts.\*

When, further, we consider this chain of ancient Church-sites bearing S. Ninian's name in the light of the historical canon † that early Celtic, and especially Pictish, Churches took their names from their founders, the confirmation of Bede and Ailred is conclusive. Historians have seldom troubled to differentiate between Churches which were actual foundations by a missionary-saint, and late Churches which were merely dedications to

\* 'Totam terram per certas parrochias dividere,' *V.N.* cap. vi.

† Haddan and Stubbs.

## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

his memory, or dedications under his supposed protection. Even the Roman Church did not dedicate its Churches for some centuries; and, at first, to martyrs only. The Celts did not dedicate their Churches until the eighth century when they began to be romanized. The Pictish Church, as a Church, did not dedicate at all. The attempts to dedicate Churches in the eighth century, under the Sovereigns Nechtan and Angus I., and later, when the Pictish Church was closing its existence, were the efforts of individuals who had come under Roman Catholic influences.

Such few dedications as were made in Pictland during the last period of the Pictish Church were made by Roman Catholics to *Roman*, not to native saints. Wherever the Roman missionaries were able to assert any power they systematically sought to displace the original and native saint who had founded the Church of a town, and tried to substitute a Roman saint. At St. Andrews they displaced S. Cainnech by S. Andrew; at Rosemarkie they tried to displace S. Moluag by S. Peter; at Deer they tried to displace S. Drostan by S. Peter; at Dornoch they tried to displace S. Finbar by S. Mary; at Arbroath, somewhat later, William the Lion, who betrayed so many of his country's interests, set up a shrine and stately abbey dedicated to Thomas à Becket, in an attempt to supersede the neighbouring Churches of S. Ninian and S. Vigean, men to whom the district

## THE PICTISH NATION

owed a real debt of veneration. Frequently when the native clerics did not themselves resist, the people refused to allow the ancient Celtic foundations to be superseded. At Arbroath Thomas à Becket's Abbey became a melancholy desecrated ruin; but in the original parish of S. Vigean's, into which the Abbey was intruded, one of its two ancient Churches, namely, S. Vigean's, still survives with some of its ancient Pictish stone crosses; and it has happened similarly elsewhere in Pictland. There was more resentment at the Reformation against the Roman Church because it was foreign than has been allowed. The people, frequently, steadily insisted on burying their dead around the spots where the Pictish missionaries had first preached the Gospel to their forefathers, even when the Roman and post-Reformation clergy had withdrawn their patronage from these Pictish pioneers. The efforts of the Roman mission to blot out such names as S. Ninian's from local memory often resulted in imprinting them more deeply; and so indicating clearly to later generations the older and native missionaries of the Christian Church.

After S. Ninian had established his Mission-Churches in Pictland and had put them in charge of 'brethren,' as Ailred tells us, 'he bade the brethren farewell and returned to his own Church' at *Candida Casa*. At this point the historians usually take farewell of S. Ninian and drop all notice

88



## PICTISH CHURCH GROWS

of his Pictish mission, as if it had been 'left in the air.' S. Ninian, however, had organized his great mission to christianize the Picts that there might be abiding protection to the interests of the growing Christianity and civilization of the Britons. He was an ecclesiastical statesman too thorough in his methods to leave his chief mission 'in the air.' The existence of the names of his successors in connection with Pictish Churches that owed their origin to *Candida Casa* ought to have warned historians that S. Ninian's Mission-Churches survived and continued in communion with *Candida Casa*; and that they were supplied with a ministry therefrom, or from daughter-houses, long after S. Ninian had passed away. Fortunately there are fragments in the *Lives* of the Irish Pictish missionaries which settle this beyond dispute.

## CANDIDA CASA (WHIT-HORN) CHAPTER SEVEN

It is now hardly realized that *Candida Casa*, besides being a great ecclesiastical community under S. Ninian, became, like its prototype S. Martin's, Tours, a great school and training centre for Celtic missionaries. S. Ninian, as we have seen, brought the nucleus of a community with him from Tours; and by the importation of the institutional names belonging to the parent community seems to have desired to be regarded as presiding over one of the outposts of the novel missionary system which S. Martin had set up in Christendom. One of the early Irish names, therefore, besides those already mentioned, for *Candida Casa* was *Taigh Martain*, that is, House of Martin; and, indeed, the first 'White-Hut' on S. Hilary's farm which was given by the latter for S. Martin's experiment in communal asceticism and culture became '*Taigh*' *Martain*, a 'house' as distinct from a Church. We have forgotten now that S. Martin was an innovator,\* suspected by the orthodox clergy in Gaul; that no recognized ecclesiastical names fitted his novelties; and that *muinntir* (family) and *taigh* (house) were taken from common secular speech and applied to his institutions. To the Christians of the Imperial Roman garrison and colony among the Britons, S. Ninian, also, would appear an introducer of strange methods. His use of S. Martin's own name and of S. Martin's institutional names

\* Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* ii. 50.

## CANDIDA CASA

to cover his work was designed to throw the responsibility on S. Martin for any departure from usual methods.

The Irish sources inform us that S. Ninian, besides his mission to the Picts of Alba (Scotland), conducted a mission to the Picts of Ireland.\* This mission cannot be treated in detail here; but it is necessary to refer to it, because from the converts which it produced, or from their successors, came some of the most famous of the pupils of *Candida Casa*, and some of the most zealous of the missionaries who took up and continued S. Ninian's work in Pictland of Alba (Scotland).

Across the North Channel, nearly opposite *Candida Casa*, in the shelter of 'Loch Cuan,' now Strangford Loch, in the territory of the Irish Picts, a mission-community was organized in the fifth century at 'n-Aondruim, corrupted into 'Nendrum.' The first resident president of Aondruim, towards the end of the same century, was S. Mochaioi, son of Bronag, daughter of Maelchon, the man to whom S. Patrick was a slave for six years. The community of Aondruim was dependent on *Candida Casa*; because we find that the 'ships'† of S. Ninian's house were in the habit of

\* The Irish have preserved S. Ninian's name in its original Britonic form, namely, *Nan* or *Nen*. They add the honorific prefix *Mo-*. The name becomes *Monann* or *Monenn*.

† *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.* (Ussher) vol. vi. cap. xvii. p. 494, and *A.SS.* (Colgan), p. 438.



## THE PICTISH NATION

calling there; and also that S. Finbar, by order of S. Caolan, his master, who was second Ab of Aondruim, took passage on one of them to *Candida Casa* for the purpose of completing his education. In the same Pictish district as Aondruim, S. Finbar in the sixth century organized his own community at Maghbile; and S. Comgall the Great organized the most famous of all the Pictish communities at Bangor. The relations of these Pictish communities with one another and with the communities among the Southern Irish Picts, on the one hand, and with the parent community at *Candida Casa* on the other, explain why so many Irish Picts figure among the pupils of *Candida Casa*, and why so many of the same people took up and continued S. Ninian's mission-work in Pictland of Alba (Scotland).

One of the first of S. Ninian's pupils to follow his master's example and to organize missions under his own leadership was *Caranog ap Ceredig*, a Briton, more easily recognized under the later spelling of his name, *Cāranoc ap Ceretic*.\* He was of the family of Ceredig, 'Guletic,' who acceded to the supremacy of the British chiefs in the districts between Severn and Clyde after the Imperial Roman legions had retired. His name will appear again in connection with S. Ninian's

\* See author's *S. Ninian, etc.*, Chap. xii. *Cāranoc* is not to be confused with *Carnech*, son of *Saran*, a Gaidheal who belonged to a much later period, and with whom he had nothing in common but similarity of name.

## CANDIDA CASA

work in Pictland of Alba; but his missions extended to all the Celts, to his fellow-Britons, to the Irish Picts across the North Channel, and to the Gaidheals or Scots of Ireland, at that time dwelling nearer the Atlantic seaboard than a century later. The Gaidheals regarded S. Căranoc as the first evangelist to visit them. He baptized his fellow-Briton the historical S. Patrick. The Gaidheals also declared that he bequeathed to them his 'Miosach,' which the Nialls carried at the head of their armies. In one of their ancient books it is stated that he belonged to '*Taigh Martain*' among the Britons, that is, *Candida Casa*. He is designated as 'Ab,' and so must have filled the presidency for a time between S. Ninian's death and the appointment of S. Ternan. He was, however, constantly engaged on mission journeys until his martyrdom. He had communities which he himself had organized, and a settled place for rest and 'retreat' at the Cave 'Edilg.'\* He kept S. Ninian's most distant converts in touch with the parent community at *Candida Casa*, and extended S. Ninian's mission enterprises both in Pictland of Alba (Scotland) and in Ireland. One of the Pictish Church-sites bearing his name is as far north as the banks of the Deveron, near Turriff. He is regarded as having introduced the Celtic monastic system into Ireland, as being the

\* Cf. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 46, and Owen's *Sanctorale Catholicum*, and their authorities.

## THE PICTISH NATION

first Christian *Brehon*, and as the first martyr.\* In the ancient Irish poem which deals with S. Patrick's *muinntir* it is stated that Căranoc† baptized S. Patrick. This, according to the *Life* of the historical Patrick, must have taken place some considerable time after he was fifteen years of age; because in the *Confession* Patrick writes: 'I know not, God knoweth, whether at that time I was fifteen years old, but I believed not in the living God, *neither had I from infancy*, I remained in death and unbelief.' The fabulists forgot Patrick's testimony about himself; and also that infant baptism was not a practice of the time. When S. Patrick began to work in Ireland, Căranoc and he agreed that the one (Patrick) should work to 'the left,' that is, the southward, and the other (Căranoc) would continue to work to 'the right,' in the northward part.‡ The range and influence of S. Căranoc's work in Pictland (Scotland), among the Britons, and among the Picts and part of the Gaidheals of Ireland, show that he considered *Candida Casa* adequately equipped to furnish a steady supply of ministers to occupy and hold the spheres of work which he was opening up to the Church.

\* Cf. Preface to *Senchus Mor*, Harleian MSS., vol. i. p. xxvii; vol. ii. p. viii.

† 'Carniuch (Căranoc) was the presbyter that baptized him (Patrick).' The baptism apparently took place, as we know from other information, during one of Căranoc's early missions while he was yet a presbyter.

‡ Cf. *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.* (Ussher) cap. xvii. p. 441.



## CANDIDA CASA

Although no connected history of *Candida Casa* has survived,\* we are able to secure glimpses of it after S. Căranoc's time in the *Lives* of its various pupils. The names of two other Abs who ruled between S. Ninian's death, A.D. 432, and the early years of the sixth century have been preserved from oblivion, namely, 'Tervanus,' a scribe's error for *Ternanus*, and 'Nennio,' or 'Monen,' a bishop.† Nennio, to distinguish him from his namesake the founder, S. Ninian 'the Old,' or 'the Great,' was called in Latin 'Man-cenus,' and in native speech 'Manchan,' which is *Manach*, a monk with the diminutive of endearment. He is also referred to as 'Manchan, the Master' of the community.

One of the features of the parent-*muinntir* at S. Martin's, Tours, had been that education was provided for high and low, the people were trained in agriculture, and gifts of seed distributed to encourage them. S. Ninian, and his community after him, faithfully followed S. Martin's example.

One of the pupils who went to 'Rosnat,'‡ the name given by the Irish sailors to the locality of *Candida Casa*, was S. Endeus or Eany. He was

\* Alcuin, in the eighth century, by his remarks of appreciation, indicates that he knew about its early history.

† Cressy and his authorities, who give A.D. 520 as the approximate date of Nennio's rule. This is apparently about the date when he ceased to rule. Colgan and others carelessly confuse Nennio with S. Ninian, the founder of *Candida Casa*.

‡ This is evidently Ros-Nan(t), the promontory of Ninian, and applied to the 'Isle-head' at Whithorn.

## THE PICTISH NATION

there in the latter half of the fifth century. He belonged to the district evangelized by S. Cāranoc and the community at Aondruim. His devoted sister Fanchea had been converted first, and in her enthusiasm moved her brother to train for a religious life. S. Eany was a man of influence, an Irish Pict, son of Conall Derg, Prince of Oriel, his mother, Aebhfhinn, being daughter of Ainmire Mic Ronan, king of the Ards (Ulster). After finishing his education at *Candida Casa* he organized a community of his own and settled at Aranmhor in Ireland. 'Thrice fifty' was the number of his 'family' there. Through him the influence of *Candida Casa* and its methods reached to his pupils S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, S. Finian of Clonard, and S. Kevin of Glendalough; and through them again to some of the most distinguished missionary saints of Ireland. S. Eany died on the 21st of March A.D. 540.

While Nennio, known as the 'little monk,' was 'Master' at *Candida Casa*, two Pictish boys were kidnapped from their homes in Ireland, probably to be detained as hostages, and they were carried into the territory of the Britons. The queen of the Britons pitied them, and, at her entreaty, the king sent them to be educated at the monastery of 'Rosnat,' called 'Alba or the White,' that is, to *Candida Casa*. These boys were called respectively Tighernac and Eogan. Tighernac was son of a Leinster captain who had married Dearfra-

96

## CANDIDA CASA

oich, daughter of the king of Oriel. Eogan was son of Caineach Mac Cuirp of Leinster, who had married Muindecha, who belonged to the district now called Down. After they had been educated at *Candida Casa* both these men organized communities and settled with them in Ireland. S. Tighernac's headquarters were at Cluain-Eois in Monaghan, where still exists the 'Cloichteach' or Bell-house, similar to the Round-towers of Eastern Scotland. Angus the Culdee records of Tighernac, 'Out of him burst a stream of knowledge.' He died on the 4th of April A.D. 548. Eogan, with his Community, settled first at Kilna-manach in Cualann, in East Wicklow, and afterwards at Ardsratha, on the river Dearg in Tyrone. He died on the 23rd of August c.A.D. 570, in extreme old age. At *Candida Casa* one of S. Eogan's other fellow-students was Coirpre, who settled at Coleraine among the Irish Picts, and was ordained a 'bishop.'

We have noted a 'bishop' at *Candida Casa* and, in this instance, at Coleraine; but it is necessary to remember that at this time there were no monarchic or diocesan bishops among the Celts. The bishop might be an Ab, but more frequently he was simply a member of a 'family' or community, and subordinate to an Ab. The only precedence which he was sometimes allowed was that he dispensed the Sacraments before a presbyter.

About A.D. 520 S. Finbar came as a scholar



## THE PICTISH NATION

to *Candida Casa*. He had been a pupil at Aondruim in the territory of the Irish Picts under S. Caolan, the second Ab. When the 'ships' of Nennio 'the little monk' came to Strangford Loch from *Candida Casa*, S. Caolan directed Finbar to sail with them in order to complete his education at the parent-house. Finbar was at *Candida Casa*, or connected with its work, for 'twenty years.' Calculating back from his settlement\* at Maghbile, this period must have been from about A.D. 520 until A.D. 540. The scholars at *Candida Casa* when Finbar was a teacher, we learn incidentally, included Rioc, who afterwards became one of the most popular missionary-saints in Ireland; Talmag, a layman; and Drusticc, daughter of Drust, sovereign of the Picts. Another lady, Brignat,† one of the 'family' of S. Mo'enna‡ was educated at *Candida Casa*, and S. Mo'enna herself worked in communion with the same house. During S. Finbar's period at *Candida Casa*, Nennio 'the little monk' ceased to rule; and Mugent, who is also referred to as 'Master in the city called *Candida*,' became Ab.

Documentary testimony which, thus far, has been comparatively full with regard to the missionaries who went from *Candida Casa* to Ireland becomes scant with regard to many of the mis-

\* In A.D. 540. † In the minds of the Scottish people, and by some writers, she is confused with S. Brigid.

‡ Her name of endearment is sometimes varied to Moninne. Her proper name was Darerca.

## CANDIDA CASA

sionaries who, before and after S. Finbar's time, maintained S. Ninian's Mission-Churches in the east and north of Pictland of Alba (Scotland). We frequently require to appeal to the face of Scotland for traces of journeys; and when we find ancient Church-sites in the south-west, that is in the *Candida Casa* district, bearing the names of SS. Ternan, the historical Servanus, Pauldoc ('*Pawl Hên*'), Rum map Urbgen, Donnan the Great, Earnoc, Vigean, and Walloc, the foreigner or Welshman, with a score of others not accounted for from the Irish houses; and, again, other ancient Church-sites in the east and north of Pictland bearing the same names; we are confirmed in the knowledge that *Candida Casa* was the spiritual home and starting-place of these founders. As we have seen, Ternan is recorded as Ab of *Candida Casa* after S. Ninian the Great and before Nennio 'the little monk'; S. Donnan is known to have gone from *Candida Casa* and to have visited S. Ninian's Churches in the north-east of Pictland, and he and his disciples are known to have founded new Churches in extension of S. Ninian's work at the various localities where they laboured c. A.D. 580.

At the time when S. Donnan, with the unusually large number of 'fifty-two' disciples, left Galloway, *Candida Casa* must have become a rather insecure place to some of the inmates. The Angles, who were pagans, had begun in the sixth cent-

## THE PICTISH NATION

ury to spread themselves across the island from the North Sea to the coasts of the North Channel and Solway. Their aim was to drive a Teutonic wedge through the heart of the Celts, to separate the Britons of Strath-Clyde from the Britons of what is now Wales; and to force back the Picts of the east coast to the north of the Tay. S. Kentigern of Glasgow found his fellow-Britons driven into the uplands of Lanarkshire, Galloway, and Cumberland, partly as a result of the aggression of the barbarian Angles, and partly by pressure from Brito-Pictish clans expelled from their own domains by the Angles. These disturbances of the native population and the savagery of the Teutons brought a temporary check to the progress of Christianity. Very likely at this time the documents of *Candida Casa* were scattered, lost, or destroyed. Some of them survived in the hands of the Angles, because there was an ancient *Life* of S. Ninian translated into Saxon to which Ailred had access. It was at this time that S. Kentigern was moved to lead a mission southward from Glasgow to preserve the Faith in districts where S. Ninian, or the workers of his house, had long before planted Churches and organized Communities; and, incidentally, to make some effort to Christianize the pitiless Angles.

By the advance of the Angles, *Candida Casa* was, at times, surrounded on the land side by unsympathetic foreigners; and cut off for periods



## CANDIDA CASA

from safe communication with its Churches in Pictland. However, the great Pictish community of S. Comgall the Great at Bangor in Ireland arose to help, and continued to supply a ministry and supervision to the Churches in Pictland which owed their being directly or indirectly to *Candida Casa*.

Although *Candida Casa* was thus obstructed in its work, it was not overwhelmed by the intrusion of the pagan Angles into Galloway, because Paulinus, Roman Archbishop of York (c. 627), showed interest\* in the Church and community of *Candida Casa*, during his stay at York.

It is important to note this; because Venerable Bede who wrote the *Life* of S. Cudberct (Cuthbert) knew that Cuthbert visited the Picts of Galloway† when he was Ab of Mailros (Melrose) shortly after A.D. 661. Cuthbert was a pupil of the Celts who had gone over to the Roman Mission. He laboured among the Angles who had been formally 'converted' to Christianity by the Roman missionaries A.D. 627, although the Celtic missionaries under Rum map Urbgen, a Briton, had made Christians of the whole Anglian tribe called 'Ambrones' at an earlier date.‡

\* Some of the mediaeval scribes, in ignorance, have transferred this interest in Innis Wytrin, Isle of Whithorn, away from the diocese of Paulinus to Glastonbury of Somerset. They knew nothing of Glaston of Whithorn apparently.

† *Vita S. Cudbercti*, Bede, cc. x, xi.

‡ Cf. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, Skene, p. 13.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Cuthbert was not only zealous to convert Angles; but to romanize the Celts who adhered to the methods and usages of the monastic Church of the Britons and Picts. It was in the interests of Rome, therefore, that Cuthbert journeyed to the gates of *Candida Casa*. It is not without interest that Venerable Bede gives no particulars concerning Cuthbert's reception at the mother-Church of British missions. His silence is no accident. Does it mark one of the places in his manuscript, where, as Bede himself candidly tells us, he excised historical information at the request of those critics who could tolerate no information about Christian work which preceded the Roman Mission and detracted from its claims? Or is it simply one of the many instances in which a Roman author refrains from due reference to the mother-Church of the Britons and Picts, because the ancient date of its foundation and the wide radius of its missions rendered ridiculous the pretensions to primacy of the growing Church of the Angles, and conflicted with the claims of the See of York to jurisdiction wherever the Angles had penetrated? Cuthbert's mission was earnest enough; because across the bay from *Candida Casa* he planted the rival Roman Church of 'Kirkcudbright,' where we see a Roman *foundation*, as distinct from a dedication, with the Saxon '*Kirk*' attached to the founder's name instead of the older Celtic

## CANDIDA CASA

'*Cill*.' It looks an unimportant difference; but it indicates that wherever a romanizing agent succeeded, his centre of influence was a Church in charge of a presbyter in some secular township, instead of the *Casa* or *Cell* of an Ab in the midst of a religious 'family' with Churches, Schools, places of Retreat, and other peculiar pertinents of the Celtic religious clan.

Some have inferred from Bede's strange silence regarding S. Ninian's establishment that *Candida Casa* had ceased to exist in Cuthbert's time; but this was not the case, because c. A.D. 785 F. A. Alcuin aided and honoured *Candida Casa* 'because of the holy men who had laboured there.'\* The truth manifestly is that in Cuthbert's time the Celtic brethren of *Candida Casa* had no dealings with the representatives of the Roman Mission, and there is no indication that they had been specially enthusiastic over the kindly patronage of Archbishop Paulinus.

However, the steady pressure of the Roman missionaries, reinforced by the civil power of the converted Angles, brought, in course of time, the desired change to *Candida Casa*. In the third decade of the eighth century it conformed to Rome. From being the mother-Church of the Britons and Picts it was degraded to be the Church of a local diocese, subordinate to York. Even then, some memory of its former position

\* *Councils*, Haddan and Stubbs.



## THE PICTISH NATION

adhered to it; because its first monarchic bishop, A.D. 730-735, is called Pechthelm, Protector of the Picts, and its third Roman bishop bears the name Pechtwine, Friend of the Picts.

The Roman Church did not treat *Candida Casa* with due respect as the years passed by. Complaint has been made by the modern Romanist and Anglican that the Protestant reformers after A.D. 1560 esteemed it not. The Protestant only allowed its walls to decay, and its hallowed stones to sink into the dust to be trodden by irreverent feet; but the Roman innovators from the eighth century onwards, although they knew the facts, obscured its true origin and character, misrepresented S. Ninian, its great founder, and his work, in the interests of a foreign Church with monarchic forms of government that suited the barbarous Angle, but proved irksome to the Celt with his democratic clan-life and patriarchal chiefs. Moreover, the prelates of York belittled *Candida Casa* in the interests of the precedence of that growing metropolis of the Angles; just as, in a later period, the prelates of Glasgow belittled it in the interests of the precedency of the See of Glasgow, although they were not above putting forward the historical priority of *Candida Casa* when it was necessary for the See of Glasgow to resist the pretensions of the prelates of York to spiritual jurisdiction in Scotland.

## CANDIDA CASA

Nevertheless, *Candida Casa* under Roman control did not forget all her ancient daughter-Churches in Pictland with their possessions and interests. About A.D. 1223-7, *Candida Casa* sent out two of her Canons in the footsteps of her early Celtic missionaries. One was a Celt called Maol-Choluim or Malcolme. His object was to win control for Rome over those Celtic Communities and Churches, some of them founded by S. Ninian, which in the isolated and conservative North still adhered to the old ways, and steadily resisted the innovations of the romanized clergy. Maol-Choluim, probably without a thought of his inconsistency, actually carried with him alleged bones of S. Ninian to re-sanctify Churches which the living Ninian had consecrated. Ferquhar of Ross, a western Celt, who, by his sword, was carving a way to favour with the king and to an earldom in the east, found Maol-Choluim wandering in the vicinity of S. Ninian's Celtic abbey at Fearn, Edderton, which S. Finbar had visited when he was at *Candida Casa*, and where Reodatus had been Ab in the eighth century. Ferquhar diplomatically gave his support to Maol-Choluim, and established him at Fearn in the old daughter-house of *Candida Casa*, which was thus romanized. The recovery of the old house was not followed by peace. The native Celts resented the presence of the romanized intruders. About A.D. 1238-42, in the time of the

## THE PICTISH NATION

second Roman abbot, 'owing to the hostility of the natives,' the abbey was transported to *Nova Farina*,\* the present site, where it remained under the control of *Candida Casa* until near the Reformation.

\* Now Fearn, south-east of Tain, East Ross.



## THE MEN WHO CONTINUED S. NINIAN'S MISSION - WORK AND ORGANIZED THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS CHAPTER EIGHT

OWING to the loss or destruction of records and the indifference or jealousy of the Roman clergy of the middle ages, the names and history of hundreds of Celtic clerics who left *Candida Casa*, or its daughter-houses, to carry on the work of the Church in Pictland have passed into oblivion. Some of the names of these missionary clerics who regarded *Candida Casa* as their mother-Church have, however, been preserved, attached to the Church-sites which they themselves selected, and at which they ministered; but for this we are indebted more frequently to the people than to the Roman clergy. There are instances in which the Roman clergy actually inhibited the parishioners from burying their dead in the Churchyards of these ancient Celtic Church-sites; in order that they might turn the people to the Roman Churches.\* Fortunately the ordinary folk of a district refused to withdraw their veneration from the names and sites of the earlier Church. Although the personal

\* Some of the clergy of the powerful Roman abbey of Aberbrothoc were not well-disposed to the Celtic Church-sites. One notable exception was George de Brana, who actually protected them and even restored a Church to the site of S. Ninian's ancient Church near Arbroath. He also restored a Church to the site of S. Vigean's original Church.

## THE PICTISH NATION

names borne by Church-sites of the Celts, even when taken along with their associated traditions, do not provide much information by themselves; they frequently provide enough to enable us to distinguish the Brito-Pictish clerics who were trained at *Candida Casa*, or its daughter-houses, from those trained at the centres of the Irish Picts; and in instances where these Brito-Pictish clerics happened to be connected with places outside Pictland of Alba, where information was preserved, we are enabled to procure dates for their work, and particulars about themselves more or less full. A selection from the personal names borne by Brito-Pictish Church-sites indicates how S. Ninian's work was carried on continuously after his death in A.D. 432.

S. CĀRANOC THE GREAT, called also 'the Elder,' a Briton who lived *c.* 433,\* who was of the family of Ceredig 'Guletic,' was one of S. Ninian's first group of missionaries to Pictland.

\* His day is the 16th May. His name in the various dialects takes the forms Caranog, Carantoc, Cāranoc, Carnoch, Carnech, Carniuch, and one scribe has achieved 'Gornias.'

There is a manuscript *Life* of S. Carantoc in the British Museum, and another in Trinity College, Dublin.

S. Cāranoc is introduced in the tales relating to *Muircheartach mac Erca* the Gaidheal. The hero goes to Britain to S. Cāranoc to get his arms blessed, and invokes his help in punishing certain rebellious clansmen.

The Gaidheals claimed S. Cāranoc as their patron before the rise of S. Columba. See the author's *S. Ninian, etc.*, Chap. xii.

According to the tale *Muircertach's Death* (MS., H2, 16, Col. 312, Trin. Coll. Dublin), it is claimed that the 'miosach' of Caranoc or Carnech was given to the Gaidheal Nialls of the north as a standard to be carried in battle.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

A hand in the *Book of Ballymote* has preserved the information that he belonged to the 'taigh Martain,' house of Martin, among the Britons, that is the later Gaidhealic way of referring to *Candida Casa*. S. Cāranoc is designated 'Ab.' Apparently he only held the presidency of *Candida Casa* until Ternan was appointed to S. Ninian's seat; because, apart from seasons of retreat at the cave 'Edilg,' he spent most of his life on mission journeys in Britain and Ireland, where he organized various communities of converts. He was only a presbyter; but he baptized the historical S. Patrick, when the latter had grown up, as is recorded in the ancient poem enumerating S. Patrick's friends which is preserved in the *Books of Ballymote* and of *Lecan*. He was martyred, and is referred to as 'the first martyr of Erin.' His most northerly Church-site in Pictland of Alba is on the banks of the Deveron, near Turriff, Aberdeenshire.

One of S. Cāranoc's contemporaries was S. TERNAN\* who founded the Bangor, which afterwards took his name, at Banchory-Ternan in Aberdeenshire. The early Roman Catholic

\* His day is the 12th June. Angus the Culdee writing in Ireland refers to him as 'Toranan long-famed for exploits across the broad ship-laden sea.' By an early scribe's error Ternan's name was sometimes written 'Tervan.' Lesley among others adopted the misspelling. In the *De Origine*, lib. iv. p. 137, among other fables invented to give a Roman origin to the Brito-Pictish Church, it is stated that Palladius destined 'S. Tervan to be Archbishop of the Picts,' and S. Servan to be apostle to the 'Orkneys,' the latter is a misreading of a contraction for *Ochils*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

writers, especially those of the Aberdeen historical group, had access to information about S. Ternan which is now no longer available. Unfortunately they glossed that information in the interests of their own Church. Knowing that S. Ternan succeeded to the control of S. Ninian's work in Alba, they began their perversions by bestowing on him the unwarranted and anachronistic title 'Archbishop of the Picts.' Cressy, a later and different historian, was more careful when he referred to S. Ternan\* as *second* Ab of *Candida Casa*, although he was strictly the *third*, if S. Căranoc's short term be reckoned. Camerarius, discarding the early Roman glosses, notes S. Ternan thus, 'Sanctus Ternanus Episcopus et Confessor et post Ninianum Sanctum Pictorum australium (recte, orientalium) veluti Apostolus.' The following details came from the original sources. He was a Pict of Mearns in Alba, he was converted during S. Ninian's Pictish mission, he was educated at *Candida Casa*, he was baptized in early manhood by that disciple of S. Ninian whom the Roman Catholic writers confused with Palladius, whose native name, preserved in Perthshire and the Mearns, was 'Paldoc' or 'Paldy,' whose historical name is 'Pawl Hên' or Paul the Aged, a missionary who was a Briton, who worked with S. Ninian, who

\* Cressy, as quoted in *Chronicles of the British Church*, is made to adopt the misspelling 'Tervan.'

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

survived into the early years of the sixth century, who lived long enough to *meet* S. David in his childhood; he could not *see* him because he was blind through great age. S. Ternan's manuscript of the Gospels in a case ornamented with gold and silver was preserved at Banchory-Ternan into the Roman Catholic period, and his bell 'Ronnecht' until the Reformation. Some of the writers of the Aberdeen group were more candid than others. One hand in the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, which bears evidence of Moray origin, viewing S. Ternan's position as S. Ninian's successor calls him 'Archipraesul' which in this instance means president of the chief and parent community at *Candida Casa*. Besides Banchory-Ternan, S. Ternan had Church-sites at Slains, Arbuthnot, and Findon, where is also his well. If any one wishes to understand how culture in Pictland suffered from the Viking invasions, he has only to visualize Banchory and other like places in the fifth century with their schools, manuscripts, and active missionary teachers, spreading the Gospel and Christian civilization; and then to think of the state of these places five hundred years later.

S. ERCHARD OR M'ERCHARD\* a Pict, also a native of 'Mearns' Alba, was one of S. Ternan's converts and became his disciple. Erchard's birth-

\* Cf. Dr. William Mackay and his authorities in *Saints associated with the Ness Valley*, p. 7.

## THE PICTISH NATION

place was near Kincardine O'Neil, Aberdeenshire. In course of time S. Ternan ordained him a presbyter, and Erchard resolved to devote himself to continuing S. Ninian's mission-work among the Picts of Alba. It is interesting to note that he settled near a Church which S. Ninian had founded during his northern mission at Temple on Loch Ness. His headquarters were in Glenmoriston, off the Great Glen of Alba, now the line of the Caledonian Canal. In silent testimony to S. Erchard's establishment, there are still in Glenmoriston the *Suidhe M'erchaird*, S. Erchard's seat, his well called *Fuaran M'erchaird*, the ancient Churchyard known as *Cladh M'erchaird*, and S. Erchard's Church-site. S. Erchard, like his master, left a famous bell.\*

S. 'Paldy,' so well known through his connection with Mearns, falls to be noticed with this group of missionary workers. His name will appear again, at a period when he was blind through great age, in connection with the boyhood of S. Dewi (David) of Wales. In Perthshire his name appears with the uncorrupted diminutive in the form '*Paldoc*.' Among the Britons he came to be known as *Pawl Hên*, and *Peulan Hên*, that is, S. Paul the Aged. The early Irish Picts, judging from the *Martyrology of Tallagh*, knew him as '*Polan*,' that is 'Paul' with the diminutive *an*. He

\* Dr. Mackay's translation of S. Erchard's warning is—'I am Merchard from across the land, keep ye my sufferings deep in your remembrance; see that ye do not for a test place this bell in the pool to swim.'



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

was the founder, among other centres, of *Candida Casa on Tav* among the south Britons. He was also associated with S. Ninian's foundation at Dunottar in the Mearns; and in the *Martyrology of Tallagh* he and Nennio the fourth Ab of *Candida Casa* (Whithorn) are commemorated together at the 21st day of May. In parts of South Wales he is commemorated on the 22nd day of November.

In the early Roman Catholic period the Aberdeen group of historical writers confused\* this S. 'Páldy' or 'Páldoc' with Palladius who was sent on a mission to the Irish A.D. 430 by Pope Celestine. Palladius, we are told, was rejected by the 'rude and savage' Irish. As he did not wish to spend time in a land not his own, but desired to return 'to him who sent him,' that is to Celestine; he crossed to the territory of the Britons, which lay opposite to Ireland, where he was seized with illness and died.\* In passing, it may be well to recollect that some authorities consider that the historical Palladius is one and the same with the historical Patrick; and that the name 'Palladius' is nothing more than an exact Latin translation of S. Patrick's original native name, *Sucat*. Whether or not, it is clear about the historical Palladius that

\* Murchu's *Life of Patrick* and the annotations to *Tírechan*. See also Skene and his authorities, *Celtic Scotland*, book ii. chap. i. p. 27. The confusion of S. 'Páldy' with Palladius threatened to become continuous after David de Bernham in 1244 dedicated a new Church to 'Páldy' at Fordun but gave him the name 'Palladius.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

he was unsuccessful in his mission to the Irish; that, having retired, he died on the way back 'to him who sent him,' somewhere among the Britons to the south-west of Pictland; that, therefore, he could not have conducted a mission in Pictland of Alba subsequent to the Irish one, or have taken any part in continuing S. Ninian's work there. When, therefore, a scholiast on the Hymn of Fiac of Sletty declares that Palladius 'reached the extreme part of the *Monaid*\* towards the south, where he founded the Church of Fordun and "Pledi" is his name there'; it is evident that he is confusing two different men, and is transferring a fragment of biography to Palladius which belongs to S. 'Pâldy' of Fordun (Paul Hên); because Auchinblae and Fordun, where, among other places, S. 'Pâldy' laboured, lie slightly to the south of the extreme end of the '*Monad*' (the correct name of the eastern end of the 'Grampians'); and within sight of the Cairn o' Mont which preserves the original name. Moreover, we can trust certain definite scraps of history preserved, by one of the hands, in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* and by Fordun himself, which tell how S. Ternan was a native of the Mearns and that his baptizer was the native saint whom they confused with Palladius. Consequently this 'Pawl,' or 'Pâldoc,' or 'Pâldy' who baptized the man who became third Ab of S. Ninian's *Candida*

\* By the error of a scribe '*Modhaid*' is a reading.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

*Casa* was not the ecclesiastical foreigner Palladius who never came to Mearns or to anywhere else in Pictland of Alba; but a native minister, a member of one of the earlier missionary groups which S. Ninian had arranged along the east coast of Pictland. One of those groups was, at the time, in this very locality. S. Ninian on his northern mission had organized a missionary community and founded a Church at the fortress of Dunottar on the sea, about ten miles from Auchinblae and Fordun, where S. 'Pâldy's' name survives in connection with a Church-site and a fair.

The names of S. 'Pâldy' and Fordun recall the daring series of Romano-Gaidhealic fables which long passed for history in Scotland. These fables are generally connected with the Aberdeen group of historical writers, and frequently with John of Fordun alone, one of the group. It is fair to remember that John of Fordun simply took a hand in a scheme which began before he was born and which did not end when he died. Historical criticism, even when it has been unrelenting, has been directed more at the system, into which he had to fit himself and his writings, than at the man.

John of Fordun, priest of the Roman Catholic Church, who wrote before A.D. 1385, garbled history, in the interests of the Romano-Gaidhealic Church and the Scots,\* who had won ecclesiastical

\* *Chron.* bk. iii. cc. 8, 9. The *Cronica Gentis Scotorum* and the *Gesta Annalia* were Fordun's contributions.



## THE PICTISH NATION

and political ascendancy in Pictland, with the object of obliterating the history of the ancient Celtic Church of the Picts and the history of the ancient and independent Kingdom of Pictland, by what the late Dr. Skene called his 'fictitious and artificial scheme.' The fictions of Fordun\* and the Aberdeen group of historians make the historical mind reel. They alleged that the Scots or Gaidheals had colonized Alba, that is Pictland as well as Dalriada, several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era; that the Scots had been converted to Christianity c. A.D. 203 by Pope Victor I.; that, nevertheless, in A.D. 430, Pope Celestine sent S. Palladius to these Gaidheals or Scots to be their 'first' bishop; that S. Palladius arrived in 'Scotia' (which at that time was not Alba but Ireland) with a great company in the eleventh year of King 'Eugenius' (whom Fordun invents) who gave him a place of abode where he desired it. Mearns is indicated, because Fordun adds that the 'holy bishop' Ternan became the disciple of Palladius, or 'Páldy.' Incidentally he states, too, that Servanus was a fellow-worker and bishop with Palladius. It is thus manifest that John of Fordun hesitated at nothing in his effort to create a belief in the antiquity of the Gaidheals or Scots, and in the antiquity of the Roman Catholic Church in

\* It is due to Fordun's memory to state that Bower, his continuator, not only mishandled the *Gesta Annalia*, but garbled the main text of the *Cronica*.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Alba or Pictland; but even in his falseness he has borne witness to the ancient activities of the earliest Pictish missionaries. By using the name of Palladius, the unsuccessful Roman missionary to Ireland (Scotia), to eclipse the work of S. Ninian and his disciples who truly initiated the Christianization of Pictland, and who founded the Celtic Church of the Picts; by confusing Paul Hên, locally S. 'Pâldy' of Fordun, with this same Palladius; and by representing that S. Ternan and the historical S. Servanus continued the work of Palladius, instead of stating that they were associated with Paul Hên, or S. 'Pâldy,' in continuing the work of S. Ninian; John of Fordun has unwittingly confirmed that these disciples of S. Ninian were as old, or about as old, as the time of Palladius, namely A.D. 430. Apart from local traditions, John knew that others besides himself had access to ungarbled historical documents, and that he would defeat his purpose unless he kept historical ministers of the early Church in their correct historical periods. He was astute enough to realize that he could not remove them from history; although he might belittle them and confuse them with the Roman missionaries to whom he wished to give pre-eminence. John's inventions were long accepted as genuine history. Many followed him in ante-dating the Christianization of Pictland by about two hundred years, in ante-dating the first attempt to romanize the



## THE PICTISH NATION

Celtic Church of Pictland by over four hundred years, in ante-dating the Gaidhealic or Scotie ascendancy throughout Pictland by over four hundred years, and in placing the Gaidheals or Scots in Pictland several hundreds of years before a single Gaidheal or Scot had settled in Dalriada, to which they first came from Ireland (Scotia). John of Fordun's fables were not isolated efforts. They make one series among many which issued at different periods from the Scotie ecclesiastical centres. S. Servanus was lifted away from his true historical period in the Pictish Church, and represented as a subordinate and contemporary of the romanized Gaidheal, Adamnan; S. Columba (Columcille) was substituted for S. Colm of Deer and exalted over S. Drostan, the Briton, who lived and laboured at Deer before Columcille's day; S. Riaghuil (Rule) of St. Andrews was represented as a Roman delegate, and his name used to obscure the name and work of S. Cainnech, a Pict; and the Roman monks of Fearn transformed S. Bar of Cork into another Roman delegate, and used his name to obscure the name and work of S. Finbar\* of Dornoch and Maghbile.

As we have seen, the earliest continuators of S. Ninian's work in Alba were Britons like S. Căranoc, or native Picts like Ternan and Erchard.

\* The *Breviary of Aberdeen* entered him correctly as 'Fynberr epi,' Finbar the bishop, to distinguish him from S. Barfhionn, the hermit of Cork. The *Martyrology of Aberdeen* also makes the confusion of the two men impossible.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

S. Ninian, however, by his Irish mission, and favoured by the proximity of *Candida Casa* to the north-east coast of Ireland, had attracted many pupils to his monastery from among the Irish Picts.\* In the latter half of the fifth century, the century in which S. Ninian died, these pupils began to appear in Pictland of Alba continuing S. Ninian's work. Some of them served their apprenticeship to mission work in Pictland before returning to Ireland to settle as heads of clerical communities; others remained labouring there until the end of their days.

The historical† S. AILBHE OF EMLY would have been found in the former group, if he had not been prevented from leaving Ireland by a

\* 'n-Aondruim on Mahee Island, Strangford Loch, was one of the first communities organized by the Irish Picts for themselves. It was in communion with *Candida Casa*, and sent its advanced pupils there. The 'ships' of *Candida Casa* visited it. S. Finbar of Maghbile and Dornoch was sent from 'Aondruim to *Candida Casa* on one of these ships that he might complete his training with the bigger community. S. Mochaoi, son of Bronag, daughter of Maelchon, to whom S. Patrick was a slave, was first Ab of 'Aondruim. S. Mochaoi is stated to have visited western Pictland before the Gaidheals occupied it. One of his Church-sites is at Kilmoha, on the western shore of Loch Awe. The churchyard here was for centuries the burial-ground of the Campbells of Inverlevir. (Cf. The Duke of Argyll's paper to the Scottish Ecclesiological Society at Glasgow, 25th Oct. 1915.)

† There is a fanciful S. Ailbhe of the mediaeval Latin fabulists who is represented as having been brought up by a wolf, as having gone to Rome to a Pope Hilarius, as having become a disciple of S. Patrick.

It is worth noting that the historical S. Ailbhe is given first in the Paschal Epistle of Cumman; and that he is represented in the earliest sources as opposing S. Patrick.

Bishop Forbes puts the death of Ailbhe of Senchus at the date of the death of Ailbhe of Emly, A.D. 526.

## THE PICTISH NATION

chief who loved him. S. Ailbhe, however, sent deputies to Pictland. S. Ailbhe was an Irish Pict and died A.D. 526. His father was Olcnais, of the family of Fertlachtga, of the clan Rudhraighe of Dal-Araidhe. His mother was a slave, and her master took the infant Ailbhe from her arms and exposed him in the wilds. The child was found by a kind-hearted heathen called Lochan, who carried him to his own house, and afterwards gave him to certain 'Christian Britons,'\* who apparently were missionaries. The authentic *Acts of S. Ailbhe*, as known to Ussher, did not mention where among the 'Christian Britons' S. Ailbhe was educated and trained as a missionary. But when in manhood he re-emerges into the light of history, he is an experienced Christian missionary co-operating† with S. Endeus or Eany,‡ one of the most venerated pupils of *Candida Casa*, who had set out from *Candida Casa* at the head of a strong mission, which contained one hundred and fifty workers whom he wished to settle on the island of Aranmhor, west of Galway. S. Ailbhe successfully pleaded with Angus the chief of Cashel that S. Eany should be allowed to settle in Aran. S. Ailbhe's interest in this big mission from *Candida Casa* is significant.

\* *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, cap. xvi. p. 409.

† *Ibid.* cap. xvii. p. 451.

‡ His day is the 21st of March.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

When S. Ailbhe had secured Aranmhor for S. Eany's community, he contemplated a farther extension of S. Ninian's work. He proposed to settle a community of his own in 'Tile.'\* This name represents a scribe's error. Either one of the northern islands of Pictland is indicated, or Tiree in Western Pictland, where Findchan the presbyter and S. Comgall the Great laboured in after years. Angus of Cashel, who wished to keep S. Ailbhe at Emly, intervened, and forcibly prevented the saint from sailing. Thereupon S. Ailbhe sent twenty-two of his disciples oversea as his deputies. Two of these deputies who went into 'exsilium' in Pictland were a S. COLM,† or COLMOC‡ and S. FILLAN§ or FAOLAN, called '*labar*.'|| This epithet is manifestly the Britonic word *llafar*, meaning, vocal one, although it has been treated as Gaidhealic and

\* 'Tile' occurs once elsewhere as a scribe's error for Tiree. If it is meant for 'Thule' it may indicate Shetland or Iceland.

† The mediaeval scribes confused him with S. Colman Ela, with Colman of Lindisfarne, and others. He is S. Colman of Dromore in Down. He was an Irish Pict of the race of Conall Cearnach. He was educated at 'Aondruim under S. Caolan, the second Ab, before he became attached to S. Ailbhe. (See note \*, p. 119.) His day is the 7th of June.

‡ With the diminutives and prefix, the name takes the forms Colman, Colmoc, and Mocholmoc.

§ Cf. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, book ii. p. 33, and Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 341. This S. Fillan or Faolan of 'Rath-Erann' has been confused with S. Fillan, son of Kentigerna. He was in reality, according to the scholiast in the *Feillre*, son of Angus Mac Natfraech, S. Ailbhe's friend and patron. S. Fillan's day is the 20th of June.

|| Dr. Whitley Stokes translates '*intam labar ansin*' as 'that splendid mute.' It is more likely to mean, splendid in utterance. *Labar* meant, gifted in speech.



## THE PICTISH NATION

translated as 'leper,'\* and also as 'stammerer. It doubtless arose from S. Fillan's open-air chanting of the Psalmody courses which was a marked accomplishment of the Brito-Pictish clerics. S. Ailbhe's own community in Ireland was settled at the ancient loch of Emly, and S. Colm followed his master's example and settled on *Innis-na-Cholm*, now 'Inchmaholm' or 'Inchmacholmoc,' in the Loch of Menteith. He laboured northward as far as Kirriemuir, and southward along the Forth valley. He returned to Ireland c. A.D. 514.† His fellow-worker S. Fillan, 'labar,' like other early missionaries established himself under the protection of one of the great forts of Alba. He is referred to as 'of the Rath of Erann in Alba,' which was in 'Fortrenn,' near the modern St. Fillans at the east end of Loch Earn in Perthshire. SS. Colm and Fillan‡ are commemorated together, but out of chronological order, among the Celtic abbots named in the *Liturgy of Dunkeld*. S. Fillan also laboured along the Forth valley. His chief establishment was the one at Loch Earn, and an old Church-site there still bears his name. S. Fillan's *bachall* is one of the two Pictish pastoral staves which have been pre-

\* One saint who was truly called 'the leper' was Finian Ab of 'Suird.' He died c. A.D. 680. The *Martyrology of Tallagh* refers to him as 'Finan i lobhar Suird.' His day is the 16th of March.

† The date when he settled at Dromore.

‡ Both these saints are noticed by Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, book ii. chap. i. pp. 32, 33.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

served. Part of his reputed relics, an arm-bone, was carried in front of the Scottish army at Bannockburn by the Abbot of Inchaffray. The mediæval Roman clergy confused this S. Fillan with S. Fillan of Houston,\* and S. Colm, his fellow-worker, they confused with S. Columba (Cummille). The two disciples of S. Ailbhe were much earlier than either.

About this same period a wave of missionary enthusiasm stirred the Britons and Irish Picts who were in actual touch with *Candida Casa* and its activities, resulting, among other things, in the extensive missions of SS. Buidhe, Servanus, Finbar, and Drostan. S. BUIDHE crossed the Forth and Clyde line and entered Pictland of Alba at the head of sixty workers about A.D. 480.† Buidhe Mac Bronach‡ of the family of Tadhg was an Irish Pict. His clan occupied Kianaght in Ulster while that territory was still Pictish. It was in this district that S. Cainnech of Achadh-Bo and St. Andrews presided at a later

\* S. Fillan of Houston was an Irish Pict. He was son of S. Kentigerna who came a fugitive to Inch-cailleach, Loch Lomond, and nephew of S. Comgan, who came a fugitive to Turriff. This S. Fillan's father was Feredach, an Ulster chief. Camerarius varies the name to *Feriath*. Feredach was of the race of Fiatach Finn. S. Fillan was born towards the close of the seventh century. His mother died in A.D. 734.

† The time when Nectan his patron ceased to reign.

‡ In the Bodleian there is a MS. *Life* of a S. Boethius, which is meant to be a *Life* of this saint. It is by a Roman Catholic fabulist who transforms S. Buidhe into a Roman miracle worker. The fabulist excels some of his kind in boldly representing that the saint was turned out of his native territory at Kiannaght because he was 'a foreigner.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

time over the community of Drumachose. S. Buidhe was a bishop. He died at *Mainister* in the Pictish district of Louth in A.D. 521 as head of a community which he had organized there, after his return from Pictland of Alba. S. Buidhe established his workers in what is now Forfarshire, near the fort of Nectan, sovereign of the Picts, namely, Dunnichen, in the same district as S. Ninian's foundation at Whiting Ness, Arbroath, and not far from 'the College'\* of the Celtic monastery of 'Aber-Eloth,' which arose out of S. Ninian's foundation at what is now Arbirlot.† Among the members of S. Buidhe's *muinntir* were ten men who were brothers, and ten who were 'virgins.'‡ King Nectan gave a *Cathair* or fortified settlement to the saint, and there he built a Church. For this reason the site became known as *Caer-Budde*, corrupted in after centuries by the Scandinavian element in the east coast population into 'Kirk-Budde.'§ The establishment of S. Buidhe's powerful and well-staffed mission resulted in a wide extension of the work which had been begun by S. Ninian at the Ness of Arbroath and at 'the College' of

\* On the north bank of the Rottenrow burn, about one mile N.W. of the present Church of Arbirlot ('Aber-Eloth').

† The Celtic Abbey of Aber-Eloth was still represented by a layman, one Galfridus, in 1214. Mauricius was Abbe of Aber-Eloth *c.* 1207.

‡ Revelation xiv. 4.

§ Cf. *Chronicle Picts and Scots*, p. 410, and *Celtic Scotland* (Skene), bk. ii. ch. i. p. 32. After the Reformation the parsonage of *Caer-Budde* was suppressed, and the teinds added to the income of Guthrie Parish.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Aber-Eloth or Arbirlot. In the district now represented roughly by Angus and the north of Fife, Churches were founded and *muinntirs* organized at every centre of population. Within the next century and a half the following became active and important centres of the Pictish Church: the *muinntirs* (known later as Celtic 'abbacies'\*) of Aber-Eloth (Arbirlot); of Abernethy;† of Monifod‡ (Monifieth); of Scone; of Bangor§ on the Isla near the Imperial Roman remains at Meikleour; of Brechain (Breachin); of S. Briocat Mun-Ros|| (Old Montrose); of Eglis-Girig¶ or Grig (St. 'Cyrus'). Besides these, and the old Churches of S. Ninian at Arbroath Ness and of S. Buidhe at Caer-Budde; the Church called 'Temple'\*\* at the northern base of Fotheringham Hill, Inverarity; the Church of S. Medan, Airlie; the original Church at Fearn of

\* The lands of these communities were in later times called the 'Abthein.'

† On the borders of Perth and Fife. Founded by consent of Nectan, sovereign of Pictland (456-480), the same who consented to the foundation of the Church at Caer-Budde.

‡ Still known about 1220 as the 'Abthein of Monifod.'

§ The name survives locally in Easter and Wester Banchory.

|| Originally simply called 'Abthein.' In later times the Roman Catholics restored the Church here, received the lands of the old Celtic Abthein, and dedicated their Church to the B. V. Mary.

¶ The name varies from Girig to Giric, and finally becomes corrupted to 'Cyrus.'

\*\* Not to be confused with 'Templeton of Kinblethmont,' which received its name from the Knights Templars of St. German. To their property Alexander, lord of Spynie, was served heir in 1621.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Angus; the Church of S. Cainnech the Great\* (known in Angus as in Ireland as 'Cainnach' or 'Connach-Mhor') at Back-Both,† Carmylie, near which place S. Vigean occupied a *casula*‡ apart from his principal Church at St. Vigeans,§ Arbroath; the Church called 'Both-Ma'Rubh' at Barry; the Church called Both||-Mernoc, S. Mernoc's hut at Both in Panbride;¶ the Church called S. 'Fink's' in Bendochy, not far from Bangor on the Isla; the Church called S. Skaoc's\*\* at Bodden of Usan; the Church called S. Brioc's at Craig, Old Montrose; and the Church called S. Muredac's†† of Ethie. Connected with these three last-named Churches was the ancient '*Disert*' or Retreat north of the Old Muir of Lunan. These various foundations were not made all at once after S. Ninian's and S. Buidhe's time, but gradually, as the evangelization of Pictland proceeded. Apart from the connection

\* S. Cainnech the Great of Fife and Achadh-Bo. Also known in Angus as 'Mo-Chainnoc,' of which the charter spelling is 'Makonoc.'

† That is the Church behind the hill. S. Vigean's *casula* was in front. 'Both' was superseded in 1250 by a dedication to S. Laurence, and the lands of 'the Church of Connan-Mor' given as an endowment.

‡ In 1788, beside the present Chapel ruins, remains of an earlier building were discovered.

§ On the banks of the Brothoc.

|| Note this name which belongs to the period of the *Casa*.

¶ In 1359 in the Roman Catholic period this Church was restored, put under Roman control, and the old 'lands of Both-mernok' confirmed to it.

\*\* This Church in later times came into the possession of the Roman house of Restennot.

†† Not to be confused with S. Muiredach, brother of S. Cairril the Gaidheal whose Church is at Kilmorich on Loch Fyne.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

of these Churches with S. Ninian's own foundations in the same district, it is interesting to find in Angus the use of the name 'Temple,' which was applied to *Candida Casa* itself, and to S. Ninian's foundations elsewhere; the name 'Both' which was applied to Churches originating from a *Casa* or *Casula*; the place-name 'Fearn' common to *Candida Casa*, and to S. Ninian's at Fearn of Edderton; and the institutional name '*Disert*' given to one of the features of S. Ninian's establishment and the establishments that originated from *Candida Casa* both in Pictland and in Ireland.

While S. Buidhe was continuing S. Ninian's work in Angus, the historical S. SERVANUS or SERF, even better known, by the classical shortening of the Latin name, as S. SĒR, continued it along the left bank of the Forth into Fife. He also taught among the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and put himself into personal touch with the mission conducted by S. Drostan the Briton in what is now Aberdeenshire. S. Servanus died *c.* A.D. 543 a frail old man, as we learn from the *Life of S. Kentigern*. His mother was Alma\* daughter of a prince of the Irish Picts† and his father Proc, prince of a British tribe whose name the copyists changed to 'Canani' from some such form as *Cenomani*. This name was too suggestive for the

\* According to the ancient *Tract* on the mothers of the Irish Saints.

† '*Cruithne*' is the word used.



## THE PICTISH NATION

fabulists, who at once transformed it into 'Canaan' and invented a legend to suit this scriptural name. S. Servanus lived in the time of Owain ap Urien the prince of the Britons, who was father of S. Kentigern. The saint had a Church at Dunbarton, the capital of the Britons. The well of this Church existed until recent times and was known as S. Sēr's, the form of his name which still continues in Aberdeenshire. The younger brother of Rhydderch, champion of the Christians and sovereign of the Britons, bore the saint's name.\* The following names of places where Servanus settled communities or planted Churches show the range of his activities, † Dunbarton, Culross, Abercorn on the opposite shore of the Forth, Dysart, Alva (Stirlingshire), Dunning and Monzievaird in Strathearn, Monkege (Keith-hall), and Culsalmond in Aberdeenshire. His presence in Strathearn and the Forth valley shows that he was in touch with the workers left by S. Colm of Inchmaholm when he returned to Ireland c. A.D. 514. No foundation by S. Servanus appears now between Perthshire and Aberdeenshire, which is accounted for by what we have seen, namely that Angus and Mearns were occupied by S. Buidhe's workers.

\* Given in the *Bonhed Gwyr y Gogledd*. When Chastelain in his *Martyrology* gave this saint's home as among the Britons he was not wrong as some have thought. Those who founded on the *Legend of Servanus* by Gaidhealic fabulists were wrong.

† An extended account is given in the separate chapter on S. Kentigern in this work. S. Serf's Fair was celebrated at Abercorn.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

The principal *muinntir* of S. Servanus was at Culross.\* Here he acted as foster-father and teacher to the boy Kentigern, better known by his pet name 'Mungo.' When Kentigern was fifteen years of age, or thereby, he departed from Culross to the *casula* of S. Fergus† at Carnoch near Airth. From the fact that this S. Fergus attracted Kentigern, he was manifestly a more important teacher than Joceline, in his rather restricted reference, indicates. It is certainly not without interest that when S. Fergus died, Kentigern took much pains to bury him at S. Ninian's foundation‡ on the Molendinar at Glasgow, where he then proceeded to organize a *muinntir* of his own.

At the time when S. Servanus was still actively engaged in Pictland of Alba, another missionary, who was destined to leave a great name among the Irish Picts, visited various districts in Alba where S. Ninian had organized communities. This was S. FINBAR, the Irish Pict who, as noted, became Ab of Maghbile (Moyville) in Ulster. The mediaeval Latin writers have created much confusion about him by attaching

\* As the ancient authority says—'He is the venerable man who possessed *Cuilenros*.' Just as the Scotie fabulists misread 'Ternan' as 'Tervan,' so they misread a contraction of 'Ochils' as a contraction for 'Orcades.' With these misread names when inventing a Roman origin for the Church of Pictland, they represent their 'Tervanus' as 'Archbishop' of the Picts! and Servanus as 'Apostle' of the 'Orkneys.'

† *V. S. Kentigerni* (Joceline), cap. ix.

‡ Now S. Mungo's Churchyard and the site of the Cathedral of Glasgow. Joceline fortunately preserved a note of S. Ninian's earlier foundation.



## THE PICTISH NATION

fragments of his biography to nearly everyone of the various variants given to his name in the several dialects spoken where he was wont to minister. His composite name was *Fin-Bar*. With the aid of the suffixes of endearment the Irish varied this to *Finnian* and *Finnioc*. The Britons gave the first of these the form of *Gwynan*, which the present Lowlanders have preserved as *Winnan*. The Picts of Alba retained the complete form *Findbar*, shortened in compounds to *Find*. In later times the descendants of the Vikings in Alba showed preference for the shortened form '*nBar*'\* from which some of their Roman Catholic teachers evolved the Latin genitive '*Barri*,' which happens to be the shortened form of the name of a different and later Irish saint. Fortunately the early Roman Catholic scholars who preserved the annals of the Church in the dioceses of Moray and Aberdeen kept his correct name in the Latinized form of the local pronunciation '*Finberrus*.'† S. Finbar was born towards the end of the fifth century, and died in extreme old age at Maghbile on the 10th of September A.D. 578‡ according to the old Irish annals. As already noted, he was sent in 'the ships' of *Candida Casa* from the *muinntir* at Aondruim in Strangford Loch to complete his

\* That is *Fhinbar* shortened by aspiration and fondness for the shorter form.

† Cf. the *Breviary* and the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*.

‡ *Ecc. Hist. Ireland* (Lanigan), vol. ii. p. 25.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

education at *Candida Casa*. He remained attached to *Candida Casa* for 'twenty years,' and was successively pupil, master, and missionary there. After his return to Ireland, and after he had founded Maghbile A.D. 540, he led a highly equipped mission which sailed in his own ships to what is now Ayrshire. He strengthened the Church among the Britons there, founded certain new Churches, among them being Kilwinning ('Kil-Gwynan,' also 'Kil-Fhinian'). One authority indicates that during his stay at *Candida Casa* he visited various parts of the east coast of Pictland; but it was on the east of the three northern counties, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, that his most enduring work was done. He concentrated his attention on the district between S. Ninian's Edderton, the original Celtic Abbey of Fearn, and S. Ninian's foundation at Wick. He established a *muinntir* at Dornoch where, in course of time, the Roman Church placed the seat of the bishops of Caithness, after failure at Halkirk. He planted a Church at Geanies in Easter Ross, known as S. Finbar's Chapel, and among other Church-sites that bore his name, one was at Berriedale ('Barudal'), about eight miles beyond S. Ninian's at Navidale, Helmsdale. In the Roman Catholic period an attempt was made to supersede S. Finbar's foundation at Dornoch by a dedication to SS. Mary and Gilbert; but the parishioners refused to follow

## THE PICTISH NATION

the clergy. The people of the diocese of Caithness persisted in their veneration for the saint of the older Church, and until recent times S. Finbar was as much honoured in Caithness as in Ulster. S. Finbar became the neighbour and intimate friend of his distinguished fellow-Pict S. Comgall the Great of Bangor; and it was undoubtedly through S. Finbar's practical acquaintance with Pictland of Alba, and by his inspiration, that S. Comgall was moved to use the inexhaustible resources of his community at Bangor to feed the needs of the growing Church of the Picts, at that time becoming isolated more or less from *Candida Casa* by the incursions of the pagan Angles into south western Alba.

Contemporary with S. Finbar in the beginning of the sixth century was S. DRUST, TRUST, or DROSTAN,\* of Deer, in Aberdeenshire. He is referred to by Angus the Culdee as '*Trustus cona thriur*,' that is 'Drostan with his three' disciples, who were SS. COLM† or COLMAN, MEDAN, and FERGUS.‡ S. Drostan's exact dates have not been preserved, but his period is clearly established by certain definite particulars about him. He was a

\* The initial letter of the name is *T* in some of the old documents, and in some districts the name is pronounced as if written with initial *T*.

† Referred to by some authorities as 'Colm, bishop' in the Orkneys, to which islands his labours extended.

‡ He lived 'in the beginning of the sixth age,' we are told. That is, the beginning of the sixth century. Not to be confused with Fergus, a Gaidheal who conformed to Rome c. A.D. 717.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Briton. His father was prince of Demetia\* (the Demētae), now part of South Wales. The saint was an elder brother of the mother of Aedhan 'the false.' When Aedhan had proved himself a military leader of ability, S. Columba of Iona, ordained him king of the Dalriad Scots or Gaidheals, against the wishes of many of the people, in spite of the rights of Duncan (Donnchadh), son of the previous king, and in defiance of Scotie law. Aedhan behaved treacherously to the Britons, hence the epithet by which he is known, and he became the steady foe of the Picts of Alba. The Buchan authorities give S. Drostan's date as c. A.D. 500, and the date of his fellow-worker S. Fergus is given in the *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* as 'the beginning of the sixth age,' c. A.D. 520. So far it has not been discovered at what British or Pictish school S. Drostan was trained. All that is authentic is that he came off the sea with his disciples, landed at Aberdour in Aberdeenshire, and after a time went inland and settled with his *muinntir* at Deer under the sanction of Bede, † who was then Pictish mormaor of Buchan. Bede had at first been hostile to the saint's settlement. Centuries after S. Drostan's time, during the Gaidhealic ascendancy in Pictland, the names of SS. Drostan, Colm, and Fergus were removed

\* Now Dyfed. In Monmouthshire there was a Llan-Trostroc, now 'Trosdre.'

† *Book of Deer*, fol. 3, first side, mid.



## THE PICTISH NATION

from their proper historical setting, and woven into legends intended to create a belief in the priority of the Roman mission in Pictland, and to support the romanized Gaidheals in the usurpation of the property of the old Pictish Church. In the famous legend,\* entered in the *Book of Deer* by an eleventh-century Gaidhealic hand, S. Colm is boldly transformed into S. Columba (Columcille) the Gaidheal; and S. Drostan the Briton, and head of a mission in Pictland, is subordinated to him. The reckless fabulist was probably unaware that S. Drostan laboured in Buchan before S. Columba began his work even in Ireland, that in S. Columba's time the Gaidheals regarded the Picts as implacable foes, and were meditating to get back the parts of Dalriada out of which they had been hunted by the Pictish sovereign, and that, to this end, S. Columba had ordained to the Gaidhealic or Scotie throne of Dalriada, Aedhan, the arch-enemy of the Picts, and the man who betrayed the very Britons who had helped him to repair his broken fortunes when he was a wanderer from his own people. Another legend, the *Legend of Fergusianus*,† gives the credit of the missionary work of S. Fergus of Buchan and Caithness to a certain romanized Celt of late date bearing the same name. The object of this fabulist was evidently to make it

\* *Book of Deer*, first entry by Scribe I.

† Cf. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, book ii. chap. vi. p. 232.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

appear that the beginnings of the *Roman* mission in Pictland were much earlier than was actually the case. S. Drostan and his fellow-workers increased the churches on the south of the Moray Firth, and afterwards crossed the Firth to Caithness and the Orkneys, where they brought many outlying Pictish tribes under the influence of the Gospel. South of the Moray Firth the following ancient Church-sites represent S. Drostan's foundations: Aberdour in Buchan; the site of the *muinntir* of Deer\* in Buchan; the Church-sites at Inch in the Garioch, at Rothiemay on the Deveron, at Aberlour on Spey, at Alvie on Spey, at Glen Urquhart, where SS. Ninian and Erchard had previously prepared a way for the Church. S. Colm's foundations are at Inzie Head, Lonmay; Alvah on the Deveron; Oyne; Daviot, Aberdeenshire; Belhelvie;† and Birse on the Dee, Aberdeenshire. S. Medan's foundations are at Philorth, near Faithlie (Fraserburgh), with which was connected the site occupied by a *muinntir*, and now called 'the College,' at 'Achyseipel,' Field of the Chapel, Fingask, near Fraserburgh. Also the chapel-site, Pitmedan of Udney. S. Fergus's sites are at Kirktonhead, formerly Lung-

\* From this community, at a later period, the community of 'Turbhruad,' now Turriff, was organized. When S. Comgan (brother of S. Kentigerna, and uncle of S. Fillan, arrived at Turriff, he became Ab of the community. This was some years before A.D. 734, the year of S. Kentigerna's death.

† That is, Bal-Cholume, Monycabo.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ley, described in documents as 'near Inverugie.'

The following are the Church-sites of S. Drostan and his fellow-workers in Caithness, across the Moray Firth from Buchan. S. Drostan's foundations are Kirk o' 'Tear,'\* that is the Caithness pronunciation of 'Deer.' The saint carried the name of his Buchan *muinntir* into this new field. Also 'S. Drostan's,' the site of the Church of Canisbay; 'S. Drostan's,' Church-site at Brabstermire; S. Drostan's, 'Trothan's,' Castletown of Olrig; a Church-site and churchyard at Westerdale on the Thurso river; and the Church-site and churchyard at 'S. Trostan's,' Westfield, Caithness. S. Colm's foundations are at the sand-buried township of Old Tain, Caithness, and at Hoy, Orkney.† S. Medan's foundations are at Freswick and 'Bower-Madan,' that is, House of Medan. This name is regarded as the Viking equivalent of the earlier *Both-Medan*. Foundations of S. Fergus are at Wick, where his church, after the town had extended in that direction, superseded the earlier foundation of S. Ninian at 'the Head'; and at Halkirk (High Church), which, in later centuries, became the first seat of

\* The *D* of Drostan and of Deer became a *T* in this part of Pictland. Mr. Mackay, of Westerdale, recovered the charter which disclosed the original name of this church, and also, that into the Roman Catholic period the Abbot of Deer still held its lands. A popular legend turned the name into 'Kirk of Tears,' and connected it with a celebration of Innocents' Day, which was really a celebration of S. Drostan's Day, Old Style.

† Camerarius, founding on an authority no longer available, refers to him as 'bishop,' and states that he laboured *throughout* Orkney.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

the Roman Catholic bishops of Caithness.

While S. Drostan and 'his three' were extending the Church in the northern parts of Pictland of Alba, other Britons and certain Irish Picts were maintaining a ministry in the southern parts, or in the Brito-Pictish border districts. The names of many of these workers have been forgotten within a comparatively recent period. Some names have been corrupted beyond identification by foreign scribes of charters. Other names, however, still associated with ancient Church foundations in the south are noteworthy. For example, Mochaoi or Mochai, Kessoc, Cadoc, Gildas, Dewi (David), Machan, Llolan, and Brioc. Remembering the canon of Celtic Church history, that the early Celts gave to a Church the name of its actual founder and did not dedicate, the affiliation of ancient Church-sites to these men is a guarantee, apart from any records, of personal work at the site in time bygone. Moreover, the locality of these men's activities in the late fifth or the early sixth century shows clearly that the historical S. Patrick's denunciation of the Picts as '*apostatae*'\* was either an embittered cleric's wrathful exaggeration, or a reference to a very local declension from orthodox ways.

As early as the latter half of the fifth century S. MOCHAOI or MOCHAI had taken part in S. Ninian's evangelization of the western Britons and

\* In the *Epistle to Coroticus*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

the Picts to the north of them. S. Mochaoi was an Irish Pict. He died c. A.D. 496.\* He was the son of Bronag, daughter of Maelchon, S. Patrick's taskmaster. It is not told where he was trained; but he became first Ab of Aondruim on Mahee Island, Strangford Loch. The religious community at Aondruim worked in concert with the greater community organized by S. Ninian at *Candida Casa*. The pupils of Aondruim after a certain stage of progress were sent to *Candida Casa* to complete their training, the best-known example being S. Finbar of Maghbile and Dornoch. S. Mochaoi's foundations in Alba are still indicated at Kirkmahoe† in Dumfriesshire, 'Kilmahew'‡ at Cardross in Lennox, and 'Kilmoha'§ on the western shore of Loch Awe in Argyll.

This field as opened up by S. Mochaoi was effectively occupied in the early years of the sixth century by S. KESSOC or MOKESSOG, who christianized the ancient district of Lennox while its inhabitants were Brito-Pictish. S. Kessoc was one of the sons of the ruler of Munster who had his capital at Cashel. He was educated and trained in Munster, throughout which S. Ailbhe, whose

\* The *Annals of Ulster* give the date of his death as 493.

† The Roman Catholic Church superseded this Church by a dedication to S. Quintin.

‡ This Church was rebuilt by the Roman Catholics in 1467. The rebuilt Church was dedicated to the original founder 'S. Mohew' by George, bishop of Argyll.

§ See Duke of Argyll's paper to the Scottish Ecc. Soc. at Glasgow, 25th Oct. 1915.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

community was at *Imleach*, taught under the king's protection. The date of S. Kessoc's activities is given as from c. A.D. 520.\* This is confirmed by the date of S. Ailbhe's death which took place A.D. 526.† The following historical items are all more or less related to one another, and to S. Kessoc's work. S. Mochaoi was the first Ab of the community of Aondruim, which was one of the earliest religious communities in Ireland, and which was also in communion with the greater and older community which was founded by S. Ninian at *Candida Casa*. Before settling at Aondruim he conducted a mission which extended from the Nith into Lennox and what afterwards became Argyll while these two last districts were Brito-Pictish. Among others sent to occupy the field opened up by S. Mochaoi, S. Kessoc came in the course of a few years. He not only participated in religious work among the Britons but completed the conversion of the Picts of Lennox. While S. Kessoc was gathering converts in Lennox two other missionaries were engaged in like work on the borders of that district. One was S. Fillan or Faolan who, as we have noticed, was a member of the royal family of Munster, like S. Kessoc himself, and so related to him; and both S. Fillan and S. Kessoc had been attracted to re-

\* A Scottish Kalendar puts his death 40 years later.

† *Annals of Ulster* and *Innisfallen* quoted by Ussher. The *Chronicum Scotorum* enters the 'rest' of Ailbhe at 531.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ligious work through the efforts of the mission composed of Irish Picts which S. Ailbhe led into Munster, and which he established there by the goodwill of the king. The other missionary was S. Colm or Colman or Colmoc, first of Inchmaholm in Menteith, and afterwards of Dromore in Ulster, like S. Ailbhe, an Irish Pict. S. Ailbhe, who had a working intercourse with both *Candida Casa* and Aondruim, selected S. Colm from the latter community while S. Caolan, S. Mochaioi's successor, was Ab, to accompany himself and his Pictish fellow-workers in the mission which resulted in the conversion of Munster. When S. Ailbhe was inhibited from going to Alba by the king of Munster, SS. Fillan and Colm were members of the missionary band, as we have already noted, who went in his stead. It is evident that S. Kessoc also went with them, or joined them later, because we find one Church-site bearing S. Kessoc's name at Comrie near S. Fillan's headquarters, and another at Callander\* near S. Colm's headquarters. S. Colm was Ab and bishop, S. Fillan an Ab, S. Kessoc an Ab and bishop. Church-sites bearing S. Kessoc's name, besides those mentioned, are, or were, at Auchterarder, at Luss, at 'Bal-mokessaik,' S. Kessoc's town, on the lands of Ardstinchar in Carrick, and 'Kessoktoun' in the old parish of 'Senwick' now merged in Borgue,

\* The traditional site is '*Tom-na-Kessoc*.' The chief local fair was the '*Feil Kessoc*.'

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Galloway. S. Kessoc's *muinntir* was accommodated on '*Innis na mhannoch*' in Loch Lomond. There is a Lennox tradition that the saint was buried\* in *Carn-mokessoc* at Bandry, Luss, in Lennox. S. Kessoc was venerated as a martyr by the people, although martyrs were most rare in early times among the Celtic saints of Alba. There is no doubt that this veneration had a historical foundation; and there is something suspicious in the fact that the details of his martyrdom have not been preserved. From an early period S. Kessoc was honoured as the soldier's saint. His name was a rallying cry in battle. In old sketches he is depicted as a soldier with his bow and arrow at 'the ready.' All that is known about him in this connection is that the saint was a soldier-prince before he became a missionary. A biographical fragment states that he died among aliens, and that his body was carried to Luss for burial. The traditional year of his death is A.D. 560. It illuminates this occurrence to remember that the year 560 was the one in which Brude Mac Maelchon, sovereign of Pictland, began the war which ended in the great drive, '*inmirge*,' in which the Gaidheals or Scots, who had begun to intrude too far into Pictland, were expelled from the Pictish dominions, except a broken remnant which was shut up in Cantyre. S. Kessoc's mission-area was partly involved in this drive; and it is known that

\* His day is 10th March.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the region of his headquarters was devastated by the embittered fugitives, anticipating the vengeance which twenty odd years later Aedhan 'the false' was to exact from that same district, after S. Columba had ordained him head of the Gaidheals or Scots. It is more than likely that in king Brude's war to preserve the independence of Pictland, which incidentally included the independence of the Pictish Church, S. Kessoc laid aside his staff and resumed the weapons of his youth, took part in the struggle, and fell in the territory of Dalriada from whence his body was returned to Luss. The Gaidheals, or Scots, who supplied almost the sole editors of our earliest records, would naturally take care that the details of such a martyrdom did not filter through to history; although popular tradition, as in other instances, could not be silenced. It was in no inconspicuous military enterprise that S. Kessoc fell; and it must have been in a cause regarded as sacred and national before the descendants of the Brito-Pictish tribes in the Clyde area would have persisted in remembering him as the only soldier-saint and soldier-martyr in our history.

S. CADOC, who also laboured in the Brito-Pictish borderland, was a Briton; and he falls into direct succession to S. Ninian, S. Căranoc the Great, Paul *Hên*, the historic S. Servanus, and S. Drostan. Only a few historical facts about S. Cadoc are recoverable. The versions substituted



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

for the *Old Life* by the mediaeval Latin fabulists are shameless perversions\* of the original. S. Cadoc was active in maintaining S. Ninian's work among the Strathclyde Britons in the first half of the sixth century. The authorities who give the approximate time of his death as c. A.D. 570† are correct. This is confirmed by the fact that S. Cadoc was a great-grandson of that Brychan of South Wales, who was grandfather to S. Drostan of Buchan and Caithness. S. Cadoc was baptized by S. Tathan of Bangor, Caer Went (Beneventum), where he received the first part of his education. S. Cadoc's *muinntir* contained twenty-four disciples. For seven years‡ he lived with his disciples near the mount called 'Bannauc' in what afterwards became Scotland. 'Bannauc' is an attempt to give the genitive case of *Manach*§ representing the earlier Britonic *Mynach*. The

\* S. Cadoc's headquarters in his later days were at Lllancarvan in Glamorgan. This place was not far from the market-town called 'Beneventum' which had been named originally by the Imperial Roman garrison. This town has been identified with Venta of the Silures (Caer Went), S. Tathan's. In the *Old Life* it was said that S. Cadoc was in the habit of visiting Beneventum. The fabulists turned this into Benevento in Italy. They next invented a story of miraculous flights on a cloud from Lllancarvan to Italy. This gave opportunity for a visit to the Pope and favours from the See of Peter which the historical S. Cadoc neither sought nor received. Other hands represented him as bishop of the Italian Benevento, and confused him with a Continental bishop who bore a slightly similar name.

† Ferrarius was misled by the fabulists into putting his death a century earlier. The object of this ante-dating was to give an earlier date to the Roman mission in Britain.

‡ *V. S. Cadoci*, c. 22, and Rees' *Lives*, p. 57. Brychan died c. 450.

§ That is *Mhannaich*, pronounced *Vannach*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

place indicated is now Carmunnock on the Cathkin hills near Glasgow. The elements of this name are *Caer* and *Mynach*; and the complete name means Monk's 'City.' S. Cadoc's *Life* informs us that his settlements were fortified *Caers*. A Church-site representing a foundation of S. Cadoc was at Cambuslang, also near Glasgow. After he had completed seven years of mission-work in Alba, S. Cadoc organized a new *muinntir* with which he settled at 'Nantcarvan' now Llan-carvan.\* This place is in Glamorgan; and not far away was a market-town used in the days of the Roman occupation by the Imperial garrison, and called by the soldiers 'Beneventum,' Good-market. Beneventum is identified as Caer Went in Monmouthshire. In this market-town also, S. Cadoc had some spiritual responsibility which has not been particularized; but it is known that there he was taught, baptized, and partly trained at 'Côr Tathan,' that is, 'Bangor Tathan.' Probably it was indicated in the *Old Life* that at S. Tathan's death S. Cadoc assumed responsibility for his work; because the fabulists call him 'bishop of (at) Beneventum.' At Llan-carvan S. Cadoc successfully established a great Christian training centre. From particulars that have come down, it was organized like *Candida Casa*. There was a Church, education was ar-

\* This form of the name may be due to a Church of 'Gnavan,' pronounced Gravan. He is one of the recorded disciples of S. Cadoc.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

ranged for the people and for those intending the ministry, and provision was organized for the poor. Llancarvan was one of the Bangors of the Britons, and was known, for a time, as 'Bangor Catog.' S. Cadoc was martyred by Saxons at Beneventum, South Wales, c. A.D. 570, and his work was continued by his disciple S. 'Elli,' who succeeded him as Ab.

S. MACHAN was one of S. Cadoc's workers in Alba.\* Judging from the number of his own foundations he was evidently one of those left to carry on the work when S. Cadoc departed for South Wales. S. Machan is not only a link with S. Cadoc but a link with the historical Servanus. One of his foundations was at Dalserf on the Clyde, a parish which has resumed the name which indicates its first missionary, S. Serf or Servanus, although it had been known for many years as Machan-shire. Another foundation is Eccles-Machan in Linlithgowshire, near to Abercorn where there used to be a Church-foundation and Fair of S. Servanus. This and many other examples show how the supply of ministers among the Britons was not allowed to fail. The *muinntir* of an Ab existed not only for its own president and for itself; but for supply of a ministry to Churches founded before its time. S. Machan is another saint who carried his work into Lennox in support of the Churches already founded there.

\* O'Hanlon and his authorities.



## THE PICTISH NATION

The Church of Campsie is one of his Lennox foundations ; and there is an age-long tradition that he was buried there.\* He died in the sixth century ; but the year of his death is now unknown. Adam King following the practice of the Gaidhealic or Scotie editors seeks to date him by a Scotie king whom he calls 'Donalde' ; but Domhnall, prince of Dalriada, who was S. Machan's contemporary, never ascended any throne, not even in Dalriada ; and S. Machan did not labour in Dalriada but among the Strathclyde Britons and among the Picts. This practice of dating British and Pictish men and events of note by the reigns of Dalriad kings or their sons, who were only local chiefs, was a device of the Gaidhealic or Scotie editors and annalists to create a belief among the ignorant of the middle ages that the Gaidhealic or Scotie ascendancy in Alba began centuries before the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpin, A.D. 842, to the Pictish throne.

S. GILDAS, the Briton, was born in A.D. 516†

\* The writer of *Origines Parochiales* was misinformed about a 'dedication' to S. Machan in 'Clyne.' Clyne was probably read for Clyde. In the Roman Catholic period an altar was dedicated to S. Machan in Glasgow Cathedral. S. Machan's day is the 28th of September.

† As he himself informs us 'in the year of the battle of Badon,' 516 is the date in the *Annales Cambriae*. See also Skene, *Chronicles P. and S.* p. 14.

The original *Lives* of Gildas were by S. Caradoc and an unknown author who lived in the monastery of Rhuys in the later diocese of Vannes, Brittany.

Bede gives the approximate date of Badon in the last decade of the fifth century. Mommsen, Zimmer and other Germans give c. 504 to fit in with

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

at Dunbarton, the capital of Lennox, when the city was still the capital of the Britons of Clyde and called 'Alcluyd.' For part of his life, he was a fellow-worker with S. Cadoc who laboured in the Clyde district, as we have seen. He departed with S. Cadoc when the latter returned to the territories of the southern Britons; and for a short time he taught in one of S. Cadoc's schools at Llancarvan. He transcribed a famous manuscript of the Gospels which was kept in a case bound with gold and ornamented with gems. Caradoc saw this manuscript at Llancarvan in the twelfth century. S. Gildas came to be known as 'Badonicus,' to distinguish him from others bearing the same name but belonging to later times, because the battle of Badon Hill\* in which king Arthur led the victorious Britons was fought in the year of his birth. Being a Briton of Alba, he was also known on the Continent as Gildas 'Albanus.'† Latin and Gaidhealic scribes of the middle ages have mangled the names connected with Gildas almost beyond recognition. However, this is certain, that while Gildas was still

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certain speculations. Unless the date 516 in the *Annales Cambriae* can be proved to be a scribe's error for 506 the date 516 should stand.

\* Skene locates Badon Hill at Bowden Hill between Stirling and Edinburgh. Arthur's Warriors were '*Gwyr y Gogledd*'—men of the North.

† The Gaidheals or Scots in later times considered themselves '*Alban-ach*.' On the strength of this surname the Gaidhealic fabulists of the middle ages appropriated Gildas the Briton and presented him as a Gaidheal or Scot.



## THE PICTISH NATION

alive, the chiefs of the Britons of the North and their allies who steadily resisted the encroachment of the Angles under Hussa, from A.D. 567 onwards, were Morcant; *Gwallauc*; Urbgen (Urien), S. Kentigern's paternal grandfather; and Rhydderch,\* who became King-paramount of Strathclyde and S. Kentigern's protector.

S. Gildas was the son of a chief of the Britons, and his eldest brother was one of their military leaders. This brother's name was Hywel, latinized as 'Howelus'† and 'Cuillus.'‡ Manifestly he is the same as Rhydderch's ally (G)uall or (G)uall-auc§ who helped to lead the Britons against Hussa the Angle, as is told by one of the contributors to *Nennius*. The name of the father of Gildas is given as 'Nau'|| by S. Caradoc which agrees with the name of the father of Hywel or 'Gwallauc' which is given in *Nennius* as 'Laenauc,' that is, *Lae-Nau-oc*. The latter was of the race of Hywel, or 'Coyl hên,' the old. S. Gildas had a younger brother called 'S. MAEL-OC.' He followed the example of Gildas and became a cleric. He organized a *muinntir* in the district called 'Luihes' or 'Leuihes,' evidently an attempt to reproduce

\* See Additions to *Historia Britonum*.

† By John of Teignmouth.

‡ By the Monk of Rhuys.

§ Cf. Skene, *Chronicles P. and S.* pp. 12, 16. Compare the other royal name 'Gust' which was written 'Uist.'

|| John Bale (1495-1563) latinizes it as 'Nauus,' and designates him 'rex Pictorum.' Considering that he reigned in ancient Lennox, his subjects would be part Britons and part Picts.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

the Britonic name of his native Lennox. *U* in Brito-Pictish names sometimes represents *V*.<sup>\*</sup> The root of the district name is in the name of its river, 'Leven.' The latest hand in the *Annals of Ulster* called the province 'Lemhnach' (Levnach); and the Scottish barons in their letter to the Pope call it 'Leuenax.' It is of some importance to be sure of Maeloc's field of work; because he sometimes occupied a 'retreat' in it, near the township called 'El-mael' or 'Almail.' In other words, part of Maeloc's establishment was a '*disert*' such as was possessed by the historic S. Serf or S. Servanus who laboured in Alcluyd or Dunbarton, in Maeloc's time, and who extended his activities to another 'Leven' in Fife. On the northern border of ancient Lennox is Dal-Mally, the original name of which is 'Dysart.' †

S. Gildas himself preached the Gospel among the Britons, according to the biographer of Rhuy, 'in the *northern* part' of their country, which would point to his labours with S. Cadoc in Strathclyde. As we have seen, he went with S. Cadoc to Llan-carvan. In this locality these two saints also possessed retreats or *diserts* at 'Ronech' and 'Echni,' now Barry Isle and the Flat Holm ‡ in the Bristol Channel. When S. Gildas was about

\* For example, *Uip* for *Veip*.

† An ancient Church-foundation called 'Kilmalyn,' 1296, and 'Kilmale,' 1532, is Kilmallie, Fort William. The diminutive *-an* instead of *-oc* would give 'Kilmalyn.'

‡ Identified by Rees.

## THE PICTISH NATION

thirty years of age,\* that is about A.D. 546, Saxon raiders burst in among the South Britons and 'devastated and profaned'† their provinces and Churches. Hundreds of Britons fled to the sea-coasts and took ship to their fellow-Celts in Armorica. SS. Cadoc and Gildas joined in the flight.‡ During his exile, S. Cadoc organized another religious community, and settled on an islet, in what afterwards came to be called the 'Morbihan' or Big Bay. Chastelain states that the isle became known as *Innis Caidoc*. S. Cadoc did not lose touch with the remnant that had rallied at his headquarters among the Britons of South Wales. After a period in Brittany he revisited Llancarvan; but, during a raid, he was seized by the pagan Saxons, and martyred at

\* According to the biographer of Rhuy.

† According to Caradoc.

‡ M. le Moynes de la Borderie has been criticized for his statement that fugitive Britons began to seek an asylum in Armorica or Brittany after the Saxon victory at Crayford in 457. It is certain, however, that many Britons sought refuge in Brittany in the early sixth century. Wurdestan, who wrote before A.D. 884, confirms this as well as Caradoc. Gildas is quite clear on the matter. Writing c. 557, he states that part of the Britons perished by the sword or famine, some gave themselves up to be slaves to the Saxons; and some 'passed beyond the sea.' Armorica received many detachments of Britons from Alba from the Romano-British auxiliaries to the last band of fugitives from Saxon brutality. The idea of certain English writers that Brittany was *celticized* by British fugitives from Cornwall and the west country is not only unhistorical but absurd. Brittany and all Gaul was Celtic before the Teutonic barbarians moved west in A.D. 406. The Celts among whom SS. Cadoc and Gildas and their fellow-fugitives settled had, owing to the poverty of their country, been saved from penetration by the Teutonic hordes. Moreover, they were off the direct line of the barbaric migrations.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Beneventum (Caer Went) *c.* A.D. 570.\* He foresaw his fate as is shown by his saying, 'If you wish for glory, march, faithful to death.' S. Gildas, his fellow-worker, remained in Brittany. Apart from the dangers of Saxon raids in the district which he had left on the northern shores of the Severn estuary, he had made enemies of the petty kings of the Britons by his fierce denunciations in his tract *De Excidio Britanniae*. After the departure of S. Cadoc for Alba, S. Gildas retired from the personal control of his community at Rhuys, and settled on one of the Morbihan islands near *Innis Caidoc*. The name of his island is given as 'Horat' and 'Houat.' He made it his *desert* or retreat, and died there A.D. 570.†

S. Gildas‡ was one of the earliest of our native writers to make a critical review of historical events. He wrote the *De Excidio Britanniae*;§

\* Pitseus. The English martyrologists ante-date his martyrdom by putting it about the year of his birth; and they shift the scene of his martyrdom from England to Benevento in Italy. The early English writers appear to have had no desire to perpetuate the memory of the infamies of their Saxon ancestors.

† Many causes that needed the support of inventions have appropriated S. Gildas or have presented garbled versions of his biographies to make it appear that he appropriated them. The claims of Armagh to primacy and to be the chief original centre of Irish Christianity; the pretensions of Glastonbury to great antiquity; the apologists for the Anglo-Saxon brutalities to the Britons, all lurk behind the falsifications of the *Lives* of S. Gildas.

‡ Several works have been wrongly ascribed to Gildas. His name was also put upon the title-page of manuscripts penned long after his time.

§ Printed at London by Polydore Virgil, 1525. Gildas wrote this tract before A.D. 560.



## THE PICTISH NATION

and certain historical fragments are ascribed to him. The texts which we now possess are not entirely ungarbled; but they are purer than the versions of some manuscripts much younger. S. Gildas, judged by his tract, was a moody, meditative Celt who sought peace and pursued it, at one time on the banks of Clyde, at another on the holms of Severn, and at still another on the islets of the Morbihan. He was embittered and disappointed by the political follies of the tribal kings, and by certain sections of his flighty, disunited, wrangling fellow-Britons. His fierce satire was lauded by the Anglo-Saxons after they became civilized; and frequently it was misquoted or emphasized to justify their own excesses against the Britons; although these excesses were mainly responsible for reviving among the Britons the spirit of destruction and barbarism which Christianity had done much to lay.\* S. Gildas, contemplating the past, had a decided conviction of the political shortsightedness of Vortigern, the prince of a British tribe which inhabited what is now, roughly, central England, who about the middle of the fifth century invited the Angles and Saxons from the sea-swamps of Friesland and the Elbe that they might help him to crush other Brito-Pictish tribes. Brothers and

\* Bede with unconcealed delight suggests that the Saxon terror was introduced into Britain 'by the Lord's will that evil might fall on them (the Britons) for their wicked deeds.'

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

cousins of the first guests came uninvited, and turned their swords against their hosts; and Gildas, reflecting over the sufferings of the Britons, writes of 'the Saxons, of execrable name, most ferocious of peoples, filling God and men alike with hate.' Continuing his reflections, Gildas appears to have thought that the Saxons having been allowed to settle, the British Christians should have converted them. In this he showed a disposition to overrate the powers of Christianity and the patience of his fellow-countrymen. The Saxons gave little encouragement to the missionary efforts of his fellow-worker S. Cadoc, seeing that they martyred him. Only when their lust was sated, their eyes sick of the sight of blood, and their homesteads planted on the best land in the country, did the Saxons turn their materialistic, lumbering minds to a superstitious acceptance of the Gospel. Few subjects have ever dealt more candidly with kings than Gildas with the kings of the various British tribes. He demands that Constantine, king of the Dumnōnii,\* 'despising the vile food of swine,' should return to his most loving Father. He was very severe towards the kings in whose dominions he had lived. He charges Vortipor, king of the Demē-tae,† with vice and cruelties; and exhorts him not to be 'old in sin,' not to spend his few remaining

\* In the district now Devon and Cornwall.

† In what is now S.W. Wales.

## THE PICTISH NATION

days in vexing God. Maelgon or Maelgwyn,\* whose ancestral dominions were near the home of Gildas at Alclud, he denounces with a vehemence that seems to have a memory of personal suffering behind it. The saint calls this king 'a monster' who had deprived other kings both of their territories and their lives. Whatever the personal feelings of Gildas, he succeeds in leaving the impression that the Britons, disunited by clan jealousies and tribal divisions, and ill ruled by their incompetent kings, were utterly unfitted to present an organized and sustained resistance to the Teutonic invaders.

Alcuin referred to Gildas as 'the wisest of the Britons.' At the time of the revival of learning on the Continent of Europe, the resurrection of

\* Maelgon or Maelgwyn was king of *Gwynedd* ('*Gwendote*' and *Venedotia*) that is properly what is now North Wales. But the dominions of his ancestors were from the Forth southwards, through what is now central Scotland. He is called 'Magnus Rex' in the *Historia Britonum*, and it is evident that he was High-King or Sovereign overlord of the petty Brito-Pictish kings a long way north of North Wales. He is generally referred to as a king of the Britons. It would be more accurate to call him a Brito-Pictish king. He was descended from the Pictish kings of '*Manau Guotodin*,' that is the Otadinoi of the Forth area. By a scribe's error in the *Annales Cambriae* the beginning of his reign in *Gwynedd* is given as the end at 547. Bishop Forbes, *Lives of Ninian and Kentigern*, p. lxx, says 547 'was in reality the beginning of his reign and he was alive in 560 when Gildas wrote.' Maelgon or Maelgwyn, as the late Mr. Nicholson of the Bodleian pointed out, is the same as Maelchon whose son Brude Mac Maelchon was elected sovereign of Pictland and who reigned there as King-paramount from 554 to 584.

The *Historia Britonum* indicates that Maelgwyn was contemporary with Ida, the Angle, who reigned over an eastern section of England north of the Humber from 547 to 559. On authority cited by Humphrey Lhuyd, Maelgwyn was made King-paramount of the Britons about 560.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

the *De Excidio*, and the part of *Nennius* ascribed to Gildas, evoked surprised admiration at the enlightenment of the Celtic religious communities in Alba from the end of the fifth century onwards. The scholar's lamp had burned in Alba and Ireland when it had almost flickered out elsewhere in the West. Apart from what he learned from S. Cadoc, the foundation of the learning of Gildas was laid at *Candida Casa*.<sup>\*</sup> If, as is indicated, he went there in his boyhood from Dunbarton, when Nennio 'the little monk was Ab, one of his contemporaries, as senior pupil and, later, as a master, would be S. Finbar of Maghbile and Dornoch; and he would complete his studies under Mugent who succeeded Nennio, also called 'Manchan the Master.' Many early references to *Candida Casa* were displaced by inventions from the pens of the professional mediaeval Roman Catholic fabulists who canvassed the claims of Armagh and York to primacy.<sup>†</sup> One hand interpolates a statement that S. Gildas was a 'professor' at Armagh; but Armagh was not a centre of organized Christian teaching when S. Gildas lived. Another hand introduces a story that S. Gildas was educated at *Caer Worgorn* now *Llanilltyd Vawr* in Glamorgan by S. Illyd or Iltutus; but,

<sup>\*</sup> See *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (Innes), book ii. p. 154.

<sup>†</sup> Archbishop Ussher became utterly confused especially in his dates when treating of S. Gildas. He was unwilling to throw over the fabulists, but his efforts to reconcile them failed.

## THE PICTISH NATION

apart from the fact that the home of Gildas was in Strathclyde, S. Illtyd\* was dead some years before Gildas was born.

S. DEWI† (David) of *Mynyv*‡ (St. David's) was also associated with the Church of Northern Alba. The competition for primacy which raged in the Roman Catholic period between Caerleon, St. David's, and Llandaff has left its taint in every surviving version of S. Dewi's *Life*. Every form of interested fable has been devised to vitiate the life-story of this Celtic bishop. Even his birth and death have been ante-dated; and the places where he grew up or ministered have been misrepresented almost out of recognition. The date of his death requires to be taken from the Irish annals; because they were not affected by the particular pens that corrupted the history of S. Dewi's mission. According to the *Chronicum Scotorum*§ S. Dewi died A.D. 589. He was born early in the sixth century, and was ordained a monastic bishop c. 540.|| S. Kentigern or Mungo visited him about 567. Maelgon or Maelgwyn, who was a Celtic pagan, was elected to the sovereignty of the Britons c. 560;¶ and when S. Dewi died, Maelgon requested that the saint should be buried in his

\* His death took place A. D. 512.

† Now patron saint of the Welsh.

‡ In Pembroke. There is an Old Mynyv (*Hen Fenyv*) near Aberaeron, in Cardigan. The Irish call S. David's *Cill Muine*.

§ Hennessy's edition, corrected. The *Annals of Innisfallen*, 589.

|| According to Lanigan.

¶ According to Lhuyd and Lanigan.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

own Church at Menevia. These dates recall S. Dewi's name from the fabulists, and set it in sober history. Although in Scotland there is now only the bare tradition that S. Dewi himself undertook missionary work in northern Alba; there is a statement in one of his biographies that his disciples at '*Mynyv*' went forth to preach and to teach both in Ireland and in Alba. The best-remembered of these disciples both in Pictland of Alba and in Ireland is 'Maidoc,' more formally known as S. Aidan of Ferns in Wexford (c. 555\*-625).† The *Breviary of Aberdeen* calls him 'Modoc,' which corresponds to the Pembrokeshire form of his name, Modóg, with the honorific prefix. His Church-sites in Alba were, among the Britons, at Cambusnethan, Lanarkshire, and among the Picts at 'Kilmadock,' Doune, and at Kenmore, Perthshire. This last site was formerly known as '*Innis Aidhan*.' At Weem,‡ in the same district, was an old Church-foundation associated with the name of S. Dewi, whose *Feil* was formerly celebrated here. The name 'Weem' is itself ecclesiastical, and suggests a cave-retreat such as SS. Ninian and Servanus used; and such a retreat appears to have existed. S. Dewi is moreover linked to Alba through his education and training. This is seen

\* Rev. Dr. Reeves.

† *Chronicum Scotorum*. Bishop Forbes gives 628.

‡ There is a foolish folk-story current among the clan Menzies connecting Father David Menzies (1377-1449), Master of St. Leonard's Hospital, Lanark, with this ancient Celtic foundation.



## THE PICTISH NATION

from the following basic facts in S. Dewi's life taken from the ancient Celtic *Life*, and, incidentally, perverted or misinterpreted by Ricemarc,\* Giraldus,† and others. S. Dewi was the son of 'Non,'‡ which, by the way, is the same name, without the diminutive, that was borne by S. Ninian the Great. This Non was a chief who became a cleric; because his Church-foundations, called 'Llan-Non,' stood beside the older and later Churches of S. Dewi in the counties of Cardigan and Pembroke. The celibate fabulists of the mediaeval Roman Catholic period were so offended by the emergence in a saintly biography of this clerical parent§ that they invented a fictitious father, to whom they gave the name 'Sanctus.' They then transferred his father's name to his mother, modifying it to 'Nonna,' which they interpreted as *Monacha*; and they represented that the Churches called Llan-Non were the Churches of the mother, who, they pretended, became a nun. Dewi went, in his childhood, for some slight teaching|| and a blessing to *Paul Hên*, that is, Paul the aged.

\* His date is c. 1090.

† He wrote c. 1200.

‡ Cf. Prof. Anwyl's communications to Nicholson, *Celtic Researches*, p. 172.

§ Married clerics were not uncommon throughout the history of the Celtic Church. If they entered a religious community after marriage they were not allowed to correspond with their wives. Angus the Culdee and other writers frequently emphasize the distinction of the clerics who were 'Virgins.' Writers in the middle ages, misled by this appellation, frequently represent men as women-saints.

|| The fabulists state also that S. Dewi went to school under S. Illtyd; but S. Illtyd was dead before S. Dewi was born.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

At this time Paul was sightless and frail; but the most venerated cleric among the Britons. He is, as we have seen, the same Paul the Briton whose name, with the diminutives of honour and endearment, takes the forms '*Peulan*' among the later Welsh, '*Polan*' among the Irish Picts, '*Pâldoc*' in Perthshire, and '*Pâldy*' in the Mearns. The Scottish fabulists confused Palladius with him, as has been noted. Paul the aged was the living link between S. Ninian the Great and S. David. He had taken part in the missions sent from *Candida Casa* into Pictland of Alba. When he organized and settled his own chief community on the Taw in Caermarthen, A.D. 480,\* he named it *Candida Casa*, or, in the vernacular, *Ty Gwyn*; and it became one of the many 'White Houses' named after S. Ninian's *Candida Casa*, just as the latter had been named after the original White-Hut of the master S. Martin, the '*Louko-teiac*' at Poitiers. Paul the Briton continued to visit and to sustain some of the communities which he had organized in his early manhood, at a time of life when most men retire from strenuous work. He was about seventy years of age when he organized his best-known community at *Ty Gwyn ar Daf*;† but he at once handed over the care of the new 'family' to *Flewyn ap Ithel*, a continental Celt from '*Civitatibus Armorica*,' because of his Churches and

\* The author of *Chronicles of the Ancient British Church*.

† Known later as '*Bangor Ty Gwyn ar Daf*.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

Communities elsewhere, to which he was required to minister. His untiring vitality accounts for the range of his Church-foundations from the territories of the Britons to the territories of the Picts of Alba, where SS. Servanus, Mailoc, Dewi, Mairdoc, and other Britons, or British-trained missionaries, laboured in his day and afterwards. His foundations are found in the straths of the Lyon, the Tay, and the Earn. On the Lyon is *Beinn na Mhanach*, the monk's mountain, and *Ruighe Phâl'oc*, or, as locally pronounced, *Ruighe Phâldoc*, and interpreted as Paul's shieling-site, that is, where his *casula* stood. One of the little waterfalls on a burn flowing into the Lyon was '*Eas Phâldoc*,' and, what is more significant, another was *Eas 'Inian*, that is, S. Ninian's waterfall or water. In the Den of Moness at Aberfeldy on Tay was *Cathair Phâl'oc*, which in Gaelic is correctly translated by the present natives as '*Cas-tail Phâldoc*.'\* It indicates the site of Paul's or Pâldoc's *muinntir*, which, like the early Celtic religious settlements, was fortified.† At Dunning, one of the foundations of the historic S. Servanus

\* These details about the Lyon and Tay localities I owe to my session-clerk, Mr. Jas. Campbell, F.E.I.S., late schoolmaster at Helmsdale. He died at the age of ninety-four in 1915. He knew every yard of the Lyon and upper Tay valleys, which he ranged in his boyhood. He was born in Glenlyon, and was filled with old memories of the places and the people.

† When we find Christianity established in this district at this period, we can understand how the presence of S. Columba, the Gaidheal, on his political missions was resented in the locality, and can comprehend Dallan's boast that the Saint required 'to shut the mouths of the fierce ones at Tay.'



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

or Serf, the Briton, on the Burn of Dunning, was S. Pâldoc's Linn, where the local tradition is maintained that there S. Servanus or Serf baptized\* the converts. Incidentally, therefore, it is revealed in a flash, through the light from the Welsh annalists and the testimony of the face of Scotland, that the bishop who made the historical Servanus his 'assistant' † at Dunning and elsewhere was neither the mythical 'Palladius' of John of Fordun and Hector Boece, ‡ nor the historical Palladius whom Prosper of Aquitaine states § that the Roman bishop Celestine sent on an unsuccessful mission to the Irish; but, as we have seen, *Paul Hên*, the Briton, Ab and bishop, founder, among other places, of *Candida Casa*, on Tav in Caermarthen, first teacher of S. Dewi (David of Wales), continuator of S. Ninian's work in Pictland, whose name, given according to the various languages or dialects, is, as we have already noted, '*Pawl Hên*,' '*Peulan Hên*,' '*Pâldy*,' '*Pâldoc*,' and '*Paul the Aged*.' || In the *Litany of Dunkeld* and in the list of early Celtic Abbots

\* Adult baptism, of course, and historically more correct than the stories of infant baptism at this period which the fabulists give.

† Cf. Forbes, *Kalendars*, p. 445.

‡ Cf. Bellenden's *Boece*, *H. C. S.*, vol. i. book vii. cap. 18, p. 286.

§ In his *Chronicle*.

|| He is also described as '*o Fanau*,' that is, native of *Manau*, now Mannan. The old province name is preserved in '*Slamannan*.' The English fabulists who make him a disciple of Germanus are not far behind the Scotie and other fabulists.

In the *Martyrology of Tallagh*, at the 21st of May there is this entry, '*Monind ocus Polan*,' that is, Monenn or Nennio and Paul.

## THE PICTISH NATION

and Bishops the name of the unhistorical 'Palladius' has been put in the place of Paul the Aged, that is, between S. Ninian and S. Serf. It cannot however be other than evident that 'Páldy' of the Mearns or 'Páldoc' of Perthshire is not different from the name of Paul the Briton, with the Britonic suffix of endearment *oc* and the *d* of euphony.

When S. Dewi (David) was a boy sojourning with Paul the Aged in the early years of the sixth century, the venerable saint was unable to see him with his failing eyes, which fact gives opportunity to the fabulists to interpolate a miracle in which the boy Dewi revives his teacher's sight so that he is able to look 'once upon his pupil.' After spending some time with Paul the Aged, Dewi set out for the monastery, 'Rosnat.' It is now known, what S. Dewi's mediaeval biographers did not know, that 'Rosnat'\* was the name given by the Irish to Isle of Whithorn in Galloway, where S. Ninian's community was established. The Irish also knew, as their annalists state, that 'the other name' for the monastery of Rosnat was '*Alba* or White.' But Dewi's biographers make quite clear, although they did not know it, that the Rosnat to which Dewi went was *Candida Casa*; because they state that Dewi's father was warned in a dream at Cardigan to send an offering of honey, fish, and the dressed car-

\* The name has been already explained as Ros-Nan(t), the promontory or Headland of Ninian, otherwise the 'Isle-head' at Isle of Whithorn.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

case of a stag to the 'monastery of Manchan' on behalf of his son. Now 'Manchan,' the Little Monk, was the surname of Nennio, who was 'Master' at *Candida Casa* in the early part of the sixth century when Dewi went there. Among the pupils of Nennio or 'Manchan' at *Candida Casa* was the much venerated S. Endeus or Eany,\* and many others already noticed. It is further confirmed that *Candida Casa* was the school for which S. Dewi set out, and also that the mediaeval biographers possessed this information accurately, although they could not interpret it; because one of them states that the place to which S. Dewi made his way was 'the Isle of Whithorn.'† This is of course Isle of Whithorn. In their geographical ignorance, some of the mediaevalists proceeded from blunder to blunder. They decided, in order to get themselves out of the maze, that 'Rosnat' must mean S. Dewi's own monastery in 'the hollow' at S. David's, Pembroke, the only site connected with S. David of which they had apparently heard; and they suggested that this hollow had borne of yore the name '*Ros-nant*,' which, in course, they varied to '*Ros-dela*,' interpreting this 'Vale of Roses.' All this is characteristic mediaeval nonsense; the only good which came out of it was the preservation of the correct form 'Ros-Nan(t)' for the

\* He is believed to have died on the 21st of March 540.

† Alban Butler, with greater opportunities than the mediaevalists, turns this into 'Isle of Wight'!



## THE PICTISH NATION

headland of S. Ninian, Isle of Whithorn. Moreover, when S. Dewi did set out to organize a Community of his own, he did not settle at once at S. David's, Pembroke. He went first to a place which one of the saint's biographers gives as '*Vetus Mynyv.*' This is Old Mynyv, still '*Hên Fenyv,*' near Aberaeron in Cardigan, four miles from which is a Church bearing S. David's father's name, '*Llan-Non.*' Another place at which S. Dewi was during his training at *Candida Casa* was 'Glaston,' close to Whithorn, and the site where S. Ninian's cave-retreat was and is. The fabulists treat this as Glastonbury of Somerset, and construct elaborate myths in which S. Dewi is made to reside at Glastonbury, and, among other things, to dedicate there a Church to the 'Virgin Mary.' The facts are that, in spite of the multiplied fables of this religious house, there was no organized community at Glastonbury in S. Dewi's time; nor did the Britons *dedicate* their Churches at this period to the Virgin Mary or to any other saint. The fabulists also represent S. Dewi as a monarchic bishop and 'primus'; he was in fact an Ab and bishop of the Celtic type, presiding over a missionary *muinntir* which had branch organizations throughout the territories of the Britons and Brito-Pictish tribes. This is fully confirmed by a note in an old transcript of the laws of *Hwyl Dha*, which conveys that S. Dewi organized 'twelve' *muinntirs* in the Brito-

164

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

Pictish territories, and those among the *Demē-tae* were exempt from the king's tax.

S. LLOLAN, another Briton who laboured in the Forth area, is represented by the Scotie Churchmen of the fourteenth century as 'a nephew' of the unhistorical Servanus. He certainly took up the work of the historical Servanus or Serf, and taught and died at Kincardine-on-Forth. The true story of his life had been almost completely forgotten, and the fabulists invented a biography for him. A hand in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* attaches such absurd fables to his name that even a Bollandist editor\* was shocked, and wished them erased from the *Breviary*. The Scotie annalists dated him, after their manner, by the reign of one of their own princes, 'Duncan, † filius Conaill' king of Dalriada, who was slain by Aedhan A.D. 576. Aedhan had usurped the Dalriad throne under the patronage of S. Columba, and disposed of his rival, Duncan, at the battle of 'Teloch' in Cantyre. Challoner ‡ had some information which indicated that S. LloLAN was one of the bishops who came from *Candida Casa*.§ The lands of his *muinntir* called 'Croft LloLAN' were at Kincard-

\* ASS. tomus vi. sept. xxii.

† Duncan (Donnchadh) was grandson of Comghall, fourth King of Dalriada, and tried to maintain himself on the throne in face of Aedhan: but unsuccessfully.

‡ He makes the mistake of imagining that LloLAN lived in the time of the later King Duncan. Cf. *Memorial of British Piety*, p. 133.

§ One edition has 'Whitern,' another 'Whithorn.' It is stated that S. LloLAN had a Church-foundation near Broughton, Tweed-dale.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ine-on-Forth, where his *bachul* and bell were preserved. The old Earls of Perth were the custodians. The bell was still in existence in A.D. 1675.

S. BRIOC, a Briton, falls into this group of Britons, because he laboured among the Britons and Picts in the early sixth century, before the Celtic population of the south-west of what is now Scotland had been penetrated by Anglian raiders and settlers. His known Church-foundations were at Dunrod,\* Kirkcudbright; Rothesay; and '*Innis Brayoc*,' Montrose. He ought not to be confused with that other Briton, S. Brioc of Brieux in France. When the Gaidheals or Scots became dominant in the Church of Pictland their pronunciation and spelling of his name caused some of his foundations to be confused in later years with dedications to S. Brigid.

Two other missionaries in Pictland, whose names are still conspicuous in the Church, fall to be noted here, although it is now impossible to give exact dates for them. One is '*MOCHRIEHA*,' whose work lay along the rivers Don and Dee in Aberdeenshire; the other is the saint whose name is contained in the thirteenth-century spelling '*Lesmahago*,' that is, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire. S. '*Mochrieha*,' to take his name as preserved by the Celts of Deeside, founded one Church, among others, opposite Crook o' Don, near what after-

\* In the Roman Catholic period his foundation at Dunrod was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.



## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

wards became the city of Aberdeen; and the site of this Church became in later centuries the site of the Cathedral of Aberdeen. S. Mochriea's Cross\*—a conical stone with a primitive incised Greek cross similar to an example taken from S. Ninian's Cave at Glasserton—stands on the top of a tumulus among the hut circles and cairns of an ancient Pictish settlement, about two miles north-west of Aboyne. Here also is S. Mochriea's Well; and, before it was broken up and removed, stood the '*Cathair Mochriea*.' The name of this ancient Pictish settlement has been completely forgotten. It is overgrown with thick wood. The high ground behind is 'Baragowan,' and the wood 'Balnagowan Wood.' If there is any grain of historic truth in the folk-tale† of the miraculous bag of seed which S. Mochriea received from S. Ternan of Banchory, it probably lies in the indication of a working fellowship between the two saints. Every authentic detail relating to S. Mochriea was garbled by the conformed Gaidheals or Scots of the early Roman Catholic period, probably to secure precedence for Aberdeen over the ancient centre of the Pictish Church at Mortlach. Just as S. Drostan of Deer, a Briton, who lived

\* An account of this Cross is given by the minister of Aboyne in the *N.S.A. Scot.*; and a shrewdly written paper on the Cross and its situation is contributed by Professor Ogston to the *Transactions Scot. Ecc. Society*, 1912. This paper indicates most careful and accurate observation.

† A version of this tale is among the fables relating to S. 'Machar' in the *Breviary of Aberdeen*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

before S. Columba, was transformed into a disciple of S. Columba; so, also, S. Mochriea was represented by the Gaidheals as one of S. Columba's followers; and their legends proceed to add that he led a mission into Pictland. The scribe who invented that legend of a mission of Gaidheals was probably not aware that even S. Columba was prevented by the language difficulty from undertaking missions into Pictland; that when he visited the Pictish sovereign his interpreter was the greatest Pictish ecclesiastic of the period; that when he ministered to a Pict in the Dalriad area, he required the assistance of an interpreter; that the political relations between the Gaidheals and Picts in S. Columba's time precluded friendly intercourse and religious missions; and, finally, that Pictland, including the stretch of the Dee, had been more thoroughly christianized than S. Columba's own Dalriada, in his own time, by S. Ninian and his successor S. Ternan, who had established his Bangor on the Dee with its Church, its manuscript of the Gospels, and its school, at a time when S. Căranoc, S. Ninian's other pupil, was striving in Columba's native Donegal to win from paganism the very tribes of the Nialls from whom S. Columba in another and later century was born. S. Columba's disciples are known,\* and S. Mochriea is not among them, not even when we look for

\* They will be found conveniently in the notes of Dr. Reeves to Adamnan's *V.S.C.* p. 245.

## MEN WHO FOLLOWED NINIAN

him under the name 'Machar,' which the Latin Churchmen from the Lowlands gave him when they mistook the name of his Church-site on the '*Machair*' of Don for the saint's personal name, and latinized it as '*Macharius*' and as '*Mauritius*.' The late Dr. Reeves, who in this matter has even misled many who were in a position to know better, never entered on a more hopeless quest than when he set out to identify the saint of Aberdeen in the preserved list of S. Columba's disciples. His decision lighted on *Tochannu Mac-U-Fircetea*, whose surname he broke up, to suit his predilection, into the amazing form 'Mocufircetea'; and he identified '*Machar*' with '*Mocufir*.' Apart from the absurdity of this name, if the identification had held, it would have resulted in this saint being commemorated by a formal surname instead of by the Christian name, which was the constant practice of the Picts; although, in the case of S. Kentigern, the people substituted the pet name for the stately 'Kentigern' which had more befitted the civil dignity which he had rejected. The actual result of the hypothesis of Dr. Reeves has been that certain writers now make confusion worse confounded by referring to S. 'Machar' of Aberdeen as '*Tochannu*' or '*Dochannu*,' a name which belonged to a man of alien race in an alien Church.

Lesmahagow marks the site of a *Muinntir* which was governed by an Ab. The community

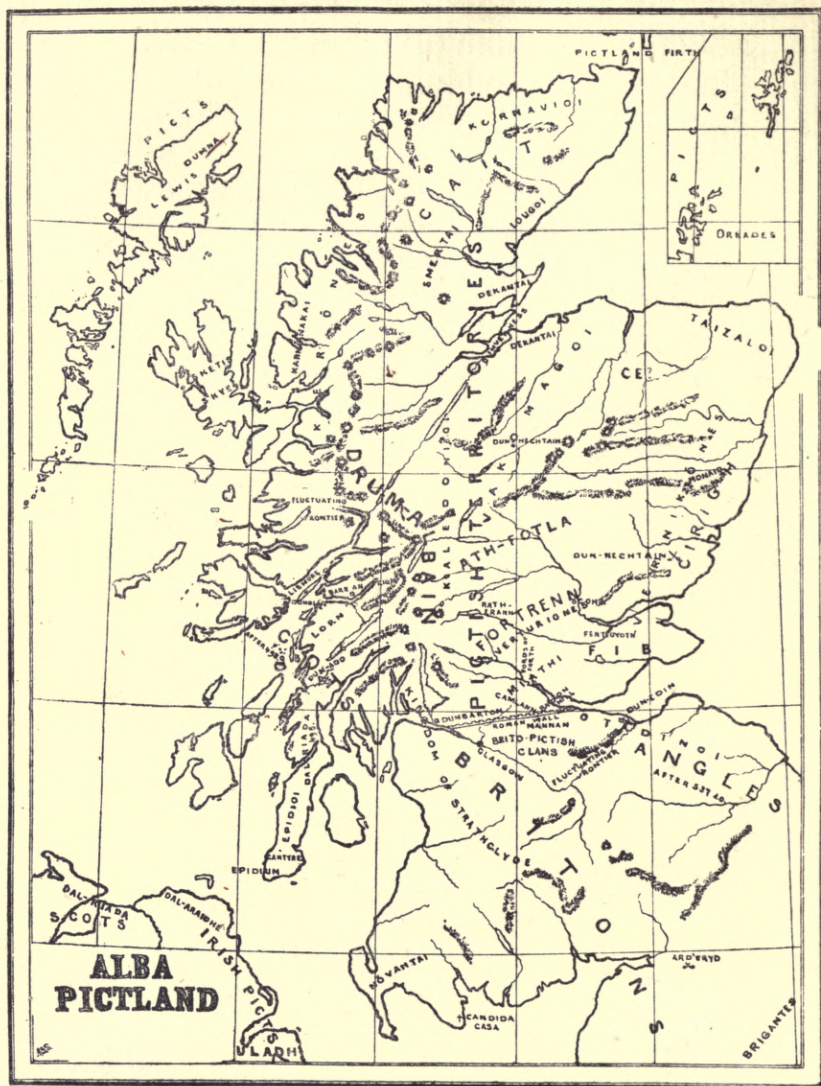


## THE PICTISH NATION

dates back to a time when this part of Lanarkshire was still Brito-Pictish, that is, before the northward advance of the Angles. The site-name suggests the foundation of an Irish Pict as in the instance of Lismore. The *g* in the second section of the place-name, which is also the name of the founder of the *Lis*, is Britonic, and renders the saint difficult of identification. In A.D. 1144 the Roman Churchmen glossed the saint's name as 'Mac-hutus,' presumably S. Brendan's disciple; but he certainly was not this S. Machute. Neither was he S. Maclou or Malow with whom he has also been identified. Extraordinary as it may seem, to any one but a Celt, the saint's name was probably *Aedhoc*, which with the honorific *mo* becomes *Mo-aedhoc*; giving the phonetics, with the euphonic *h*, *Mohaego*, which agrees with the locally accented pronunciation, and the forms 'Lesmahago' (c. 1130) and 'Lismago' (1298). The modern equivalent of the Celtic *Aed* is Hugh, and it is significant that at farms in the uplands of Lanarkshire, and certain districts of Ayrshire, the diminutive of Hugh still takes the form 'Hugoc.' Where the saint of Lesmahagow came from is nowhere indicated. Like many other British and Pictish missionaries of his period, whose names only are left, he remains to later generations, like Melchizedec, 'without father, without mother, without genealogy.'







To face p. 171.



# RACIAL, POLITICAL, AND OTHER CHANGES IN BRITAIN IN THE SIXTH CENTURY. THE EFFECT ON THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS, THE ORGANIZ- ING OF THE THREE CELTIC NATIONS CHAPTER NINE

WHEN S. Ninian, between A.D. 400 and A.D. 432, began to preach the Gospel to the Picts and to organize a Church, it would have been possible on a map to represent the political divisions of Britain by a single cross-country line. South of Antonine's Wall, the Forth and Clyde line, were the Celtic \* Britons who had submitted to the control of Imperial Rome; and who even after the legions had departed showed that they had assimilated something of the Imperial organization and culture. North of the Forth and Clyde line were the remainder of the Celtic Britons, organized in tribes or clans under chiefs or kings, all being federated under a Sovereign. These

\* The adjective is not used to imply that there were other Britons who were not Celts. It is used, in view of certain German and other arguments, to emphasize that the Britons were Celts and not 'Teutons.' If we ignore the aboriginal elements in Britain, it is clear to all save a few faddists and cranks that the Britons were Celtic speaking, Celtic in body, mind, and soul. They were sportsmen and fought like sportsmen, they were irrepressible talkers, they were fickle, jealous, and disunited. They were also reverent and chivalrous. They had little likeness to those silent, dour, cohesive, 'pitiless pagans' who entered the Humber about the middle of the fifth century, who were not content to fight with fighting men; but murdered the unarmed and defenceless, especially, as Bede tells us, the presbyters, bishops and Abs of the Celtic *muinntirs*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Britons north of the wall were mostly pastoral folk, hunters and fishers, sportsmen to a man, and invincible soldiers. They entered battle stripped, and from the *cruits*, or figures, tattooed on their smeared bodies, the C-using Celts called them '*Cruithne*,' and with this designation the Latin writers equated the name 'Pict.' As 'Picts,' the Britons who rejected the government and culture of Imperial Rome are best known.

The first sign that this political division would be disturbed was given shortly after A.D. 449, when three 'ships of war' arrived on the east coast of Britain, about the Humber, with Teutonic Angles from the swamps of the Elbe who had come to settle in the island. Soldiers of these Angles had already been invited to Britain, and had been hired by Vortigern, a Celtic Chief who was fighting for his own interests, and apparently for supremacy among the Celts. These mercenaries had found the land good, and the Celtic inhabitants weak, because disunited, as was their wont; so they sent for their kin to Schleswig, who steadily obeyed the summons until, as Bede states, that part of the Danish peninsula was 'deserted.'

The second sign was the arrival from Ireland in A.D. 498\* on the coast of Cantyre, in the west of Britain, of one hundred and fifty Gaidheals or

\* Calculated by Skene from the note of *Flann Mainistreach*. Tighernac notices the colonization under 501, in connection with the death of *Fergus Mor*, the Gaidhealic Chief.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

Scots, under the sons of Erc mac Muinreamhar, who proceeded to found the Gaidhealic or Scotie colony and kingdom which, afterwards, came to be known as 'Dalriada.' These Gaidheals or Scots carved out a place for themselves in the Cantyre limb of Pictland, not apparently without difficulty; because one of their pioneers and their second chief or 'king,' Fergus Mor, died in the third year of the colony. The colonists had left Ireland, because they had been crushed out. They had tried to find a resting-place on the shore-lands between the estuary of the Foyle and Fair Head; but the pressure on the south and west from their fellow-Gaidheals, and on the south and east from the Irish Picts, into whose Antrim territories they had intruded, was unbearable; and so on a momentous day they took ship for Cantyre, which they could see from their own shore through the sea-mist. These colonists did not at this time denounce their tribal or federal obligations in Ireland; but remained liable for tribute, for military service in Ireland, and subject to their tribal chief, or king, of the Gaidhealic family of Niall, who happened also, at the time, to be high-king, or sovereign, of Ireland. Their position in Cantyre also rendered them subject, whether they liked it or not, to the high-king, or sovereign, of Pictland of Alba. This double allegiance was obviously destined to bring trouble in the future, especially as these colonists of a proud aggress-



## THE PICTISH NATION

ive race were planning to be independent both of their Gaidhealic kin in Ireland, and of the Pictish sovereign whose uninvited guests they were.

The effect of these two invasions was that both flanks of Pictland of Alba were menaced. The Angles and Gaidheals began independently, and for a time acted unconsciously, the one of the other; and their methods were different. As the Angles expanded northwards from the Humber they smote down whoever obstructed them. The insidious Gaidheals advanced slowly, intruding themselves, peacefully where possible, into possession and power among the Picts of Argyll, and of the Southern Hebrides, without unduly alarming their hosts. The pressure of the Angles forced the Eastern Britons westward towards the Cambrian Mountains, the Pennine Hills, the mountains of south-western Scotland, and northward towards the Forth. The congestion thus set up was felt not only among the Britons of the west, but also, through reaction, among the Picts of the Forth and Clyde line. While the pressure of the Gaidheals or Scots on the Picts was at first indirect; the pressure of the Angles was always direct and patent.

The expansion of the ANGLES towards Pictland in the sixth century may thus be summed up. Ida the Angle organized his fellow-pagans A.D. 547 and founded an Anglian kingdom in Bernicia, with its capital at Bamborough. This dis-

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

trict the Britons had called 'Breenych.' The Bernician Kingdom stretched, on the east, from the Humber northwards, with an insecure shifting frontier towards the Firth of Forth. On the west\* the frontier varied according to the resistance of the Britons. Sometimes the Angles reached to the sea, and held the stretch of coast between the mouth of the Mersey and the head of Morecambe Bay; in order to cut off the Britons of Strathclyde and Cumbria from the Britons in what afterwards came to be known as Wales. From Morecambe the line of the Anglian frontier turned inland and followed the chain of the Pennines, crossed the Cheviots, skirted the eastern flanks of Hart Fell, Broad Law, and the Pentlands. Ida was slain in battle, A.D. 559, by Owain, father of S. Kentigern. Before Ida's time, however, in A.D. 537, † Angles as well as Gaidheals, the latter under a certain 'Gwydyon,' had been engaged, apparently as mercenaries, by Loth, otherwise Llewddyn Lueddag, and his rebel son Medraut ‡ in the battle of *Camlann* § *gu-*

\* Not to complicate this description the kingdom of Deira is ignored. It was not founded until after Ida's death, and later on it was reunited with Bernicia.

† Saxon and Welsh Additions to *Historia Britonum*. Cf. Skene, *Chronicles P. and S.* p. 14.

‡ This man headed a rebellion against the historical Arthur; although Arthur had rescued Loth and his lands in Lothian from an invasion of Angles and Saxons from the sea. Cf. Forbes, *Life of S. Kentigern*, Introduction, lxxv. Loth had married Arthur's sister.

§ This is now the unromantic Càmèlon near Falkirk. Not only were Arthur's opponents Loth and Medraut who ruled the Brito-Pictish tribes

## THE PICTISH NATION

*Ōtadin*,\* that is, Cámelon in the district of the *Ōtadini* in Pictland of Alba, where the historical Arthur and Medraut fell together in a fight to the death. The end of these men, who have figured in so many romances, is simply entered by *Nennius*, under A.D. 537, thus, '*Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruere.*' Vortigern was thus not the only Chief in Britain who had called in the Angles or their Saxon kin as mercenaries. Like him, the Brito-Pictish tribes in southern Pictland were to find them returning uninvited as conquerors. When Hussa, son of Ida, was ruling the Angles, A.D. 567-574, and directing them northward between Tweed and Forth, the Brito-Pictish tribes were thoroughly aroused against the Teutonic danger. Hussa was opposed by four tribal kings, Urien (Urbgen), grandfather of S. Kentigern, Rhydderch (Hên), both Britons, Guallauc and Morkan ('Morcant, grandson of Morcant Bulg'). Again, between A.D. 580 and 587, when Deodric, 'the Fire-spreader,' another son

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of the Lothians; but we are distinctly told that Arthur's soldiers were *Gwyr y Gogledd*, i.e. Men of the North. Cámelon is at the Roman Wall. Arthur was 'Gwledig' or 'Guletic,' that is, war-lord or sovereign of the tribes of the Britons, who in other matters were ruled by their chiefs or kings. Arthur's name was '*Artur map Uthr.*' Skene identifies Dunipace (*Dun y bass*, in the same locality as Cámelon), noted for its twin 'Basses,' as the scene of that other battle which Arthur fought called '*Bassas.*' Cf. *The Bass* of Urie, Inverurie.)

\* The *Ōtadini* were a British tribe which in Ptolemy's time lay between the Firth of Forth and the Tyne, and were neighbours of the *Brigantes*. In the fifth and early sixth century they had been pushed into the districts now represented by West Lothian and S.E. Stirlingshire.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

of Ida, was leading the Angles northward, he was opposed by Urien and his sons, one of the latter was Owain, who vanquished Ida. Some difference had arisen between Urien and his former confederates, because he and his family fought alone against the Angles. The expedition led him as far as the island 'Medcaut,' which was one of the Farne group, a short distance south-east of Tweedmouth. Either on the island, or returning from it, Urien was slain by his former ally Morkan who, as *Nennius* states, struck at Urien through envy, and because of the distinction which he had won in throwing back the Angles. This tragedy throws light upon Morkan's persecution of S. Kentigern at Glasgow. What the Angles Husa and Deodric had aimed at, their nephew Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, accomplished. He ravaged more of the territories of the Britons and of the tribes on the Brito-Pictish border than any Anglian raider before his time. He made good the subjugation of the Angles of Deira, and reigned over Bernicia and Deira from A.D. 594 to 617. He fixed the northern border of the Bernicians at the Firth of Forth and extended it to the west into Pictland as far as the present borders of West Lothian and Stirlingshire. Here he had to think of his rearguard. He evidently had aimed at driving a wedge of Angles behind Alcluyd (Dunbarton) to cut off the Strathclyde Britons from the Picts to the northward, and from

## THE PICTISH NATION

the Gaidheals or Scots to the westward, thus threatening Lennox and Argyll. This movement brought into the field Aedhan, king of the Dalriad Gaidheals or Scots, who was S. Columba's friend, whose mother was the daughter of a chief of the Britons in the south, who were at this time being persecuted by Ethelfrid's subjects. Aedhan had no desire to have a powerful neighbour like Ethelfrid on the eastern borders of Argyll. Besides, the presence of Angles on the eastern side of Drum-Alban meant that his own ambitions for territorial extension at the expense of the Picts would be frustrated. Aedhan offered no frontal opposition (he would have had the watchful Picts on his lines of communication), but, cunningly, with the aid of the fleet which he is known to have possessed, transported his army from Cantyre to the northern side of the Solway. He knew that region well. In A.D. 573 he had fought with certain Britons against Rhydderch of Strathclyde and Maelgon or Maelgwyn. His object was apparently to cross the territory of the Britons, to enter Bernicia far in the rear of Ethelfrid, and to strike at the very heart of the Anglian kingdom. It does not appear that Aedhan received any authorized assistance from the Strathclyde Britons, who had painful memories of him, and knew him, like the other Britons, as Aedhan 'the False.' Aedhan's expedition,\* like other ex-

\* Bede calls it 'This war' which Ethelfrid brought to an end in 603.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

peditions of the time, meant a campaign, not a single battle. Consequently the Gaidhealic annalists date it A.D. 600; but the battle of Degsa-stane which ended the campaign is dated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 603.\* The Gaidhealic annalists claim that Aedhan won. Bede states that at Degsa-stane, Theobald, Ethelfrid's brother, was killed with almost all the forces which he commanded; but that Aedhan fled from the field with only 'a few followers,' leaving his third son Domhangart among the slain. Degsa-stane is now Dawstane Rig in Liddesdale. This expedition exhibits Aedhan as a most competent and enterprising military leader. He had also sufficient political insight to realize that the unchecked advance of Ethelfrid and his Angles into Pictland meant the death of all Gaidhealic or Scotie hopes that the Gaidheals themselves would one day penetrate and dominate Pictland. Ethelfrid and Aedhan were well matched. Both were foreign, pitiless, blood-thirsty savages, and it is difficult to say which the Britons and Picts regarded as the worse. Ethelfrid had been a brutal foe from the beginning of his career; but Aedhan had once received protection from the Britons, and had grown up amid their friendship and hospitality. Bede, adopting the view of his Roman Catholic predecessors, thoroughly ap-

\* The Phillipp MS. of the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, as edited, also gives the date 603.



## THE PICTISH NATION

proved of Ethelfrid's treatment of the Britons and Picts; and regarded him as an instrument of the Lord, 'like Saul of old, save only in this, that he was ignorant of Divine religion,'\* whose mission was to murder and pillage among the Britons. Aedhan also had been regarded as the Lord's instrument by S. Columba, who had anointed and blessed him in his mission, to reinstate the Gaidheals or Scots in the west of Pictland, and to hew down Briton, Pict, or Angle who should dare to block the way.

Ethelfrid is responsible, along with his instigators, for a massacre of Celtic clerics belonging to the Church of the Britons which is still regarded with horror. About ten years after the campaign which finished at Degsa-stane, he set out to do among the Britons on the west of what is now England what he had tried to do in the north. He planned to separate the Britons to the southward from those on the northward. With this object in view, he determined to make effective the settlement of Angles from Deira, in the region between the Mersey and the head of Morecambe Bay. This resulted in a battle between the Britons and himself at 'Legacaester' (Chester) A.D. 613.† The Britons were led by Brocmael, about whom

\* Bede's *H.E.G.A.* book i. cap. xxiv. and lib. ii. cap. ii.

† This is the date in the *Annales Cambriae*. Bede gives no exact date, but indicates that it was some time after the death of Augustine of Kent which took place about 604 or 605. Others give the date of this battle as 616.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

nothing is known. In a place of comparative safety, 'apart' from the British host, an assembly of British clerics gathered to encourage the British soldiers. They were mostly, as Bede states, from the Celtic *muinntir* of the Bangor of S. Dunod (Donatus). This was '*Bangor Vawr y Maelor*' situated on the Dee between Malpas and Wrexham. It was also known as '*Bangor Iscoed*.'\* This *muinntir*, in the beginning of the seventh century, numbered two thousand one hundred, all consecrated to a simple life of Christian devotion and learning, with a view to keeping alive the Faith of Christ among the Britons, and helping to keep up the supply of a ministry to the numerous mission outposts in the island. This goodly company was governed by seven Abs or superintendents who ruled groups of three hundred each. Before the battle of Legacaester these clerics had fasted three days, and in their anxiety many went to the battle area; and, standing away from the fighting men, prayed for the success of the British arms. They knew that continued safety to a large section of the Church of the Britons, and continued independence to many of the British tribes depended on the battle. When the cynical Ethelfrid saw these men trembling and interceding before Heaven, for home, and Church, and freedom; he inquired who they were. Being told that they

\* It was founded by S. Dunod map Pabo, Deiniol Cynwyl, and Gwarthan, on lands granted by Cyngen, Chief of Powis.



## THE PICTISH NATION

were the Christian ministers of the Britons, engaged in intercession, he replied, in words that Bede has preserved, 'Seeing they entreat their God, though they are unarmed; they in truth war against us, because they invoke curses upon us.' Probably Ethelfrid slandered those gentle Churchmen who belonged to a Church which possessed hardly a single martyr until the Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Scandinavians made them in battalions, after they had established themselves in Britain. Ethelfrid, on this occasion, gave the Church of the Britons about twelve hundred martyrs in one day. Bede puts it, 'about twelve hundred who came to pray on that day were killed, as is related, and only fifty escaped in flight.' When Ethelfrid had drawn up his men in battle array he kept enough to contain the British soldiers and detached a section to hack and stab among the unarmed clergy. The dismay and panic which this horror created among the soldiers of the Britons lost them the battle, and Brocmael fled defeated.\*

Something more than suspicion rests upon the Anglican Roman Catholic Mission with respect to this massacre of Christian ministers. When Augustine of Kent had arranged the conference with the Celtic clergy, *c.* A.D. 603, at 'the Oak' on the borders of 'the Hwiccas and West Saxons'; it was from this same Bangor of S. Dunod that

\* Bede's *H. E. G. A.* lib. ii. cap. ii.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

'seven bishops of the Britons, men of great learning,' went forth to hear what the Roman bishop wished to say. Augustine demanded that the Celtic Church should keep Easter at the Roman date, that the clergy should administer the sacrament of baptism in the Roman manner, that the Celtic Clergy should join the Roman missionaries in preaching to their ferocious foes the Angles; and, as a reward, he offered to tolerate any other differences. Before the Celtic deputies from S. Dunod's set out from their community, they had gone to their *Disert* where 'a certain holy and discreet superior,' probably S. Dunod himself, was living. They asked how they should treat Augustine's overtures. 'If he is a man of God; follow him,' said their adviser. 'How shall we know that?' they asked. He replied: 'Our Lord saith, Take my yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart: if, therefore, Augustine is meek and lowly in heart, it is to be believed that he bears the yoke of Christ himself, and offers it to you to bear. But, if he is harsh and proud; it is plain that he is not of God, nor are we to regard his words.' 'Arrange,' continued their adviser, 'that Augustine should arrive first with his company at the place of the Synod. If, at your approach, he rises up to greet you; hear him submissively, being assured that he is the servant of Christ; but if he despises you, and does not rise to greet you, although you

## THE PICTISH NATION

represent the majority; let him be despised by you.'\*

Augustine enthroned on a chair received the Celtic bishops and presbyters without rising; and made a bad impression. When he had presented his demands, the Celtic Churchmen refused assent. Whereupon Augustine, according to Bede's information, 'prophesied,' or threatened, that as they would not accept peace in the Church on his terms they must be prepared for war; and as they would not preach 'the way of life,' he meant the Roman Catholic way, to the savage Angles, *they would receive death at their hands*. These clerical prophecies or threats had always a way of fulfilling themselves, whether made to the continental Celts and fulfilled by the savage Merovingian instruments of Rome; or made in Britain and fulfilled by the equally savage Angles and Saxons. Bede exhibits the view that his predecessors in the Roman Mission took of the martyrdom of the clergy of the Bangor of S. Dunod, who had refused Augustine's demands, when he vigorously libels and castigates the whole Celtic Church, referring to Ethelfrid's massacre as 'the slaughter of that heretical nation,' and to the British soldiers as their 'impious army.' But Bede actually knew better. He knew how the Celtic ministers lived, and taught, and preached to all who would receive them in peace. He could not

\* Bede's *H. E. G. A.* lib. ii. cap. ii.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

but know of the conversion of a whole 'nation' of the Angles, '*Ambrones*,' that is Umbrones or Umbrians by *Rum map Urbgen*, a Briton. He himself has preserved for us a sacred description of the holy life of a Celtic *muinntir*, and its bishop, Colman the Gaidheal, which takes the mind back to the sanctity, simplicity, and reality of the religious life of the first apostles.\* Yet he rounds off his reference to the tragic massacre by Ethelfrid with this apparently pious reflection, 'Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the holy bishop Augustine (of Kent), though he himself had, sometime before, been taken up into the heavenly kingdom, namely that the heretics should suffer also the vengeance of temporal death; because they had despised the offer of life eternal.' More accurately, the British Christians had refused to conform to the ways of the Roman mission on the demand of Augustine, or to alter times and seasons, or to give up methods or organization, Church government, and administration of the Sacraments, all of which had been regular and orthodox before the Church which Augustine represented, so often itself unorthodox, had arrogated to itself the power to demand uniformity in non-essentials from Churches that had been influencing the western world before the Roman Church was other than parochial.

It is now possible to trace the movements on

\* Bede's *H.E.G.A.* lib. iii. cap. 26.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the British side which led to the isolation of the Britons of the north from those in the south, and to the organization in the sixth century of the kingdom of the BRITONS OF STRATHCLYDE with its capital at Alcluyd,\* now Dunbarton. Its northern border was the south-western border of Pictland along the line of the Lennox hills, its southern border was near the head of Morecambe Bay, its eastern border was the Anglian frontier-line from the Pentlands to the Pennines, and, on the west, it touched the sea. It is necessary to keep continually in mind that the isolation of this kingdom was the successful result of Anglian strategy; and that this isolation was followed by Anglian tactics which aimed at weakening, raiding, and piercing the British territory whenever opportunity offered, so that it could be annexed piece by piece. These Anglian manœuvres also resulted in the cutting of direct communications between the mother-Church at *Candida Casa* and its daughter-Churches, and also separated it from sister-Churches among the Britons, in what afterwards became Wales, and South Cornwall. Moreover, as the isolation of the Strathclyde Britons left them to a great extent at the mercy of the political aggression of the Angles; so, also, after the Roman mission had put the seal of Roman baptism and the name 'Christian' upon

\* That is the Rock of Clyde. 'Dunbarton' is, of course, a corruption of *Dun-Briton*, Fortress of the Britons.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

the Angles by the hand of Paulinus of York, A.D. 625-627, twelve years after Ethelfrid and the Angles had massacred the British saints at Chester, *Candida Casa* and some of its daughter-Churches were at the mercy of the propaganda of these new Anglian Roman Catholics supported by Anglian soldiers.

When the last of the Imperial Roman legions retired from Britain A.D. 410, the Britons had been left without rulers and administrators. They were left with empty forts in garrison cities, and law-courts from which the judges had fled. They still had the market-towns, the Roman and native coinage, excellent roads, the spas and health resorts, most of the comforts, and many of the luxuries of Latin civilization. Some of the Britons, as the Roman soldiers knew to their cost, had retained the old Celtic military spirit, and worried the garrisons. Others, in the occupied districts, who refused to settle down to the arts of peace, had been taken into the Imperial army and sent abroad. The greater part of the British Celts, however, had been transformed into city-dwellers, traders, and farmers. Let any one look at Ptolemy's list of towns in Britain, or at the city names given in the *Antonine Itinerary*, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, or by the *Ravenna Geographer*, and he will realize at a glance the extent to which the Britons of the Imperial territory had become dwellers in cities; and it will also be borne in upon



## THE PICTISH NATION

him how completely the Romans had shattered the ancient clan organizations of the Britons, and had substituted the control of the pro-consul for the patriarchal government of the British chiefs. He will also understand how helpless the Britons were left, with respect to protection against external enemies, enforcement of law and order within, or the setting up of authority that would be universally respected, when the Roman authority ceased with the recall of the legions, A.D. 410. In A.D. 368 the Picts of Alba, and the recalcitrant British tribes whom the Romans had driven in upon them had marched to the gates of London. After A.D. 410, they again began to press steadily southward. The shadows of the Teuton savages in their *ceols* had already, before A.D. 449, been thrown on the east coasts of Britain by the rising sun. The Gaidheals or Scots had not then crossed to Cantyre; but, congested behind the Irish Picts, their clansmen were ready to sell their swords to any adventurer; and, besides, about this time they were looking out for territory beyond Ireland in which their surplus population could settle. Surely there could not be a more melancholy indication of how trade and luxury and tutelage can emasculate even a martial people, who had once taxed the utmost power of the Caesars, than the pitiful letter from the Britons, *c.* A.D. 446, to the Roman consul Aetius, the destined victor of Châlons,

188



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

while he was in Gaul, shepherding back Attila and his Huns beyond the sources of the Marne. Bede has preserved the lamentation that was expected to wring help from the consul of their former masters. 'The barbarians drive us into the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians: between them we are faced with two forms of death; we are either slaughtered or drowned.' Already in the first half of the fifth century these feeble Britons were driven from the Roman cities back to the wildernesses in which their fathers had been made strong. The former garrison towns, market towns, and grain-store towns were left desolate, and the fine Roman roads took on the dust and grass that have never since been scraped from some of them.

In this extremity certain northern Britons came forward who were made of sterner stuff than the writers of the letter to Aetius. They had a clear idea that unity as well as valour was necessary to save the British people. They consented to the election of a chief who would be over all the clan chiefs and who would act as war-lord and *sovereign*. This ruler was known by the native title, *Gwledig*; or, as the Gaidheals wrote it, '*Guletic*,'\* which indicates sovereignty. One of the first aspirants to the sovereignty of the Britons in these leaderless days was Vortigern † (Great-lord), the chief of the Britons in the mid-

\* It was the title which the Britons gave in Roman times to the usurper Maximus (383).

† c. A.D. 449.

## THE PICTISH NATION

lands of what is now England, who invited the Angles from across the North Sea to help him against the more virile British and Pictish clansmen of the north. His aspirations were clearly disappointed; because the first name in the *Historia Britonum* associated with the title 'Guletic' is Ceredig. He is the Coroticus to whom the historical S. Patrick addressed his querulous and wrathful letter. It is important to note, as has been pointed out, because it indicates the part of Britain with which Patrick was acquainted, that the friends of Coroticus or 'Ceretic' are of British and Roman descent, as is but natural, and his army 'Picti,'\* living to the north and east of the Clyde, whom Patrick in his orthodox wrath calls 'apostatatae.' This letter was written between 432 and 459 A.D. and indicates the period of Ceredig. That Ceredig ruled the Pictish and British tribes from the Forth and Clyde area southwards is put beyond all doubt by what is told about his successor in the sovereignty, Cuned-og, or 'Cinuit,' his son. In the reliable genealogies of the Britons in the *Historia Britonum* he is entered 'Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic.' In another entry it is explained how he migrated from *Manau gu-Ōtadin*, that is, from the district now represented

\* Prof. Zimmer brackets *Scotti* with *Picti* in the *Clyde region* in the time of Coroticus. They did not settle in the *Clyde region* until 498. In the time of Coroticus the Gaidheals or Scots were in Ireland, but always ready to send armed men over to the British mainland when fighting or plunder or both were possible.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

by the south-east corner of Stirlingshire, West Lothian and the Edinburgh area, into what is now North Wales,\* in the fifth century. He found on his arrival that a colony of Gaidheals or Scots from Ireland, taking advantage of the leaderless state of the Britons, had settled there. Cunedog with his sons immediately drove them out of Wales, with great slaughter; and the narrator states 'on no occasion did they return a second time for the purpose of settling.' This definite historical note deserves the attention of those who, basing on the fabulists of Glastonbury, believe that Gaidheals or Scots settled in Wales in numbers sufficient to influence its history. Cunedog was the second of his family to hold the sovereignty of the British chiefs. Some time after A.D. 449, as Bede states, a Briton of Roman descent, Ambrosius Aurelianus had been chosen sovereign of the Britons; and, for a short time, led his countrymen with success against the invading Angles. In the beginning of the sixth century *Arthur map Uthr*, the historical Arthur, led the Britons as sovereign until he fell, A.D. 537, at the battle of C  melon in Stirlingshire, in combat with the 'traitor and rebel' Medraut ('Modred'). In connection with Arthur, the locality of his death goes to confirm the British annalists who state distinctly, in opposi-

\* Called 'Gwendote,' that in the Britonic form is *Gwynedd*. Latin writers put it as *Venedotia*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

tion to the indications of the Romances, that Arthur's soldiers were drawn from the *Gwyr y Gogledd*, Men of the North, who were of the same tribes, and from the same localities, as the fighting men of his predecessors Ceredig and Cunedog. It is certain that they did not come from the spiritless Britons of the South who wrote to Aetius. Medraut was a 'rebel'; because the rising which he headed was mainly directed against Arthur's position as *Guletic* to which Medraut's father Loth or 'Llewddyn Lueddag' as king of the Brito-Pictish tribes in Lothian had presumably consented. He was Arthur's brother-in-law, and although he pretended to stand aloof from his son's rebellion, he allowed his people to take the field. Medraut was also a 'traitor,' because he had called to his assistance the Angles, the enemies of the Britons, whom Arthur was beating back.

Theoretically the position of *Guletic* was given by election; but after Arthur fell, A.D. 537, the sovereign, so long as the office continued, required to assert his control by force of arms. This was certainly the experience of 'Maelgon' or Maelgwyn.\* The earlier authorities possessed some information indicating that after Arthur's death Constantine, king of the *Dumnonii* (Devon

\* There are other dialectal variants. The Latin writers actually achieved 'Maglocunus.' Cf. Forbes, *Lives of SS. Ninian and Kentigern*, p. lxx.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

and Cornwall), was called to the sovereignty of the Britons. Although Matthew of Westminster credits him with disposing of the two sons of Medraut of Lothian, who had continued their father's rebellion, his control of the British league could only have been nominal, because he resigned after 'three years.' Maelgon, on the other hand, enforced control, even deposing factious chiefs, as Gildas indicates. Maelgon was one of the descendants in the direct line from Ceredig and Cunedog, and was one of their successors in the kingdom of North Wales, which suggests that this Brito-Pictish family regarded themselves as possessing a preference to the sovereignty. Gildas calls Maelgon '*insularis Draco*' which was a title, veiling, in this instance, a sneer. The *insula*, of course, was Britain. The '*Draco*' was a poetical way of referring to the sovereigns who claimed succession to the Imperial Roman control and military leadership; and so the right to have carried before them in battle, the purple *draco* of Caesar's generals. But as Gildas was upbraiding Maelgon that he had deprived other chiefs of the Britons of their territories and lives, and had abused his position as sovereign; the sting of this poetical title in satirical prose was that Maelgon was exhibited as an island-monster to his fellow-countrymen. True, Maelgon\* was a pagan; but, in spite of Gildas, he

\* By a not unusual type of copyist's blunder in the MS. of the *Annales*

## THE PICTISH NATION

was far-seeing, tolerant, firm, the type of ruler needed by a people who so frequently refused to sink their tribal jealousies and to unify against the implacable Angles. Maelgon's tolerance and interest in good work are seen in his confirmation of Llan-Elwy to S. Kentigern during the saint's exile *c.* 567; his statesmanship in the assistance which he gave to the victorious Christian chief of the northern Britons, Rhydderch of Strathclyde, during the campaign which ended at Ard'eryd (Arthuret) near Carlisle A.D. 573,\* even allowing for the fact that Rhydderch like himself was one of the descendants of Ceredig Guletic. Maelgon knew that the policy of the Angles to wedge the Britons apart necessitated the maintenance of a powerful ruler in Strathclyde. He also knew how to meet the desires of his Christian subjects, when he decided that S. David (*Dewi*) on his death, A.D. 589, should be buried in his own

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*Cambriae* Maelgon's death is entered at the year when he began to reign in his own kingdom, namely, 547. Bishop Forbes has already pointed out this, in his *Life of Kentigern*, p. lxx.

According to Lhuyd, Lanigan, and others, Maelgon became sovereign of *all* the Britons *c.* 560. There is evidence that his claims had been put forward when he entered into his own kingdom; although they were not recognized until later. Maelgon's predecessor, Caswallawn, was evidently Constantine's rival for the sovereignty when the latter resigned *c.* 540.

Maelgon's death took place, according to the best authorities, *c.* 590; and he appears to have died an unusually old man for a British chief. This period certainly agrees with the statement in the *Historia Britonum* that Cunedog, Maelgon's ancestor,<sup>1</sup> left the Firth of Forth-region to take over the rule of North Wales 146 years before the end of Maelgon's reign.

\* This is the date in the Harleian MS. *Chronicle*. Dr. Reeves puts this battle in 577 to support his idea that it took place *after* Aedhan became king of Dalriada.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

Church at *Mynyv*.

The campaign of Ard'eryd, just alluded to, brought about political rearrangements that were most favourable to the Christians among the Britons; and settled who, under Maelgon's sovereignty, was to hold the hegemony of the Britons between Lennox and Morecambe. The war was really a civil war among Britons. The clans of the Britons on the East had been driven in upon their brethren on the west by Hussa and his Angles. The jurisdiction of various British chiefs was confused on the West, all the way from the Penines to the Pentlands. The struggle first arose over a trivial dispute about boundaries which gave rise to the ancient satire that the cause of Ard'eryd was a quarrel about 'the ownership of a lark's nest.'\* The war became serious enough. The following chiefs of the Britons were concerned in it: Rhydderch† map Tudgual,‡ known as *Hael*, the Liberal, a Christian, who ruled at Dunbarton; Urien (Urbgen map Cinmarc), paternal grandfather of S. Kentigern, whose territory contained parts of Kyle, Clydesdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and extended eastwards to the territory of the Angles who constantly harassed him; Mor-

\* So it is stated in the *Triads*.

† The Welsh state that he also possessed lands between the Towy and the Neath in S. Wales. Rhydderch in later years was also known as '*Hên*,' the Old.

‡ Tudgual's uncle was Cinbelin, the original of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, 'King of Britain.' Outside poetry, he was a king of the Britons.

## THE PICTISH NATION

kan (Morcant map Coledauc) who, *c.* A.D. 567, when he persecuted S. Kentigern, ruled at Glasgow, and to the northward and eastward; Guallauc ('*Hywel*') map Laenauc, brother of S. Gildas. Guallauc had fought with Rhydderch against Hussa and the Angles. Urien, Guallauc, and Morkan were all descended from Coyl Hên, a local king of the Britons, of whose territories Ayrshire had formed part; whereas Rhydderch was descended from Ceredig and Cunedog who both had been sovereigns of all the Britons. Clinog Eitin, that is, of 'Eiddyn' (Eid-dun), now Edinburgh, a relation of Rhydderch, was also contemporary with him; and about the time of Ard'eryd had been much pressed by Hussa and his Angles. Finally, there was Gwenddolen map Ceidian who ruled in the Solway region and southwards. He adhered to the paganism of the Celts, encouraged the native bards, and was ostentatiously anti-Christian. He, however, does not appear to have imposed any sufferings on the clerics of the Britons. The trivial border dispute which led to Ard'eryd, grew until the contest became a life and death struggle between Celtic paganism supported by the rulers and bards of one section of the Britons; and Christianity supported by the most distinguished of the British chiefs, Rhydderch the Liberal and his people. Selfish political considerations attracted some Christians to the pagan side; and some pagans

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

to the Christian side. Rhydderch had assisted the chiefs of his own house, and the chiefs of the other British house of Coyl Hên, already named, against Husa the Angle; they in return now assisted him against his internal enemies, and are referred to by the bards as 'the chiefs of Rhydderch.' Gwenddolen the pagan and his forces were assisted by the Angles, who were delighted to take a hand in helping the Britons to destroy one another; and by Aedhan,\* the Gaidheal or Scot, a professed Christian, and his clansmen. Aedhan was at this time an exile from Dalriada and a guest of the Britons. He was considered to have dishonoured his sword, and to have disgraced his Christian name at Ard'eryd; and for his ingratitude then, and his hostility to Rhydderch, the Christian champion,† at a later time, even the bards stigmatized him as 'the False,' or 'the Traitor.'‡ Rhydderch's success at Ard'eryd was not what Aedhan had expected; and at the close of the campaign he found it prudent to flee from the people who had adopted him, and he became once more a wanderer. It was in this

\* Cf. Reeves, Adamnan's *V.S.C.* p. 44, note e.

† The bards honour him as *Rwyfador Ffydd*, i.e. Champion of the Faith.

‡ Bishop Forbes, with perversity hard to explain, represents Aedhan as the 'Christian champion,' and states that Aedhan 'conquers Gwenddolen.' (See his *Life of S. Kentigern*, p. lxxvii). On pp. 360 and 361, he holds up Chalmers (*Caledonia*) to derision, and charges him with perverting the Welsh annals, because, like Dr. Reeves, he pointed out that Aedhan was *opposed* to Rhydderch. Chalmers on this matter was right, and Bishop Forbes wrong, and several have followed him in his error.



## THE PICTISH NATION

plight that S. Columba received him in Dalriada; and when the throne of Dalriada became vacant, A.D. 574, the year after Ard'eryd, S. Columba broke the law of succession, ignored king Donnchadh ('Duncan')\* and the other sons of the deceased king Conaill of the senior royal house of Comghall; and, at the cost of civil war among his fellow-Gaidheals or Scots ordained Aedhan 'the False,' of the house of Gabhran, to the Dalriad throne. Aedhan fared better than many with whom he was allied, in escaping from Ard'eryd. Gwenddolen was slain. Myrdinn (Llallogan) the bard, his counsellor, who wore the 'golden torques'† of royal favour at the battle, went mad. Gwenddolen's clan continued to fight after their allies had accepted defeat, keeping up the struggle for forty-six days in a vain effort to revenge their master. There had been one critical period in the main action when the struggle looked ill for Rhydderch; but the forces of Maelgon, the sovereign, suddenly appeared on the scene coming to the aid of Rhydderch. The duet of the bards in the *Black Book of Caermarthen* has the lines—

Fortunate was it that the host of Maelgon came  
Hewing down the fighting men, ploughing the bloody field  
Of Ard'eryd's fight.

The political results of the campaign of Ar-

\* Donnchadh fell in the war, raised to keep him on the throne, in 576.

† In the *Avellanau*.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

d'eryd were, the constitution of the federated clans and chiefs of the Britons of the north, not conquered by the Angles, into one kingdom under the sovereign control of Rhydderch of Strathclyde who became independent, except for the nominal suzerainty of Maelgon of North Wales, sovereign of all the Britons; the acquisition by Rhydderch of the lands of Gwenddolen in the Galloway-Cumbria region which became an extension of the Strathclyde kingdom, although as early as the end of the sixth century it had been liable to raids by the Angles on the east; the establishment of a united people in the Clyde region who barred the westward progress of the Angles, and the eastward progress of the Gaidheals or Scots from Cantyre and the southern Hebrides. The ecclesiastical results of Ard'eryd were that centres of Christian activity at *Candida Casa* and Glasgow, and the territorial daughter-Churches founded by the missionary Britons, came to be included together in the dominions of a confessed Christian king; and one of the earliest acts of Rhydderch as sovereign was to recall S. Kentigern from Llan-Elwy, in Maelgon's kingdom, to his own kingdom, where he reinstated him, first at 'Holdelm,' now Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, and finally at Glasgow, S. Kentigern's original seat. Rhydderch was thus the *first Christian sovereign in the island of Britain who regarded the Christian Church in his dominions as national;*



## THE PICTISH NATION

and the *first\** to establish this national, as distinguished from a tribal Church, under the protection of a sovereign monarch and his government. The date of these events is also that of Rhydderch's accession to the enlarged kingdom which he ruled from his capital of Alcluyd or Dunbarton, A.D. 573 to 601.

Joceline introduces into his version of the *Life of S. Kentigern* a statement that Rhydderch was baptized in Ireland 'by the disciples of S. Patrick.'† The disciples of the historical Patrick, of whom a list survives, were dead before Rhydderch was born. But the statement bears signs on its face that it is precisely one of those inventions which Joceline was employed by the Roman Catholic prelates of Armagh and Glasgow to introduce into the old biographies; in order that the Churchmen of the Britons might be brought into apparent harmony, on paper, with Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Rhydderch was baptized, writes Joceline, 'in the most Christian manner,' that is Joceline's way of saying, not according to the practice of the Celtic Church, which differed from the practice of the Roman Catholic

\* Other kings of the Britons had been unofficially kind to the Church of the Britons long before Rhydderch's time. S. Căranoc, a prince of the house of Ceredig, the sovereign, became a pupil and successor of S. Ninian. Nectan, the Pictish sovereign, helped S. Buidhe. Bede, the chief of Buchan, helped S. Drostan. The historical Arthur was a Christian. These kindnesses, however, were personal and local, and granted at a time when many of the rulers were still pagans.

† *V.S.K.* cap. xxix.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

Church. The early prelates of the Roman Catholic See of Armagh, in promoting their claims to primacy, systematically connected every possible ecclesiastical event with that See, and the early Roman Catholic prelates of Glasgow, in promoting the claims of their See over *Candida Casa* and against York, strove to erase from history all memory of the organized Church of the Britons before S. Kentigern, whom they represented as a Roman Catholic. Joceline was one of their known literary agents in this manipulation of history, and his handiwork survives in a *Life of*, the unhistorical, *S. Patrick*, and in a *Life of S. Kentigern*, which is a garbled and elaborated form of the *Old Life*, which he held in his hands. The historical truth about Rhydderch is that there was no need whatever that he should go to Ireland to seek baptism. The Church of the Britons and Picts was organized in Lennox, as has been stated, long before Rhydderch was born, by the workers sent thither by S. Ailbhe the Irish Pict. The Britons, SS. Cadoc, Machan, and Gildas, were ministering in the neighbourhood of Alcluyd or Dunbarton, when Rhydderch was young; and S. Gildas was actually a citizen of Alcluyd, at the service of Rhydderch's father, as well as a fellow-worker with S. Cadoc. Moreover, the historical Servanus, S. Kentigern's foster-father, had been labouring in the city of Alcluyd, had founded a Church there, and Rhyd-

## THE PICTISH NATION

derch's brother\* bore this saint's name, in the fashion, frequent among all Christian Celts from the earliest times, of bestowing the baptizing saint's name upon his spiritual son. These particulars were deliberately suppressed, or as in the case of S. Servanus, perverted by the Gaidhealic or Scotie Churchmen of the early Roman Catholic period.

In tracing the displacement of the native Britons during the sixth century, and the expansion of the Teutonic Angles, glimpses have occurred of the GAIDHEALS OR SCOTS. These Celts crossed the North Channel to Cantyre, as has been noted, A.D. 498, from Ireland (the original 'Scotia'). They had moved up from the north-west of Ireland, and had tried to get a settlement in Irish Dalriada before they embarked for their new home, which, through their presence, came also to be called Dalriada. The ancient Pictish name of Cantyre was '*Epidium*,' which the Gaidheals or Scots pronounced *Echidium*,† because they spelled it so. Earlier in the fifth century the Gaidheals or Scots had nearly effected a settlement in North Wales, but Cunedog,‡ who became 'Guletic' of the Britons, left the Forth re-

\* See the pedigree in the Hengwrt MSS.

† Prof. Kuno Meyer's discovery.

‡ Although this powerful leader and his men issued from the Forth region in Pictish territory, it ought not to be forgotten that they were returning to their own *ancestral* regions. Their ancestors were the powerful *Brigantes*, who with the *Ōtadini* had been driven north of Antonine's wall by the Romans.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

gion of Pictland of Alba, and he and his sons drove them out, and regained possession of that part of Britain. When the Gaidheals or Scots made good their footing in Cantyre, 'Drust Gurt-hinmoc\* (480-510) was sovereign of Pictland of Alba. It is not clear how his subject clans of the western (Bede's northern) Picts received the invading Gaidheals or Scots, of whom at first there were only 'three times fifty men.'† The *Chronicle of the Scots*‡ states that the Gaidheals 'took'§ land for a 'kingdom.' It is significant of local Pictish opposition that *Loarn Mor*, their first chief or 'king,' disappears from history after the seizure, and Fergus Mor, their second chief, meets his death in the third year of his leadership. The Gaidheals or Scots, however, understood their precarious position, even with the support of their Irish kin behind them; and so they aimed at *peaceful* penetration of western (Bede's northern) Pictland as far as possible. Before many years had passed they had control of what is now Knapdale, as well as Cantyre, and their capital was a strongly fortified site at Dun-Add, just north of the isthmus which separates Lochs Crinan and Gilp. While the colony was expanding, the colonists were, according to Scotie law, liable to be called on to render military ser-

\* *Chronicle of the Picts*, Cf. Skene's *Chronicles*, p. 7.

† The Irish *Tract on the Men of Alba*. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 433.

‡ The Colbertine MS.

§ 'Susceperunt.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

vice to the supreme chief of the Gaidheals in Ireland; and, if they were in danger, they in turn were entitled to call for military support from the supreme chief of the northern Gaidheals in Ireland. The consciousness of this reserve, and the constant augmentation of their ranks from Ireland gave the colonists a sense of power, which though they exercised it cautiously, fired their ambitions. Although they were on Pictish ground and subject to the Sovereign of Pictland of Alba, their petty kings are called, in anticipation, by the proud title 'Rìgh Alban,' King of Alba. After Fergus Mor, and up to A.D. 560, three of these petty kings ruled in Dalriad Argyll, over the Scots: Domangart Mac Fergus, A.D. 501-505; Comghall Mac Domangart, A.D. 505-538; Gabhran Mac Domangart, A.D. 538-560.\* In A.D. 560 Gabhran was slain in battle by the Picts, and the eyes of the Gaidheals or Scots were opened to the might of the Pictish sovereign, as will be told. Conaill Mac Comghall now became ruler of the Scots, no longer designated by the usurped title, 'King of Alban'; but by the 'fourth-grade'† title of '*toiseach*,' imposed upon him by his overlord the sovereign of Pictland. In A.D. 563, during the rule of *toiseach* Conaill, S. Columba, exiled from his own people in Ireland, appeared in Dalriada and settled with his *muinntir* of

\* All these dates are from *Tigernac*.

† Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan's V.S.C.* p. 435.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

twelve at I or Hy (Iona) with the permission of the Pictish sovereign. Conaill governed until his death in A.D. 574. In the same year S. Columba solemnly ordained Aedhan Mac Gabhran 'the False' to be 'King' of the Gaidheals or Scots, in succession to Conaill the toiseach. In those Gaidhealic adventurers, who had attached themselves to the limb of a great kingdom, there was a strange mixture of piety and moral indifference, of high profession and mean intrigue, which is scarcely paralleled outside the stories of the Spanish Main. They were, at this stage, the disowned children of the Gaidheals. Their brethren in Ireland had failed to fulfil their obligations to proceed to their rescue, when the Picts swept them out of upper Argyll in A.D. 560, and left only a toiseach's following in Cantyre. Aedhan, their new king, had been twice a fugitive. First he had fled from his own home in Cantyre to the Britons who became his hosts; then, after Ard'eryd, because he had turned his sword against his protectors, he had fled to Cantyre. Even S. Columba was an exile. For the fratricidal 'war' of Cul-Dreimhne A.D. 561,\* which he had instigated, his fellow-clansmen of the northern Nialls had rejected him, and a majority of the Celtic clergy†

\* Cf. The quotation from Keating's History, and the extract from the *Black Book of Molaga*, Reeves, *Adamnan's V.S.C.* p. 248.

† Cf. Adamnan's version of the Synod, *V.S.C.* lib. iii. cap. iii. And the ancient poem, '*Oibind beil ar Beind Edair*,' where Columba declares that he would not have permitted disease and distemper in Ire-



## THE PICTISH NATION

in Ireland had recommended him to deport himself beyond the sea. They were all Ishmaelites; their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them. But they believed in themselves. The rank and file knew that no one wanted them, and that they were fighting for existence. Aedhan was a skilled military leader, vindictive, unscrupulous, daring, and ambitious. S. Columba loved the simple things of nature, human life, and religion, and he pitied his fellow-exiles in their precarious homelessness, but at the recollection that they were Gaidheals his pity became fierce anger, and bitter hatred of their opponents. He was insensible to the sufferings of the Picts whose lands had been seized, hostile to the Pictish clergy\* who sought to protect their own kin, and he appeared to believe that the Picts should reckon it an honour to be commanded by men of Gaidhealic or Scotie blood. All these strangely collected seekers after a better country than Ireland thought that they were an elect people, and S. Columba hastened to put the seal of ordination on the lucky Aedhan whom he presented to be their king, as a defiance on the one hand to the Pictish overlord, that he might never again reduce to the rank of *toiseach* the anointed of the Lord; and, on the other hand, a defiance to

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land, but for S. Molaise's words (of excommunication) at the Cross of the Ford of Imlais.

\* The *Lives* of S. Columba and S. Comgall the Pict are dealt with elsewhere, and these matters are reviewed in detail.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

the supreme chief of the Irish Gaidheals, who happened to be sovereign of Ireland, that he might be warned off from interfering in the interest of the Clan Comghall (the senior branch in Cantyre of the family of Erc, whose chiefs by Scotie law had the first claim to the throne) with this solemnly sanctioned appointment. S. Columba's solemnities over Aedhan were followed by civil war among the Gaidheals or Scots of Cantyre. The Clan Comghall, under Donnchadh or Duncan, son of Aedhan's predecessor, took the field against the Clan Gabhran, to assert the right of the Clan Comghall to furnish the king. Donnchadh fell at the battle of Teilcho in Cantyre A.D. 576,\* where there was a great loss on both sides, and with him fell the precedency of the family of Comghall. S. Columba had lost no time after Aedhan's ordination in proclaiming to the world that he meant to reorganize the Gaidheals or Scots of Argyll as an *independent* people. His first step was to attack and reduce the overlordship exercised by the supreme chief of the Clan Niall, the sovereign of Ireland. He seized the opportunity of a legislative Convention held at Drumceatt in Ireland, A.D. 575, by the clans of the Irish Gaidheals under the presidency of Aedh, sovereign of Ireland, to present his demands. How his reappearance among his kin in Ireland was resented;† how the

\* See *Annals of Ulster*, under this year.

† See the *Old Irish Life* of S. Columba, *Leabhar Breac* MS., and Advocates' Library MS., where the details are candidly given.

## THE PICTISH NATION

sovereign threatened anyone who might connive at his coming; how the members of the royal family (except a younger son whom S. Columba, with his wonderful dexterity, detached from the king, his father) tried violence and used insult upon the saint; how S. Columba took the control of the Convention out of the sovereign's hands, and dictated, through a young disciple, an agreement securing the independence of the Scots of Cantyre from the parent clan and country, and the recognition of his new-made king, Aedhan, is all told in the *Old Irish Life* and elsewhere. Aedhan died in A.D. 606 when he was seventy-four years of age. The military genius of this king saved the Gaidheals or Scots for a long time from degenerating into a mere clan, obscured by the mass of the Picts. Through the individuality that he gave them, they contrived, in time, to provide a ruling caste in what is now Scotland, until men of Anglo-Saxon and Norman blood superseded them in various parts of that country.

Having traced as far as the end of the sixth century the organization and development of the two hosts, Angles and Gaidheals or Scots, who invaded the northern parts of Britain, and having followed the reorganization and readjustment of the Britons south of Antonine's Wall, who had formerly been subject to Imperial Rome, it is necessary to complete the review by considering, as far as the same period, the political position of

208

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

the Britons north of the Wall, the natives of the country who are known as the PICTS OF ALBA, and who occupied as their native land the whole country from the Forth and Clyde line to the farthest isle of Shetland.

The PICTS OF ALBA left a skeleton record of their sovereigns in what is known as the *Pictish Chronicle*, and from it we can trace the political development of their federated clans and petty kings or chiefs under a king-paramount. In days when the Celtic records were unstudied, the *Pictish Chronicle* was regarded as an arbitrary list of sovereigns who never existed. Most names in it, however, have been confirmed from the Irish annals; and all might be, if other contemporary records had survived. The copy of the *Pictish Chronicle*, least tampered with, which has come down to our day, is that written in Latin and forming part of the Colbertine MS. The part of the manuscript beyond folio 33 was evidently transcribed at York, c. A.D. 1316, by a certain cleric, Robert of Popilton, who endorses the manuscript with a statement and a petition; but the folios relating to the Picts are in a different hand.\* The manuscript, as known to us, is considered, from internal evidence, to be a compilation of the tenth century from various sources, on some of which other versions of the *Pictish Chronicle* are based. There is internal evidence in the spelling

\* See Nicholson's remarks and note in *Keltic Researches*, p. 44.



## THE PICTISH NATION

that there were both Britonic and Gaidhealic versions. One of the Latin-writing editors or transcribers had a most imperfect knowledge of these Celtic dialects, as is shown by his treatment of Celtic prepositions and contractions for Celtic numerals. Another hand in the document is that of an early Roman Catholic who added one or two notes to certain of the entries. These notes, which are not all quite accurate, were intended to be for the interests or honour of his own Church; but they have proved useful in confirming the dates of two sovereigns, Drust, son of Erp or Wirp, and Brude, son of Maelchon (Maelgon), enabling the intervening reigns to be dated by years, and the recorded totals of the reigns in the manuscript to be checked from itself and from other sources. As the late Mr. Nicholson of the Bodleian pointed out, the numerals in the manuscript within the above period have been vindicated, and work out with 'practical correctness.' The list of Pictish sovereigns was headed with Cruithne, the eponymous of the people, and the names of the seven original Pictish clans, all of which some zealous editor took for the names of kings, and affixed arbitrary numbers to their names to represent the duration of their reigns.\*

\* This piece of editorial zeal was surpassed by a Latin copyist at the point where the Brudes emerge. Nicholson says the Brudes were the 'Speakers' in the Council of the Chiefs. The original Pictish list ran—*ur Gest brude Pant ur Pant brude Leo*, in which *ur* is the Celtic preposition, *over, beyond*, and Brude is a title. The Latin copyist transcribes this *Gest*,

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

From the fact that at the stage when the Pictish clans had multiplied, fourteen sovereigns bear the title Brude (Speaker), which afterwards became a royal name, it is apparent that the sovereigns of the Picts developed from the presidents of the assembly of clan-chiefs. Even as late as S. Columba's time, among the Gaidheals, we find the sovereign presiding over a national assembly of the clan-leaders to determine decisions of national importance. It is also apparent, from certain early names in the list of the Pictish sovereigns, that their control reached south of Antonine's Wall to tribes that afterwards became federated with the reorganized Britons. The late Mr. Nicholson has stated a plea for the identification of Brude Grid with 'Cridius,'\* Caesar's opponent, and for the identification of the sovereign Gilgidh (Gilgig) with Galgac, who fought Agricola A.D. 83, and is represented by Tacitus † as the Brude or Speaker. Tacitus also represents Galgac as calling his people 'Britanni,' which is commended to the notice of those who think that the Picts were other, in race, than the Britons who refused Roman rule and culture. It has to be borne in mind that the original of the list of the sovereigns of Pictland was a Pictish document.

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*Urgest, Brude Pant, Brude Urpant*, and so on, duplicating the sovereigns on about fourteen occasions by creating new names with the aid of the preposition that signified who came next on the list.

\* Mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing before 1140.

† *Agricola*, Tacitus, par. 29.

## THE PICTISH NATION

The concluding words of an old list transcribed into the *Leabhar Gabhala* after A.D. 1580 were '*ut est a leabharach na Cruithnech*,' that is, As it is in the Books of the Picts. Apart from this, the meanings of the personal names in the list and the spellings, in spite of translation and re-translation, bear witness to a Pictish or Brito-Pictish original. Although the list of the Pictish sovereigns begins with men who reigned before the beginning of the Christian era, at a period dated 226-211 B.C., it is sufficient for the purposes of this work to give the names of the sovereigns in order, with the years during which they ruled, beginning with the monarch who was reigning when S. Ninian introduced Christianity to the Britons at *Candida Casa*, afterwards spreading it throughout the East of Pictland of Alba. The list is as follows:

Talorg son of — \* reigned as sovereign from c. A.D. 388 to c. 413.† His name is distinctively Pictish, and means Bright-browed. He was ruling Pictland of Alba when S. Ninian returned to Britain, and founded *Candida Casa* c. A.D. 397.

\* It is not easy to make out his father's name. The Latin copyist has plainly blundered the whole entry. He was working from a Gaelic version and writes *Achivir*; but the initial *ac* is the end of a preceding *mac*, son of. The St. Andrews MS. gives the name as *Keother* and the Phillipps MS. as *Keocher*.

† The copyist, or perhaps an earlier hand, has also blundered the date by writing *lxxv* as the number of years of his reign; through taking the preposition *trwi* (Brit.) or *tri* (O.G.) for *three*, and adding 25 three times. The suggestion is Mr. Nicholson's.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

He would be leader of the Picts in A.D. 396, when they invaded the Romano-British provinces of *Valentia* and *Maxima Caesariensis*, and were turned northwards again by the forces sent against them by Stilicho the minister of the Emperor Honorius. Talorg before the end of his reign would hear with joy, *c.* A.D. 410, that the last of the hated legions of Imperial Rome had retired from the shores of Britain. The Picts after their long defiance had triumphed.

Drust son of Erp (variants Yrb and Wirp) reigned\* as sovereign from *c.* A.D. 413 to *c.* 453. In the Bodleian Fragment of the *Pictish Chronicle* there is the entry against his name, '*c. catha rogni*,' he fought a hundred battles. Evidently this *c.* which is a contraction for *cet* (ceud), one hundred, misled the translator of the Gaelic version into taking another '*c.*' as equal to one hundred when it represented *ceitraia*, forty. This moved a Latin scribe to assign one hundred years for this king's reign. The transcriber of the St. Andrews manuscript of the *Chronicle* attempts to correct the obvious blunder by stating that Drust 'lived' one hundred years. But as his successor entered into power A.D. 453; and as one of the old editors states that S. Patrick† entered

\* Throughout the list, 'reigned' means that the ruler reigned as *sovereign*. Frequently the sovereigns reigned as petty kings over their own clans before being elected to be sovereign of the federated clans.

† We have pointed out that the Colbertine version of the *Pictish Chronicle* was edited by York ecclesiastics. Although the arrival of S.

## THE PICTISH NATION

into Ireland in the 'nineteenth year'\* of Drust's reign, it is clear that he reigned during the forty years between A.D. 413 and 453. That Drust would be under the necessity of fighting the 'hundred battles' is comprehensible when we realize that to him fell the task of retrieving the original Pictish territories south of the Wall which the Romans had vacated; and of reorganizing a new frontier for the south of Pictland. During his reign, also, the Angles came in force to settle in the Humber region.

Talorg son of Aniel reigned from A.D. 453 to 456. Nectan† Morbet son of Erp or Wirp reigned from A.D. 456 to 480. He is called 'the Great.' His clan-lands were in the region of Tay, embracing parts of Forfarshire, Perthshire, and Fife. Tradition represents that he was a Christian. He certainly favoured the Christian missionaries. In his reign S. Buidhe Mac Bronach, an Irish Pict, as has been noticed, entered the Tay area with sixty followers to continue S.

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Patrick in Ireland is noted in it rather irrelevantly, the relevant arrival in Britain of S. Ninian the Apostle of the Picts is suppressed. We have in this one of many tokens of how unscrupulously the early Roman Catholics of York promoted their claims to primacy by keeping the antiquity of *Candida Casa* and the great work of S. Ninian out of sight.

\* From other sources, this was A. D. 432.

† Evidently a younger brother of Drust son of Erp. Nectan is distinguished in other versions of the *Chronicle* by the untranslated word 'Telchamoth' which is varied to 'Celchamoth' and 'Celtaniech.' These forms, with the confusion of T and C, strongly suggest that in the original MS. of the *Chronicle* the uncials used on the Pictish stones were the initial letters.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

Ninian's work; and Nectan established him near his own fort at Dunnichen. A member of this early missionary band was a certain S. Brigh or Brioc; and his name still lingers in the Tay region\* attached to old Church foundations. The early Roman Catholics confused him with S. Brigid, as they confused others of like name elsewhere.

One early Roman Catholic cleric who annotated the Colbertine MS. of the *Pictish Chronicle* interpolated a fable into the *Chronicle*, based on some charter from which extracts are given, to the effect that Nectan the Great gave Abernethy (on Tay) to God and S. Brigid † 'till the day of judgment' in the presence of Darlughdach (a young member of S. Brigid's sisterhood), who had been exiled from Ireland, and Darlughdach thereupon sang a Hallelujah for the offering. The charter which inspired this interpolation was evidently one of those spurious writs by which the Gaidhealic or Scotie clerics of the early Roman Catholic period sought to serve themselves heirs to the property of the Pictish Church. It is as clumsy an invention as the similar entry in the *Book of Deer*, where the Pictish ruler of Buchan is represented as bestowing the monastery of S. Drostan the Briton on S. Columba the

\* From Kingennie westward to Abernethy in Perthshire.

† One wonders what the Gaidheal who invented this story would have felt if he had known that the so-called 'Mary of the Gael' was really a Pictish slave held by a Gael.



## THE PICTISH NATION

Gaidheal who probably was not born at the time. There are manifest impossibilities in the story. Nectan the Great was dead in A.D. 480, before S. Brigid had collected her sisterhood and founded Kildare. Darlugdach, S. Brigid's favourite, was still young when she succeeded her mistress A.D. 525, so that she was not even born when Nectan the Great died. This fable, 'apart from its use in supporting Gaidhealic or Scotie claims to the property of the Pictish Church, served also to obscure the true origin of Christianity in Eastern Pictland through the work of SS. Ninian, Buidhe, Brigh, and Cainnech.

Drust, called by the Latin copyist '*Guorthin-moc*,'\* reigned from A.D. 480 to 510. During his sovereignty, in A.D. 498, the Gaidheals or Scots of the Irish Dalriada intruded their colonists into Pictland at Cantyre. This event, the beginning of important political changes, appears to have received only local attention. There is no indication that the sovereign as protector of the Pictish territories took any action at the time.

Galan, designated by the untranslated word '*arilith*,' varied to '*erilich*,' reigned from A.D. 510 to 522. In his reign the historical Arthur, sove-

\* The variant in the St. Andrews MS. is '*Gernot*' and in the Phillipps MS. '*Gocineth*,' an evident blunder for *Gorineth* or some such form. The St. Andrews form suggests that the original Pictish entry was *Drust guor Neht*, i.e. Drust (the King) beyond Nect, or Nectan. In *Y Cymmrodor* the Britonic pedigrees are '*guor Cein, Doli. Guor Doli, Dumm.*' *Guor* is the Britonic preposition, *beyond*. It is quite apparent that one of the originals of the *Pictish Chronicle* had this preposition *guor* in this place.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

reign of the Britons, led the 'Men of the North,' and won the victory of Badon Hill\* on the Pictish borders in A.D. 516. The enemy were certain Saxons† (aided apparently by Humber Angles), who had first raided the northern islands of Pictland; and, afterwards, had attempted to settle on the shores of Forth.‡

From A.D. 522 to A.D. 527 there was a joint sovereignty in Pictland. Drust son of Gyrom and Drust 'filius Udrost'§ reigned together. Each would keep his seat in the capital of his clan; but in affairs that concerned all the clans they would lead together. From A.D. 527 to 532, Drust son of Gyrom reigned alone.

From A.D. 532 to A.D. 539 Gartnaidh, another son of Gyrom, reigned. During his reign, in A.D. 537, the historical Arthur fell at the battle of Cámelon in Stirlingshire, on Pictish territory, in combat with the rebel Medraut, son of Loth or Llew|| of '*Dinas Eiddyn* (Edinburgh), in the North.' Celtran, still another son of Gyrom, reigned from A.D. 539 to 540. This family of Gyrom furnishes an example of one of the features of

\* Bowden Hill (Torphichen) between Edinburgh and Stirling.

† Led by Otha and Ebussa. The former is said to have been Hengist's son, the latter, Hengist's nephew.

‡ See Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 58.

§ '*Filius*' is a gratuitous insertion by the Latin editor; and '*Wdrost*' is a blundered reading. The *W* attached to the genitive *Drost* was a contraction in the original Pictish document representing later Welsh *wyr* or (*p*)*ua*, that is, grandson or descendant of.

|| Called also in the *Bonedd y Saint* 'Llewddyn Lueddag.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

the Pictish succession. Although the monarchy was elective so far as the individual was concerned, yet so long as one eminent matro-regal family could furnish suitable candidates, these appear to have had preferable claims to the sovereignty.

Talorg, son of Murtholoic,\* reigned from A.D. 540 to 551. During his reign *c.* 547† the 'Yellow Plague' raged throughout Britain. The Britons called it '*Vád Velen*'; the Irish called it '*Galar buidhe*,' '*Chron Chonaill*,' and '*Buidhe Chonaill*.' From references, it appears to have been a virulent, rapidly-spreading fever with intestinal symptoms, and characterized by jaundice. It dislocated social life. It was in Ireland as early as A.D. 544, and broke up S. Mobhi's *muinntir* about that time. Many kings, abs, and chiefs perished from the pestilence.‡ Probably Talorg and his successor, who reigned only one year, were among the victims.

Drust, son of Munaith, reigned from A.D. 551 to 552. Galan, designated by the untranslated name 'Cennaleph,'§ succeeded him and reigned alone one year, from 552 to 553. In A.D. 553 Brude son of Maelchon (Maelgon) was associated with him in the sovereignty; and they reign-

\* This is the form of the name in the *Chronicle* annexed to Nennius. The Latin *Chronicle* gives '*Muircholaich*.' † *Annales Cambriae*.

‡ *c.* 664 it again visited Britain and depopulated great districts.

§ The Gaidheals or Scots translated this into one of their dialects as '*Cendaeladh*.'



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

ed together for one year. In A.D. 554 Brude Mac Maelchon received the sovereign control of Pictland into his own hands; although Galan Cennaleph remained alive. How Galan relinquished the joint occupancy of the throne is not told; but we know that he died A.D. 580, in the same year that Aedhan, king of Dalriada, S. Columba's friend, was conducting a naval expedition towards the Orkneys and against the Picts. From the fact that in the notice of Aedhan's expedition and Galan Cennaleph's death the latter is styled 'rex Pictorum,' it has been inferred that the clan-territories over which he reigned as chief, or petty king, were on the northern or north-western coasts of Pictland. Brude Mac Maelchon reigned as undisputed sovereign of Pictland for thirty years, A.D. 554 to A.D. 584. His father has been identified as Maelgon or Maelgwyn, whose name varies to 'Mailcun' and 'Melcondus,' who was king of *Gwynedd*\* and sovereign of all the Britons at this time, and also the most powerful ruler in the island. He was a pagan; the home of his ancestors had been among the Brito-Pictish tribes of the Forth region, and they had prevented the Gaidheals or Scots from colonizing North Wales. Brude displayed great tact as a ruler, and all the military genius of his ancestors.

When Brude was appointed sovereign, one of his subject chiefs, the petty king of the Western

\* Gwendote, or North Wales.

## THE PICTISH NATION

(Bede's Northern) Picts, could hardly have been comfortable. His authority and territories were being steadily disturbed by the Gaidhealic or Scotie colonists who had intruded into Cantyre, and had been persistently pushing northward and spreading over Argyll. Very little is known of these Western Picts or their chiefs except what remains in weird Celtic tales and laments. Their capital was at *Barr-an-Righ*,\* better located through the name of the adjoining fort *Barr-nan-Gobhan*,† George Buchanan's 'Beregonium.'‡ They buried their dead at the *Cladh nan Righ-rean*, burial-place of the kings, on Lismore, the holy island of the Western Picts, soon to be made famous by the Pictish missionary S. Moluag.

Brude, with the same antipathy to the Gaidheals as his ancestor Cunedog, determined that the menace and encroachment of the Gaidheals or Scots on the west of Pictland should come to an end. In A.D. 560 he attacked the Gaidheals or Scots, when led by Gabhran their king, and defeated them with great slaughter. The survivors were hunted southward from Lorn and the borders of Lennox; and those who did not flee from Pictland were shut up in Cantyre. Gabhran their king was slain. Conaill, son of Comghall, who

\* The King's (fortified) height. It is one of a series of vitrified forts.

† The (fortified) height of the Armourers.

‡ By the northern shore of Lower Loch Etive, on the precipitous height which ends *Beinn Laoire*. Dr. Carmichael, author of *Carmina Gadelica*, describes it in his notes to *Deirdere*, p. 143.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

represented the direct line of the house of Erc in Dalriada, was made chief of the vassal remnant with the much reduced title of *toiseach* under Brude the sovereign. It was in this broken state that S. Columba the Gaidheal found his fellow-Gaidheals or Scots when he settled on I, or Iona, A.D. 563. He had already visited Brude, as the *Life of S. Comgall the Great* states, under the care of the Irish Picts, S. Comgall and S. Cainnech, who at that time were consulting Brude with a view, doubtless, to receive his sanction to the missions which they both contemplated initiating in Pictland. The Gaidheals of a later time, forgetting that S. Columba could not make himself understood in the Pictish dialect, even to Brude's subjects, tried to leave the impression in history that S. Columba introduced SS. Comgall and Cainnech, both Picts, to the Pictish sovereign. Dr. Reeves has pointed out that this impression is prevented by the *Life of S. Comgall*.\* S. Columba's sympathies were aroused by the plight of his fellow-Gaidheals; but he kept his thoughts to himself, and secured a settlement on Iona, where he began to scheme for the revival and re-extension on Pictish territory of Gaidhealic power. He found a ready and unprincipled agent in Aedhan whom, on the death of Conaill A.D. 574, he ordained to be ruler over the Scots with the revived title of king. Brude from his relationships with

\* *V. S. Comgalli*, c. 44.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the Britons would know Aedhan and all his 'false-ness.' Moreover, Aedhan had taken the field against Brude's father a year before; so that Brude would watch him with an alert eye. It was more difficult to watch the subtle S. Columba. Even the pagan Celtic sovereigns were never ready to provoke a cleric, although they might know him to be disloyal. S. Columba by his commanding ability stood to gain for his people by diplomacy what Aedhan would have failed to win by arms. Aedhan during his reign conducted four campaigns against the Picts. In A.D. 580\* he sent a naval expedition against the northern islands of the Pictish Kingdom. In A.D. 582 he threw a force across *Drum Alban*, his frontier, into what is now Stirlingshire, and was not halted until he reached the Moor of 'Manann' (Slamannan), where he received battle. In A.D. 590 he again crossed as far as the same district, and fought a battle at '*Leithreid*.'† Adamnan indicates that Aedhan's opponents were the Pictish '*Miati*'‡ (Midlanders) who occupied the southern central district north from Antonine's Wall. He also gives us a picture§ of S. Columba summoning the community at Iona to pray for Aedhan in this hostile act against Brude and his people. The saint calls the Picts 'barbarians who turn in flight'; but belittles

\* The dates are from Reeves' Kalendar, *V.S.C.* (Adamnan), p. 370.

† The *Cath. Leithrig* of Tighernac.

‡ The '*Maiatai*' of the summary of Dion Cassius.

§ *V.S.C.* lib. i. cap. viii.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

the 'victory' and calls it 'unhappy,' because Aedhan lost three hundred and three men. In A.D. 596 Aedhan was across Drum Alban, and into Pictland once more. On this occasion he was held up at the line of the Wall, on the Brito-Pictish border at a place which the Gaidheals called '*Chircind*'\* but the Britons '*Caer pen*,'† which Dr. Reeves has identified with Kirkintilloch ('Caer pentalloch'). Here he was severely punished, and his first, second, and sixth sons, Artur, Eochaidh Fion, and Bran, were slain.

Yet the Gaidheals or Scots of the early Roman Catholic period, among other pretensions, wished to represent S. Columba, the maker, councillor, and chaplain of this relentless foe of the Picts, as the man who *christianized* Pictland, and *baptized* Brude mac Maelchon. The clerical annotator of the St. Andrews MS. of the *Pictish Chronicle* states that S. Columba 'converted' Brude. The clerical annotator in the Cambridge MS. improves on this with the extraordinary statement that the Roman missionary S. Palladius was associated with S. Columba in converting Brude. The clerical annotator in the earlier Colbertine MS. states that S. Columba 'baptized' Brude. The truth is, that Brude, like his father, adhered to the old native pagan religion, and maintained a pagan court, as Adamnan shows, although, also like his father, he tolerated and could even be

\* Tighernac under 596.

† In the C and L Manuscripts of *Nennius*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

kind to the Christians, of whom there were many among his subjects. Bede, indeed, states that S. Columba 'converted' the *nation* of which Brude was the 'powerful king.' But that is to be interpreted by his earlier statement that the '*Northern*' (our Western) Picts are separated from the '*Southern*' (our Eastern) Picts by steep and rugged mountains, and the Southern (Eastern) Picts had 'long before forsaken the errors of idolatry, and received the true faith by the preaching of Bishop Ninias' (Ninian).<sup>\*</sup> Plainly, V. Bede restricted S. Columba's Pictish converts to the area of the '*Northern*' (Western) Picts, over which Brude was over-lord. Bede's geography was Ptolemaic, and so far as Pictland was concerned, the Ptolemaic North was our *West*, and the Ptolemaic South our *East*. Consequently V. Bede's statement amounts to this, that S. Columba converted the Picts, *west* of the boundary mountains called *Drum Alban*, which means the Picts of Argyll, who, under Aedhan, had become directly subject to the intruding Gaidheals or Scots, although, of course, these Picts, as well as Aedhan and his Scots, were under the paramountcy of Brude as sovereign of all Pictland, with this difference, that the Picts acknowledged the paramountcy while the Scots sought to abolish it. That S. Columba's ministry followed the Gaidhealic or Scotie flag as it advanced from

<sup>\*</sup> Bede, *H.E.G.A.*, lib. iii. cap. iv.



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

Cantyre through Argyll, on the western side of Drum Alban, is undeniable. To what extent he 'converted' the Western (Bede's Northern) Picts is another matter; because, even in S. Columba's time, S. Moluag, an Irish Pict whose missions extended over most of Pictland, controlled a *muinntir* and mission-centre on the island of Lismore, where the Western Picts buried their kings. Adamnan gives glimpses of S. Columba, with the aid of an interpreter,\* striving to instruct one or two Western Picts; but it is clear that the Picts, possessing a well-organized ministry of their own, showed no special enthusiasm to take their teaching from an ecclesiastic who was an alien, and hostile to their nation. Cumine and Adamnan, who were S. Columba's earliest biographers, and near successors, make no claim that S. Columba 'baptized' Brude or 'converted' the Pictish nation. The utmost that Adamnan asks his readers to believe is, that the saint 'affrighted Brude greatly,' and the latter conciliated the saint, and treated him 'with very great honour all his remaining days, as was due.' The *Old Irish Life* of S. Columba, which was specially composed to eulogize him, claims merely, and that only in an interpolated passage, that the names of 'God and Columcille' were magnified before Brude. The beginning of the Columban fable is however in that same *Life*, where it is stated that after the

\* *V.S.C.* lib. i. cap. xxxiii. ; et lib. ii. cap. xxxii.

## THE PICTISH NATION

saint settled in Iona he went on 'a circuit of instruction' among 'the Men of Alba, and the Britons and Saxons, until he brought them to Faith and Religion.' Apart from S. Columba's linguistic shortcomings, the fabulist probably did not know that Christianity was taught and organized among the Britons, and many of the Picts, long before the saint was born, and that S. Columba never went among the pagan Saxons.\* 'Men of Alba' was an early way of speaking about the Gaidheals of Dalriada, among whom he did work very zealously. Adamnan, so far from revealing a 'converted' Brude, gives a very distinct impression of the sovereign presiding over a pagan court at Inverness, with pagan *Draoidhean* in attendance, all ready and willing to discomfit S. Columba. Brude Mac Maelchon died A.D. 584.

Surely no monarch in Britain has ever been more persistently misrepresented in history than Brude Mac Maelchon. He was a capable ruler and successful military leader. The traditions of his father's family were hostile to the Gaidheals or Scots. He was the first sovereign of the Picts to take the measure of their aggressive tendencies; and to foresee the danger of their establishment in strength on the right flank of the Picts. By his victorious sweep through Dalriada in A.D. 560 he threw back their attempt to pene-

\* Many years after the saint's time, some of the most distinguished of the disciples at Iona did go among the Angles.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

trate Pictland, for at least a century. Aedhan, S. Columba's nominee, had a wholesome fear of him; and, except by sea, never attacked Pictland in the North where Brude had his headquarters. Brude, like his ancestors, adhered to the old native paganism; but he tolerated the Christians and their ministers, although he gave them no enthusiastic encouragement. He allowed S. Columba to settle at Iona near his fellow-Gaidheals. Even for S. Comgall the Great or S. Moluag, his deputy in Pictland, both Irish Picts, he had no very special privileges. At the famous interview at Inverness he evidently satisfied S. Comgall that he might send his missionaries to Pictland with safety; but there was no permission to settle at Inverness his capital. S. Moluag organized his central community on the sacred Pictish island of Lismore, and organized a powerful branch-community at Rosemarkie; but the latter was separated from Brude's court by an arm of the sea. Yet the Gaidheals or Scots, whose churchmen, after they had conformed to Roman Catholicism, got command of a large part of the native literature, misrepresent this monarch as a sort of tame king, like the 'sair sanct,' moved about at the will of S. Columba, an alien and an enemy. Their first motive was the glorification of the great Scotie ecclesiastic and the insinuation of an ancient dominance of the Gaidheals. The misrepresentation, amplified as the years passed, play-



## THE PICTISH NATION

ed its part during the early Roman Catholic period in supporting the Scots against the 'English Claims,' and in keeping alive a false impression of the antiquity of the Roman Catholic Church in Pictland.

Gartnaidh, son of Domneth,\* succeeded Brude Mac Maelchon, and reigned as sovereign from A.D. 584 to 599. Brude's home-territories and capital were in the Inverness district; Gartnaidh's were on the east of Scotland in the Tay region. He was a Christian. While he led the Picts, Aedhan and his Gaidheals or Scots invaded the south of Pictland. The Picts caught up the invaders at '*Chircind*' ('Caer pen') with disastrous results to Aedhan, as has been noted. About six years before Gartnaidh had been called to the sovereignty, when he was a local chief in the Tay region, S. Cainnech of Fife and Achadh-Bo was ministering and teaching in the same locality, where Christianity had been organized for a long time. Gartnaidh was succeeded by Nectan of the race of Erp, who reigned as sovereign from A.D. 599 to 621. He also was a Christian, and his home-territory was also on the east coast in the Tay region, mainly in what is now Forfarshire. The St. Andrews MS. of the *Pictish Chronicle* ascribes to him the build-

\* The Latin *Chronicle* has '*Domelch*'; the St. Andrews MS. '*Dompneth*'; and the *Chronicle* in the *Historia Britonum* '*Domech*.' As the St. Andrews *Chronicle* was compiled in Gartnaidh's home-territory it is likely to be correct.

## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

ing of the Church of Abernethy. The copyist and translator of the Cambridge MS. of the *Chronicle* used in the *Scalacronica* ascribes the same work to his predecessor Gartnaidh with very definite time notes, intended to bring out the priority of Abernethy to the *Pictish* foundation at Dunkeld. The explanation probably is that as both were east coast chiefs and both Christians, both were interested in the Church of Abernethy, and the building of a stone Church was begun in the reign of Gartnaidh and finished in the reign of Nectan.\*

The names of many of these Pictish sovereigns are names with few biographical details attached. Yet they stand for the political and military organization of the Picts who defied successfully, in turn, the Imperial Romans, the Teutonic Angles and Saxons, and also the Gaidheals or Scots until the time when the Pictish clan-organizations all along the east coast were wrecked by the pagan Vikings, and a claimant with Scotie sympathies crept into power in Pictland, through treachery, by attacking the Pictish army in the

\* The following gives the succession and dates of the Pictish sovereigns from the death of Brude Mac Maelchon to the reign of Brude Mac Bilé. The dates are from the Irish Annals, and are checked by the lists of Reeves, Macbain, and the author. Brude Mac Maelchon died in 584.

Gartnaidh son of Domneth, 584-599. Nectan son of Canonn of the race of Erp, 599-621. Ciniath son of Luthrenn, 621-631. Gartnaidh son of Wid ('Foith'), 631-635. Brude son of Wid, 635-641. Talorg their brother, 641-653. Talorgan son of Enfred, 653-657. Gartnaidh son of Donnel, 657-663. Drust his brother, 663-672. Brude Mac Bilé, 672-693.



## THE PICTISH NATION

rear when it was fully occupied with the Vikings in front. The Britons from the time of their reorganization under Rhydderch, being the close kin of the Picts, were generally allied with the Picts; and it was the reserve of the Pictish power which enabled the Britons to prolong their independent existence for so many generations in face both of Anglian and Gaidhealic or Scotie encroachment.

The frequent struggles of the Four Nations for mastery in what is now Scotland, which began to be serious about the middle of the sixth century, retarded the advance of the Pictish Church and demolished much of the previously organized work of the Church of the Britons. *Candida Casa*, the mother-community, especially suffered. Not only was the existence of this community threatened by the waves of Anglian barbarism during the frequent raids of the Teutons into the territory of the Britons; but the clergy of *Candida Casa* felt that the conversion of the barbarians at their own door was as imperative an obligation as the maintenance of a ministry to the daughter-Churches of Pictland. These tasks apparently became too great for *Candida Casa* unaided. It was at this juncture that two other great Communities were organized in safer areas whose members, along with other work, began to take up the spiritual care of the Christian congregations in Pictland. One was the greatcommunity



## CHANGES IN SIXTH CENTURY

of the Irish Picts at Bangor, in the Ards of Ulster, organized by S. Comgall the Great, an Irish Pict; the other was the community at Glasgow, organized, at the site of the ancient foundation of S. Ninian on the Molendinar, by S. Kentigern the Briton.

Another danger of a more subtle kind began to form, about this time, behind the Teutonic invaders, so far as *Candida Casa* was concerned. The Roman Mission which entered England *c.* 597 under S. Augustine made slow headway among the Celtic Britons, who possessed their own Church with its own organizations and traditions. The Roman clergy realized, therefore, that their sole hope of hastening the conformity of the Britons to Roman ways was to take the Teutonic barbarians under their care and to organize them as a Church on the Roman model. Such a Church, when once organized, could push its methods and usages under the political protection of the Angles and Saxons. Opportunity and working room could be refused to the Celtic clergy, and the brethren of *Candida Casa* themselves could be made so uncomfortable under the political and military pressure of the dominant Teutons that they would either have to forsake their ancient Church-centre or conform to Rome. Thus while the clergy of *Candida Casa* were exerting themselves to assist in converting the Angles to Christianity, the clergy of the Roman mission were ex-

## THE PICTISH NATION

erting themselves to force the clergy of *Candida Casa* to conform to the Church of Rome. The determination of the community of *Candida Casa*, or rather that section which remained, to be loyal to the Celtic Church, and the efforts of the Roman mission to absorb the community, were continued into the early part of the eighth century.

BANGOR OF THE IRISH PICTS,  
AND GLASGOW OF THE  
BRITONS, GIVE HELP TO *CAN-*  
*DIDA CASA* IN CONTINUING  
AN EDUCATED MINISTRY TO  
THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS  
OF ALBA      CHAPTER TEN

THE energies of those Christians who were Irish Picts by nationality were, as has been shown, directed at a very early period to mission-work among the Picts of Alba (Scotland). When, therefore, S. COMGALL THE GREAT, the most distinguished Irish Pict of his time, resolved to guide part of the ministerial power of his great community at Bangor in Ulster into Pictland of Alba, he was not initiating a new movement, but continuing that begun by S. Ninian himself over one hundred years before. S. Comgall had greater resources to draw upon, and more widespread missionary enthusiasm to help him than S. Ninian, and also an unique opportunity of showing his nation's gratitude to its first teacher by taking up his most conspicuous work, and by relieving to some extent the strain upon *Candida Casa*, burdened with the maintenance of a ministry to Alba, and with anxiety as to how to deal with the terror of pagan Teutonism creeping westward from the shores of the North Sea.



## THE PICTISH NATION

S. Comgall founded the College of Bangor A.D. 558, at a place originally known as *Aber-Beg*. From the presence of S. Comgall's community it received the name 'Bangor,' and it came to be distinguished from the other Bangors as 'Bangor in the Ards of Ulster.' Bangor was quite near to Maghbile, where S. Finbar, an earlier worker in Pictland, presided over his own community, and not far from 'n *Aondruim*, a community which regarded itself as dependent on *Candida Casa*. S. Bernard describes Bangor in S. Comgall's time as a most noble institution, the nurse of many thousands of monks, the parent of many monasteries, a centre truly sacred, the home of saints. One of its sons, 'Luanus,'\* went forth from it and founded one hundred communities elsewhere; and another, S. Columbanus, journeyed to the continent of Europe and penetrated into Gaul, where he founded Luxeuil, and there 'organized a great multitude.' This great centre of religion and learning continued at Bangor as a community of the Celtic Church until A.D. 822, when the pagan Vikings pillaged it and burned it, and martyred ninety of the brethren. A remnant appears to have continued S. Comgall's work, because in A.D. 938 Muircertach of the daughter-house of Cambus, bore the founder's title 'Ab of

\* The latinized form of the aspirated contraction *Lua'* for *Luaghadh*, the name of S. Moluag of Lismore and Rosemarkie in Pictland of Alba. He was related to S. Comgall.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

Bangor.'

S. Comgall was one of the most successful organizers of Christian missions in history. The missionaries inspired and taught by him ranged from between the mountains of Mar in Pictland to the Apennines in Italy. His workers were a living denial of the insinuation, promulgated after their time by Bede, to the effect that the spirit of Brito-Pictish Christianity was exclusive and parochial. About A.D. 558 S. Comgall had intentions of leaving Ireland to take part in the mission-work in Pictland of Alba; but his kinsman S. Moluag\* prevailed upon him to found Bangor and to train others for the work, and S. Moluag became one of his first pupils. In A.D. 562 S. Comgall detached S. MOLUAG from Bangor; and sent him with a group of workers to take up the work which he himself had intended in Pictland. In order that his deputy's work might not be impeded, he set out himself as the *leader*† of a deputation, according to his own *Life*, to interview Brude Mac Maelchon the Pictish sovereign, at Inverness. His object was manifestly to obtain sanction for his missions, protection for his missionaries, and respect for any settle-

\* The early Latin writers latinized his name as '*Luanus*'; the later as '*Mo-Luacus*' and '*Mo-Luocus*.'

† *V. S. Comg.* cap. 44. Dr. Reeves, knowing that Adamnan represented S. Columba as the leader of this deputation, writes: '*The Life* of S. Comgall represents S. Columba as only one of the agents on this occasion.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

ments that the subordinate chiefs might grant them. S. Cainnech, another Pictish ecclesiastic, afterwards of Fife and Achadh-Bo, accompanied S. Comgall, and they were joined by S. Columba, a Gaidheal or Scot, soon to be leading ecclesiastic of the Gaidhealic or Scotie colonists in Dalriada. The interview was followed by the unrestricted advance of S. Moluag and his workers into the Pictish Islands of the Hebrides; among the Picts of the western mainland, including those dispersed among the Gaidheals; and into the central and northern parts of Pictland. S. Columba settled on Iona near his fellow-Gaidheals; and S. Cainnech established himself in due course in Fife.

S. Moluag's plan for working Pictland was to organize three great *muinntirs* or communities to be the centres of education and ministerial supply for the Churches in their respective districts; and, of course, for the maintenance of these central communities he had the reserves of Bangor. He first organized the great community of Lismore in Lorn. This island was the sacred island of the Western (Bede's 'Northern') Picts, and contained the burial-place of their kings who reigned at 'Beregonium.' The Churches dependent on Lismore,\* still traceable, are *Teampul*

\* S. Moluag founded two Churches in southern Argyll, evidently for the Picts dispersed among the Gaidheals: one was in Glen Barr, Cantyre; and the other in South Knapdale at Loch Killisport.



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

*Mór* in Lewis; the Church of Pabbay, that is, Isle of the *pápa*; *Cill Moluag* in Raasay; *Cill Moluag* in Skye; *Cill Moluag* in Tiree; *Cill Moluag* in Mull; 'Kilmalu' in Morvern; 'Kilmalu' of Inverary; and *Cill Moluag*\* at Ballagan, Inverfarigaig.

S. Moluag's second central community was organized at Rosemarkie on the northern shore of the Inverness Firth. Many of the Churches founded from this centre were afterwards, in the Roman Catholic period, dedicated to Roman saints, and they cannot now be definitely distinguished as S. Moluag's; but there was an old Church in the strath of the Peffray (Strathpeffer) whose temporalities are still designated as Davoch-Moluag, and the submerged Church of Cromarty was evidently one of S. Moluag's foundations. His third central community was at Mortlach in Banffshire. Dependent upon it was the smaller community at Clova or Cloveth near Lumsden village. The foundations that still bear S. Moluag's name in this quarter are at 'Maol-Moluag's,' now New Machar, at Clatt in the Garioch, and at Migvie and Tarland. Another of S. Moluag's known foundations was at Alyth in Perthshire. S. Moluag continued to labour in Pictland until his death on the 25th June 592 A.D. According to the old tradition he died while visit-

\* See Dr. Wm. Mackay's *Saints of the Ness Valley*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

ing his Churches in the Garioch\* and was buried at Rosemarkie. It must not be supposed that the trained clergy from Bangor or from S. Moluag's own centres kept themselves apart from the Britonic and the native Pictish clergy who were at work in Pictland at this time; because there is evidence that the Bangor clergy assisted in manning Churches founded long before their arrival as well as looking to the care of congregations gathered by themselves. The only sign of want of co-operation between the Celtic clergy, as might be expected from the political relations, was between the Picts and the Gaidheals or Scots, in the territory occupied by the Scotie colonists in Dalriada. There was certainly no co-operation between the Pictish ecclesiastics and the Gaidhealic ecclesiastics in the island of Tiree.

In A.D. 565,† three years after S. Moluag had led his mission into Pictland, S. Comgall himself set out from Bangor to revisit Pictland. It is stated that his object was to visit 'certain ecclesiastics' and incidentally it is noted that he 'constituted' a monastery in the granary island *Tir*

\* There is a reference to S. Moluag on the Shevack stone now at Newton, Inch. The writing is in debased uncials. His name is written '*Maolouoegi h-innsi Loaoaruin*'; that is, Moluag . . . he was of the Island of Lorn, namely Lismore. Lismore, Rosemarkie, and Mortlach became in the Roman period the seats of the diocesan bishops respectively of Argyll, Ross, and what afterwards became the See of Aberdeen.

† 'Septimo anno postquam monasterium Bennchor fundatum est.' *V. S. Comg.* p. 307.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

*Eth*, that is, Tiree. An ancient Church foundation there still bears S. Comgall's name. In this little island, important because of its food-supplies, four ecclesiastics had interests to protect. Two of them were Irish Picts, S. Moluag who was S. Comgall's deputy and relative; and Findchan, Ab of the Pictish monastery of Ardchain, who was evidently subject to S. Comgall. The other two were Gaidheals or Scots, Baithene, Ab of Magh Luinge, cousin of S. Columba, and S. Columba himself, his superior. Baithene was a practical farmer, and at one period of his life grew the corn-supplies for S. Columba's community, and this doubtless accounts for his settlement on Tiree, the 'barley island.' The two Gaidhealic leaders set up a quarrel with the two Pictish leaders. Apart from national differences, all the potentialities of quarrel were already latent in the needs of the large ever-growing clerical communities, and the consequent scramble for the limited corn-supplies of Tiree. But in A.D. 565, when S. Comgall set out for Tiree, a political event of the first magnitude made friendly relations between the Picts and Gaidheals of Tiree impossible. In the centre of the storm was Aedh Dubh, ruler of the Pictish Kingdom of Uladh (Ulster). Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill, a Gaidheal of the southern Nialls and the sovereign against whom S. Columba had raised the civil war of Cul-Dreimhne, was King-paramount of all Ireland in Aedh's time. Diar-



## THE PICTISH NATION

mait had killed Aedh's father,\* and while Aedh was still a lad had taken him as his ward; but had treated him badly. After Aedh had ascended the throne of Uladh, Diarmait, on the excuse of his paramountcy, presented himself in the Pictish territory over which Aedh ruled. The two monarchs held an unfriendly interview at the fort of Magh-line near Antrim, with the result that Aedh in hot blood slew Diarmait. Aedh immediately repented, and to atone for his crime went with Findchan, a presbyter of the Picts, to his monastery in Tiree; where, to give reality to his repentance, he assumed the garb and work of a humble cleric, and was ordained. The name of the bishop who ordained Aedh has been suppressed; although Adamnan states that he had been specially summoned. Findchan himself took part in the laying on of hands. When S. Columba heard of Aedh's reception at Ardchain and his ordination, his rage was unbounded. He pronounced a fierce curse † on all concerned, declared that the ordination was irregular, that Findchan's hand which had been laid on Aedh's head would rot ‡ and be interred before the rest of his body, that Aedh would return to murder as a dog to his vomit, and

\* He was called 'Suibhne the mild-judging.'

† This curse and other details are given in a way that makes Aedh Dubh much blacker than he really was, and they will be found in Adamnan's *V.S.C.* lib. i. cap. xxxvi.

‡ Adamnan tells us that Findchan's hand did rot: but it is significant that it required a blow to fulfil Columba's prophecy.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

would in the end have his throat pierced with a spear, and be cast into water to die from drowning. Adamnan describes Aedh's crime as the slaying of Diarmait, 'ordained, by God's will, ruler of all Ireland.' On this and on other occasions S. Columba's prophecies had a way of being quickly fulfilled. It is not therefore to be wondered at that S. Comgall hastened to Bangor to protect Findchan and his penitent king; and 'to visit certain saints, and to remain in Tíree for some time.' During his sojourn he founded the Church which formerly bore his name. S. Comgall intervening on behalf of his maligned and persecuted presbyter, and Findchan, guiding the miserable and remorseful king to salvation, place themselves into line with the best judgments of the Church; but S. Columba, who had striven to destroy both Diarmait and his kingdom at *Cul Dreimhne*, indicating where Findchan should receive the wound that lamed him, and how Aedh's enemies should revenge themselves upon him,\* places himself into line with the worst. His attitude turned the friendship of S. Comgall into watchful civility, which owing to S. Columba's continued aggression was, at a later time, changed to open hostility;† and it boded ill for any Pictish ecclesiastics

\* Aedh returned to Ireland c. 581. On the death of Baedan Mac Cairill, who had filled the throne of Uladh during his penitential stay in Tíree, Aedh resumed his throne. He reigned until 587, when he was slain and thrown from a boat by Fiachna, Baedan's son.

† When, after S. Columba's return to power in Ireland, he called out



## THE PICTISH NATION

who might be unprotected, and over whom the Gaidheals could exercise political control.

After a sojourn in Tíree, which the community of Bangor considered too prolonged, the brethren recalled their master to themselves. The little *muinntir* at Bangor which S. Comgall had first organized was being rapidly augmented. The numbers were rising from a few score to thousands — 'many thousands,' says S. Bernard. In the ancient Celtic writings the site is called 'Bangor of the hosts.' The author of the *Spelman Fragment* states the number of S. Comgall's community at 'three thousand.' Picts, Britons, Gauls, and even a few men with Teutonic names, were attracted to S. Comgall's teaching. Besides the education and ministerial training which these brethren received, they were all compelled by S. Comgall's *Rule* to take part in the agricultural work for the maintenance of the community; and to take turn in keeping up the service of choral devotion which never ceased day or night. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin were taught and read. The copying of manuscripts was a definite part of each cleric's education. The *Antiphonary of Bangor* still exists at Milan. If a record was kept of the various missions sent out from Bangor, it must have perished when the Vikings ravaged the monastery

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his fellow-clansmen to fight the Picts of Dalaraidhe and Uladh, for possession of S. Comgall's Church at *Ros Torathair*. The battle took place at Cul-Rathain (Coleraine).



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

A.D. 822. Happily sufficient information was preserved outside Bangor concerning S. Moluag's great mission to Pictland. The unknown author of the *Spelman Fragment* knew of some source, now lost, which told how another mission-leader, 'blessed Wandeloc was sent by S. Comgall the Ab, on a ministry of preaching,' but whither, he states not. One hand in the *Breviary of Aberdeen* drew from a source, now untraceable, that S. 'Myr'an,' commonly called 'Mirran,'\* Ab of the first Celtic *muinntir* at Paisley, was trained at Bangor by S. Comgall. Through the preservation of many of the books belonging to the libraries of St. Gall and Bobbio, and especially the *Life of S. Columbanus* by Jonas, and the ancient anonymous *Life of S. Gall*; it is possible to gain a very full knowledge of the missions which S. Comgall

\* In one particular, a story connected with S. Finbar of Maghbile, the *Breviary* has, probably through a copyist's error, confused Mirran with Meldan, another of S. Comgall's disciples. S. Mirran was evidently a Briton, his chief house was at Paisley, and his other foundations were at Kelton, Kilsyth, *Innis Mirran*, Loch Lomond, among the Britons or on their borders. It is said that remains connected with his name were on the Burn of Mirran at Edzell. It is stated that he co-operated with S. Kentigern. His day is the 15th September. A further confirmation of his British birth is that he had working relations with his neighbour S. Constantine, Ab of Govan, who was a British king, whose day is the 11th of March. S. Constantine also went to Ireland to train as a cleric; where, is not clear. He also is stated to have associated himself with S. Kentigern. His '*conversio*' which apparently means his death, because '*ad Dominum*' is added, occurs in the *Annales Cambriae* at A.D. 589. Constantine had been king of the Britons of Cornwall, and it is important to note that there, his and S. Mirran's names are associated. At the ancient village of S. Mirran, called by the Cornish *Har-Llan-Wirran*, there was also a Church of S. Constantine. Cf. Lyson's *Cornwall*, p. 226.

## THE PICTISH NATION

sent into Gaul, and to learn the stories of the founding of Anagrates,\* Luxeuil,† St. Gall,‡ and Bobbio.§ From the particulars furnished concerning these ancient Celtic monasteries it is possible to get a very clear idea of the organization, government, discipline, and education at the parent institution in Bangor; because again and again S. Columbanus defended himself against the Roman clergy by the declaration that he had learned what he practised from S. Comgall and other fathers of the Church at Bangor. The names of twenty-eight *regular*, resident, Celtic Abs of Bangor have been preserved, besides S. Comgall. The twenty-fifth Ab in the succession, Mac Oigi, was promoted from the daughter-house of Abercrossan in Ross, Pictland. He died A.D. 802. After Mac Oigi's time|| the Abs of Bangor were sometimes unable to reside at the parent-settlement owing to the ravages of the Vikings. In A.D. 938 Muircertach was 'Ab of Bangor,' but he resided at Cambus, a branch-community, also among the Irish Picts, which S. Comgall had organized in his lifetime. In A.D. 1120 S. Malachi o' Morgair, a Celt belonging to the Church of Rome and the friend of S. Bernard, sought to

\* Now Faucogney in Haute-Saône.

† Roman Lexovium in Burgundy.

‡ Switzerland.

§ Near the Trebbia on the slopes of the Apennines.

|| Among the later Abs were Robhartach, died 805; Maeltuile, died 818; Maelgamhridh '*togaidhe*,' Anchorite, and Ab of Bangor, died 838. Earnan, Ab of Bangor, died 847.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

revive the glories of ancient Bangor by founding a monastery of Roman type on S. Comgall's site. The first community of Bangor, the one which began the missions that won the unqualified admiration of Christian Europe, was governed by S. Comgall until his death on the 10th May A.D. 602 in the forty-fourth year third month and tenth day of his presidency. He was succeeded in the presidency by Beogna, one of the seniors of the community. The missionary energy of Bangor continued to be regarded as a tradition of the community to be maintained; and her missionary scholars persevered in supplying the Faith to Pictland, Britain, and Gaul, or wherever their ministrations were required. There were some among the missionaries who had their days of depression, owing perhaps to faint hearts or feeble bodies. Autiernus, for example, wished to return even to the stern discipline and restricted meals of Bangor rather than to continue amid the hardships and destitution of the desert of the Vosges. There is humour as well as pathos in the cure which S. Columbanus gave to this home-sick fellow-Celt and another brother called Sonichar. He went with the two downcast brethren to a lonely corrie in the mountains, and passed the time in prayer and meditation with only one loaf to feed them for twelve days. At the close of the retreat, he sent them to one of the rivers below, where they procured a supply of fish which made



## THE PICTISH NATION

a rich feast to the famished pupils, causing them 'to praise the providence of God.'\*

S. KENTIGERN (Mungo) was recalled from his exile at Llan-Elwy to Strathclyde shortly after Ard'eryd, A.D. 573, by Rhydderch. It has been noted that when S. Kentigern took charge of the body of S. Fergus of Carnoch and buried it at S. Ninian's foundation at Glasgow, he thereafter organized a *muinntir* of his own. This was the saint's first settlement at Glasgow. After a time, owing to his family connections, the local authority considered him a dangerous political factor. He was the son of Owain, son of Urien Rheged, one of the neighbouring kings of the Britons. Some time between A.D. 567 and 574 another local king, Morkan, who had once been an ally of Urien the saint's grandfather, quarrelled with him. Morkan† extended his hostility to the saint, and carried his violence as far as assault to his person. The saint thereupon fled to the territories of the southern Britons, where he organized and governed a community, at Llan-Elwy, from which he was recalled by Rhydderch the British sovereign, to his earlier community at Glasgow.

After S. Kentigern had re-established himself at Glasgow, he not only reorganized the community there to supply the local spiritual needs

\* Jonas, *V.S. Columb.* cap. ii.

† Morkan ultimately slew Urien while on or returning from an expedition to Medcaut (Lindisfarne) sometime between 580 and 587.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

of the Britons of northern Strathclyde; but he took measures to make Glasgow a centre of ministerial supply and control for the Congregations of Pictland, in co-operation with the Clerics of Bangor.

S. Kentigern conducted several distinct missions. Apart from fugitive scraps of information and the local remains of his Church-foundations, the chief authority for his work is Joceline. Joceline wrote with an ancient Celtic *Life* of the Saint before him which is now lost. He is an untrustworthy guide unless steps are first taken to eliminate the garbling matter from his biographies so as to isolate the basic matter of his original documents. This is easily done in the case of S. Kentigern's *Life*, where he steadily lets the original *Life* shine through; as when he tells of the ordination of S. Kentigern by anointing at the hands of a single bishop, as customary among the Britons; although he interpolates at a later stage the fable of a visit to Rome to rectify this, in his eyes, grave irregularity. Joceline is known to have been only an employee. He wrote under the direction of certain early Roman Catholic prelates whose desires were to bring the *Lives* of the Celtic saints into harmony with Roman Catholic notions, to link up the Celtic clergy into some sort of connection with Rome, and to throw back the age of certain Roman Catholic Sees in Britain, so as to sustain their claims to primacy. Although Joce-



## THE PICTISH NATION

line invented lavishly to satisfy his employers, he was, fortunately, frequently content to make extracts from the ancient authorities before him; and, as in the instance of S. Kentigern's *Life*, to strive to explain them away, or to give them a touch of Roman Catholic colouring. There need be no difficulty to the critical historian acquainted with the special characteristics of the Celtic Church, in distinguishing where Joceline is working on what he learned from the ancient originals. This is specially the case in the description which Joceline gives of the extent of S. Kentigern's work which is verified by local remains. Indeed, it was the range of S. Kentigern's surviving British and Pictish foundations which directed modern researchers, towards the close of the nineteenth century, to a more careful scrutiny of all documentary references to the saint's life.

S. Kentigern's first mission was accidental. It was undertaken in the course of his flight from Glasgow to Llan-Elwy. Neither Joceline nor his source seem to have understood why S. Kentigern was moved, amid his own trials, to undertake this mission-tour. It was no journey to the heathen; but a visit and ministry of consolation to his fellow-Britons who had been pushed into the hills of Cumberland by the westward pressure of the Angles, and the southward pressure of the deranged Brito-Pictish tribes between the Cheviots and the Forth. It is to this mission that we owe



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

his eight\* foundations in the old British territory of the Cymri in the north-west of England.

After the return to Glasgow S. Kentigern organized four distinct missions. The first mission † was 'to correct the condition of his own diocese' as Joceline calls it. 'District' would be a more accurate word, because S. Kentigern was not a diocesan or monarchic bishop. Joceline makes it clear that this mission was into a district where Christianity had been already established; but he takes no pains to explain that political convulsions had caused much injury to the organization of the Christians, necessitating just such a circuit as S. Kentigern undertook. The second mission ‡ was into what Joceline describes as '*Pictorum patriam, que modo Galwiethia dicitur, et circumjacentia ejus.*' Joceline undoubtedly conveys the impression that this mission was into the whole of Galloway, the district of *Candida Casa*. If his statement is tested by S. Kentigern's surviving foundations it will be found that he exaggerates; because all these foundations lie not in Galloway proper but on its borders. However, Joceline makes quite clear that this mission also was conducted in a region which had already been christianized. Again he takes no pains to

\* Represented by the old Churches of Aspatria, Bromfield, Caldbeck of Allerdale, Capesthwaite, Grinsdale, Irthington, Sowerby, Mungriesdale in Greystock. These Teutonic names are eloquent of the change that afterwards came over these once British localities.

† *V.S.K.* cap. xxxiv. sec. i.

‡ *V.S.K.* cap. xxxiv. sec. ii.

## THE PICTISH NATION

point out that the Christian organization in this locality had been much disturbed and injured by political changes, and that masses of fugitive Britons had been crushed into it by pressure due to the advancing Angles. Joceline nevertheless spares no effort to convey that in this mission S. Kentigern corrected whatever he found contrary to 'the Christian Faith and wholesome education'; and, also, that he rooted out 'vile idolatry and pestilential heresy.' The historian is not perturbed for the theological reputation of *Candida Casa* by this motive-statement, especially coming from Joceline. The latter had to meet the wishes of his employers, and to indicate somehow that in the far past the pastoral and teaching activity of Glasgow superseded the pastoral and teaching activity of the ancient *Candida Casa*. Only thus could the Roman Catholic prelates of Glasgow press their claims for precedence over *Candida Casa*, and against the pretensions of York. Moreover, 'pestilential heresy' to Joceline's mind was nothing worse than the adherence of the Celts to the ancient mode of calculating Easter, certain differences between them and the Roman Catholics in the administration of Baptism, and the absence of monarchic bishops. The important point is that Joceline testifies to S. Kentigern's mission on the eastern fringe of Galloway which has been confirmed by surviving foundations that still bear S. Kentigern's name. The motive

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

of the Latin Churchman is seen in this that although earlier he had recorded that the Picts first received the Faith 'chiefly by S. Ninian'; yet he has not one word to say either about S. Ninian or *Candida Casa* in his reference to S. Kentigern's visit to the borders of Galloway. From these two missions, in the Glasgow district and in the neighbourhood of Galloway, arose the ancient Church foundations of Lanark, Borthwick (Lochwerweth), Penicuik, Currie, Peebles, Hassendean, Polwarth, and St. Mungo. With this last, falls to be associated Holdelm or Hoddam in Dumfriesshire where Rhydderch, the sovereign of the Britons, halted the saint on his return from Llan-Elwy until his old seat at Glasgow was made quite secure.

The saint's third mission\* from Glasgow was into 'Alban' which in this instance means Pictland of Alba. The line of his route, as disclosed by his foundations, followed the Churches founded by his early master, S. Servanus, beside the Ochils and in Perthshire. From this journey arose S. Kentigern's Churches at Alloa and Auchterarder. From Perthshire he held northwards into the uplands of Aberdeenshire where he could join hands with the workers from S. Drostan's foundations at Deer, and with S. Moluag's fellow-workers from Bangor. His surviving foundations in this district are the old Church of Glengairn, and

\* *V.S.K.* cap. xxxiv. sec. 3.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the '*Annat*' or '*Andat*,' that is, Mother-Church, of Kynōr near Huntly. Among the native titles of S. Kentigern (Mungo) few are older than '*Apostol Kynoir*,' Apostle of Kynōr. S. Kentigern's master, the historical Servanus, had been at work in this district many years before, and S. 'Ser's' foundation at Culsalmond is about eight miles from Kynōr. S. Kentigern's zeal is commemorated by the local proverb, expressed in native Celtic until the beginning of the nineteenth century, 'Like S. Mungo's work, never done.' S. Nidan, 'grandson of Pasgen, son of Urien Rheged,' the cousin of S. Kentigern, was a member of this mission and founded the old Churches of 'Invernochty' and Midmar. Among the partners of the Brito-Pictish activities in this district, besides S. Nidan, are S. Finan\* of Llan-Finan (Lumphanan), S. Brité of Llan-Brité (Lhanbryde), S. Walloc of Dunmeth in Glass and of Logie-Mar, S. Fumoc of Botriphnie and Dinnet,† S. Monīre of Crathie and Balveny, and S. Fiacroc‡ of Nigg, Aberdeen. S. Monīre was apparently one of S. Drostan's successors at Deer, and had a foundation in that district near Aberdour. If we divest Joceline's account of this third

\* S. Nidan's day is 30th Sept. SS. Nidan and Finan appear to have been members of S. Kentigern's *muinntir* at Llan-Elwy because in Anglesey the old foundations of Llan-Nidan and Llan-Finan are also together.

† Not Dunnet in Caithness but Dinnet in Mar. Various writers have substituted the former place.

‡ Now corrupted locally into 'Fittoc,' but the old spelling is given in one of the Arbroath Abbey Charters.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

mission from Glasgow of the Roman Catholic colouring which he gave to it; and of his attempt to convey that S. Kentigern was a *pioneer*-missionary in the north-east of Pictland; we get the following particulars which doubtless represent his Celtic source: 'There S. Kentigern erected many Churches\* . . . and consecrated many of his disciples bishops. He also founded many monasteries in these parts, and placed over them as *fathers* the disciples whom he had instructed.' This is a description of Church organization quite unlike the organization with which Joceline was acquainted; and it is also a generally accurate description of how the Celtic Church was organized. The multiplied *muinntirs* under the 'father' or pápa; and the multiplied bishops who were resident or missionary members of the *muinntirs* under the president, who might not be a bishop, were unfamiliar types to Joceline's Church. Joceline is also candid enough to let us see that the natives of Mar and the Garioch had previously some acquaintance with religion; because in his zeal to depict S. Kentigern as a Roman bishop, he not only credits him with reclaiming the natives to the customs of the Roman Church and the observance of the Roman canons;† but also with reclaiming them from

\* Joceline states that the saint '*dedicated*' the Churches when erected; but at this period the Celts did not *dedicate* to saints, the Churches were named after the actual founders.

† *V.S.K.* cap. xxxiv. sec. 3.



## THE PICTISH NATION

'profane rites almost equal to idolatry.' Joceline in his Celtic source doubtless found indications of rites that were strange to his Roman Catholic mind; that they were profane is most unlikely; that they were cured through the teaching of Roman Catholic customs and canons by S. Kentigern is pure invention; because S. Kentigern was innocent of the knowledge of these. The true S. Kentigern would have been as great a heretic to Joceline's fellow-Churchmen as S. Dunod was to S. Augustine of Canterbury.

S. Kentigern's fourth mission from Glasgow was not conducted by himself in person. He had become '*silicernus*' and unfit for the hardships of younger days. 'Therefore he sent forth those of his own, whom he knew to be strong in faith and fervent in love to the islands that are afar, towards the Orkneys, Norway, and Iceland.\*' This is one of the most interesting passages in Joceline's biography. Along with what is known of the work of S. Ninian and S. Ailbhe it indicates that Glasgow contributed its men to the procession of daring missionaries who went forth from the *muinntirs* of the Britons or Picts to the most distant northern islands. When M. Letronne made known the contents of the *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*,† it was found that Dicuil the Celtic geographer had conversed with monastic

\* *V.S.K.* cap. xxxiv. sec. 4.

† *De Mensura* (Ed. Letronne), p. 39.



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

clerics of the Celtic Church who had sojourned in Iceland before the end of the eighth century. In the *Landnamabók*\* of Iceland it is stated that when the Norsemen arrived on that island in the ninth century, they found bells, books, and pastoral staves such as the Celtic clerics used. The clergy who used these relics bore the name 'pá-pa';† and their island homes in Iceland and the Hebrides bear this old ecclesiastical title in their names to the present day. Pápa is Joceline's 'father,' the 'praepositus' of a Celtic *muinntir* or family. Even at coast settlements in Norway, to vindicate Joceline, relics of the Celtic clergy have been recovered. The title *pápa* fell out of use in Britain. Its use had been confined to the Churches of the Britons and Picts as being P-using Celts. No Gaidheal could have pronounced the name. It occurs once in surviving literature in an early *Epistle* wrongly attributed to Cumine, and is there used of a cleric of the Britons. The modern historian is grateful to Joceline that in spite of his motives and prejudices he preserved so much in S. Kentigern's biography from the original Celtic *Life*; and that he has been supported from most unexpected quarters.

Besides the accounts of S. Kentigern's missions, Joceline has preserved the account of S. Columba's visit‡ to the saint on the Molendinar

\* *Antiqq. Celt-Scand.* (Johnstone), p. 14.

† This name has been fully dealt with on p. 23.

‡ *V.S.K.* capp. xxxix. xl.

## THE PICTISH NATION

at Glasgow. Some writers have treated this as one of Joceline's inventions; but Joceline did not invent anything that exalted the Celtic Church. Moreover, Joceline had before him the old Celtic *Life* of S. Kentigern in which such an incident would certainly appear. Two internal evidences of truth are in the narrative, namely, the appearance to meet S. Columba of the great companies who took their turns in chanting the 'perpetual praise'—one of the features of the monasteries of the Britons at this time, and the exchange of *bachalls* or pastoral staves when the saints parted. Both these ceremonials were foreign to Joceline's experience, although practised by the Celts. The exchange of *bachalls* was no sentimental act but signified the ratification of some agreement. Joceline describes these incidents in a way which shows that he could not explain them. He did not know that no Celtic Ab or bishop ever parted with his *bachall*, except to a person to whom he had delegated his authority to carry out some particular act, or as a pledge of his authority to some agreement. Then, also, after one of king Aedhan's successful eastward thrusts, S. Columba had come and had organized a congregation in a district that had been christianized long before, at Drymen in Lennox, the only foundation of S. Columba east of Drum-Alban in the region of the Britons. Having travelled as far as Drymen, there was no reason why he should not continue

256

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

on to Glasgow, especially as he was following his Scots or Gaidheals into territory that had always belonged either to the Britons or Picts. But apart from the possibilities, there were high necessities of State for such an interview between the saints, and there are actual indications elsewhere of negotiations between the leaders of the Britons and the Gaidheals or Scots. Aedhan, the king of Dalriada, had been obnoxious to Rhydderch, the sovereign of the Britons, before S. Columba set him on the throne. He had not been long enthroned until he began to lead raids into the territory of the Britons, and into Pictland along the British border, not always with happy results to himself. These expeditions into the realm of Rhydderch—who was regarded as the Protector of the Christians—by the nominee of S. Columba were evidently not considered becoming, because Rhydderch secured as an ambassador one of S. Columba's intimate friends called Lugbe Mocumin,\* and sent him, not to Aedhan, whom he and the Britons hated for his 'falseness,' but to S. Columba himself. Lugbe was commissioned to get an explanation of Aedhan's hostile attitude, and, if possible, guarantees for his future conduct. He was able to extract this declaration from S. Columba concerning Rhydderch, 'Never will he be given into the hands of his foes; but he will die within his own house upon a bed of down.' As

\* Adamnan's version of this embassy is given *V.S.C. lib. i. cap. xv.*



## THE PICTISH NATION

Rhydderch, owing to his nation's hatred of Aedhan, would never have consented to treat with a man whose word few Britons trusted, it was manifestly necessary, negotiations having already been opened up with S. Columba, that the leading clerics of the two peoples should meet to allay the mutual hostility, and to arrange that the ministers of religion belonging to Iona and Glasgow should not aggravate it by operating outside their respective kingdoms. The Church of the Britons had as much interest as Rhydderch in keeping the Gaidheals or Scots within their own frontiers, in view of the tradition that the Scots had martyred S. Kessoc, the Irish Pict, who worked in Lennox, and had also martyred S. Constantine, a Briton.

S. CAINNECH, or Kenneth, Ab of Achadh-Bo,\* sometimes called the 'Apostle of Fife,' entered Pictland of Alba after the end of the year A.D. 562 at the head of his own *muinntir*. Along with S. Comgall the Great he interviewed Brude, the sovereign of Pictland. He is carelessly represented as a Gaidheal or Scot by certain writers, but he was, in fact, one of the leading Pictish ecclesiastics of his time. He was born in the territory of the Irish Picts, near the border fort of Dungalimhen, A.D. 516. He was educated under a British-trained teacher, S. Finian the Wise, at

\* Near the head-waters of the Nore in the ancient kingdom of Ossory in Ireland, the hinterland of the Manapian Picts.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

Clonard, and afterwards at S. Mobhi's College at Glasnevin. After S. Mobhi's community had been broken up by the 'Yellow Plague,' in A.D. 544, he 'went to Doac among the Britons,' that is, to the community and school founded at Llancarvan in Glamorganshire by *Cattwg Doeth*, better known as S. Cadoc, whose College came to be called '*Bangor Catog*.' After S. Cainnech's return to Ireland he organized a community in the territory of the Irish Picts at Drumachose, in his native district of Kiannaght in Ulster, about eighteen miles east from the 'Black Church' of Derry, where in Gaidhealic or Scotie territory S. Columba ministered to the clansmen of Aedh, the Gaidhealic chief. Towards the end of A.D. 562 he left his *muinntir* at Drumachose under a deputy, and went to Pictland of Alba. For a time he laboured among the Western (Bede's Northern) Picts. He was present at Tiree with the Pictish ecclesiastical group of which the leading members were S. Comgall the Great, S. Moluag, and Findchan. One of his Church-foundations is in Tiree. According to one *Life* he visited '*Eninis*' or 'Avium Insula,' now '*Eun Innis*,' near the entrance to Loch Buie in Mull. He had a community on Inch-Kenneth in the mouth of Loch-na-Cille Mull—

'Voce ubi Cennethus populos domuisse feroces,  
dicitur.'

The ancient Church-site near the parish



## THE PICTISH NATION

Church of Coll is *Cill Chainnech*. It is stated also that he had foundations in Islay, and at Kilchenzie in Cantyre.

After he had organized his work in the west of Pictland, S. Cainnech crossed to Fife. In the Franciscan Manuscript of the Latin *Life*, it is recorded that S. Cainnech worked at a place which is given as '*Ibdone*.' This is a Latin scribe's attempt to reproduce from the old Celtic *Life* a Celtic genitive or locative, of which the parts are '*ib* (*Fhib*), that is, '*Fib*' or Fife, and *Dún*, that is, *Dun*, a fortified height. This eminence is likewise referred to as '*monadh*.'\* The locality of this *Dun* or *Monadh* is put beyond doubt by the ancient entry in the *Feilire of Aengus* at the 11th October with respect to S. Cainnech, '*Cainnech mac h-Ui Daland; Achadh-Bo a prim Chell, oculus ata Recles do h-i Cill Rig-Monaidh i nAlbain*.' The last words are altered by Tighernac into '*Cind righ Monaidh*,' which is, The head of the hill-slope; the former is The Church of the king's Mount. The whole entry reads, 'Cainnech, son of the family of Dalann; his chief Church is at Achadh-Bo, and he has a *Regles* at *Cill Rig-Monaidh*,' or according to Tighernac '*Cind Righ Monaidh*,' which is now St. Andrews in Fife. It is possible that after S. Cainnech's time, ecclesiastics, influenced by the locality of his Church at the king's castle, turned *Cind Righ Monaidh* into

\* *V.S.K.* cap. xx. p. 148.



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

*Cill Rig-Monaidh*, and as 'Kilrymont' the ancient name of St. Andrews continues. S. Cainnech's Church is here called '*Recles*.' A *Regles* was a Church with a *muinntir* or community of clerics whose Ab directed and supplied its daughter-Churches. It was the seat of the Ab, and he ruled there personally or through a deputy nominated by himself. In the *Kalendar of Gorman* S. Cainnech is called '*Ardabb*,' sovereign Ab, which appears to have been fixed upon by certain writers to vindicate the pretended ancient supremacy of the See of St. Andrews; but it must be remembered that S. Cainnech helps little with these claims, because he was not a bishop but only a presbyter-Ab. The early Roman Catholic prelates felt that the name of S. Cainnech was of so little use to their claims and pretensions that their fabulists invented the daring '*Legend of S. Andrew*,' in which either the Celt, Riaghuil, who was associated with S. Cainnech at *Muc Innis* and at '*Cill-Rule*,'\* St. Andrews, or Riaghuil, a titular Ab of Bangor, who was an exile in Pictland c. A.D. 685, was tricked out as 'S. Rule' and latinized as 'S. Regulus.' This S. 'Rule' or 'Regulus' is placed by the fabulists at Patras in Greece, where the *Legend* represents that S. Andrew had been buried. Moved by a revelation, he rescued part of the relics of S. Andrew, and, as the result of an

\* In Celtic '*riagul*' means rule, Latin, *regula*, hence 'Regulus,' the name of the hero in the '*Legend of S. Andrew*.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

angelic command, set out with them to Pictland, where a certain king of the Picts with all his nobles received and venerated the relics, taking them to Kilrymont, where he dedicated a great part of the place to God and S. Andrew. In one of the versions of the *Legend* it is stated that the king gave Kilrymont 'to God and S. Andrew' that it might be the 'head and mother of all the Churches in the Pictish Kingdom.' The *Legend* not only obscures the historical S. Riaghuil or Rule, but ignores S. Cainnech, S. Servanus and S. Ninian, and many who had been associated with them. The first purpose of the *Legend* was to support the early Roman Catholic claims for the primacy of the See of St. Andrews in Pictland. It, however, was used in later times by the Roman Catholic Scots, jealous of their national and ecclesiastical independence, as a menace to the Pope, and as an answer to the pretensions of the English Archbishops. A people who could write to the Bishop of Rome as follows were not going to take any *second* place. 'Jesus Christ brought the nation of the Scots, settled in the confines of the world, almost *first* to His most holy Faith. It was His desire to confirm them in the Faith by no other than His first apostle, Andrew; and him the nation desires to be always over the people as their protector.'\* Perhaps nowhere else in history have Roman Catholic fables been used so

\* Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 292.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

audaciously to humble the claims of their own Bishop of Rome. The Scots barons, who wrote thus to the Pope, were all the time unaware that the hero of the *Legend* on which they founded was the historical S. Riaghuil or Rule, a Pict.

Except for the 'temple of blessed Kenneth,' which stood near 'Maiden Castle' in Fife, and the memory of *Cill Riaghuil* or 'Cill-Rule' at St. Andrews, the foundations laid by S. Cainnech and the workers from his *Regles* or mother-Church at St. Andrews have been largely obliterated throughout Fife by dedications of the Roman Catholic period. While S. Cainnech laboured in Fife, Gartnaidh mac Domneth, a Christian, who afterwards became sovereign of Pictland, was the local king. One of his seats was at Abernethy-on-Tay, where S. Cainnech and his workers would take their part in supplying the ministry of the royal Church. The Church of Abernethy and S. Cainnech's Church at Achadh-Bo were both noted for their ancient 'Round Towers.'

S. Cainnech, in a dream during his earlier days in Britain, had been warned that in Ireland would be 'the place of his resurrection.' Consequently he returned to his native land A.D. 578 to make his headquarters at Achadh-Bo in the modern Queen's County. Here he organized a community of which some particulars are given in his *Life*, which indicate that its members were trained to



## THE PICTISH NATION

go out, as from Bangor, to supply and help the earlier communities which he had organized. He died on the 11th day of October A.D. 600, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The work which he organized in Fife, on ground that had already been prepared by the historical S. Servanus and others, continued to grow until in the course of time his *Regles* at St. Andrews became not only the mother-Church of Fife, but the central Church of a large part of the Pictish realm. This shifting of the chief religious centre of the Picts from the territory of the Britons was due partly to the gradual absorption of *Candida Casa* by the Angles, and partly to the political dominance exercised by the Picts of Fife and their chiefs who, from the time of Gartnaidh mac Domneth, continued to give active support to the Christian Church. S. Cainnech's *Regles* and its Community were still maintained in A.D. 747, because at that year the *Annals of Ulster* record the death of 'Tuatalan' the Ab.

Contemporaneously with the coming to Pictland of Alba of SS. Comgall, Cainnech, and Moluag an innocent-looking event took place which was destined in later centuries to affect the development and character of the whole Church of the Picts. This was the settlement at I (Iona) among the Western (Bede's Northern) Picts of S. COLUMBA, COLUMCILLE, a Gaidheal or Scot, with a *muinntir* of twelve clerics. When, at the Inver-

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

ness interview, Brude MacMaelchon, the Pictish sovereign, in the presence of the Pictish ecclesiastics, SS. Comgall and Cainnech, conceded a settlement on I (Iona) to S. Columba, the avowed purpose of the latter was to minister to his fellow-Gaidheals or Scots, who as colonists had penetrated Cantyre and some of the southern islands under their own chiefs. But no sooner had S. Columba ordained Aedhan to be the king of these colonists than it became apparent that the designs of the Gaidheals or Scots were to penetrate and occupy the whole of what is now Argyll, from the Atlantic to Drum-Alban on the east, and such other parts of Pictland towards the north as they could secure. From the days, in A.D. 560, when Brude MacMaelchon and the Pictish Army slew Gabhran, the king of Dalriada, and drove his Gaidheals or Scots out of Argyll, except a remnant that was allowed to survive in Cantyre, the hostility between Pict and Scot became a chronic trouble in the western part of north Britain. As Gaidhealic or Scotic aggression increased, the enmity between the two peoples became deeper rooted. The Gaidheals or Scots were striving for elbow-room, and seeking to maintain it; the Picts were striving to preserve their wives and children, their homes, and their native land. As the political relations of the two peoples widened, their Churches and Clergy drifted further and ever further apart. The extent of the breach



## THE PICTISH NATION

can be seen in S. Columba successfully instigating his fellow-clansmen in Ireland to take up arms, and to fight the Irish Picts for the possession of S. Comgall's Church at Ros-Torathair. It can be seen again in the haughty contempt with which Adamnan, S. Columba's eighth successor, refers to the Pictish people. No reader would ever think that he was referring to a nation which had been politically organized and also widely Christianized before his own people. The Gaidheals or Scots are to him as they had been to S. Columba, God's elect people. The Picts, on the other hand, are to him 'barbarians,' or taking his language from the Scriptures, 'Gentiles.' The hostility of the two peoples began definitely with Brude Mac Maelchon's 'drive' and the death of the Scotie king in A.D. 560. The communion between the Churches received a shock when, in A.D. 565, S. Columba denounced Findchan and the Pictish ecclesiastics at Tiree over Aedh Dubh, king of Uladh; and it was utterly broken off before A.D. 582 and 590, when Aedhan, king of the Gaidheals or Scots, raided Pictland and fought the battles of 'Manann' and 'Leith-reid,' on the occasion of which S. Columba and the Community of Iona prayed for victory to Aedhan, which does not appear to have been very complete. As the Church of S. Columba and the Gaidheals or Scots grew, it developed apart from the Church of Pictland, and along the

266



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

lines of the political interests of the Gaidheals or Scots. The history of its growth, the story of its famous mission to the Angles, and notices of its numerous, forceful but fascinating ecclesiastics do not fall within the scope of this work, except in so far as they have affected the Pictish Church.

While Bangor, Glasgow, and the *Regles* at St. Andrews, with Achadh-Bo behind it, had been providing an organized ministry to Pictland during the last forty years of the sixth century, *Candida Casa*, in spite of nearer demands, had not been negligent. The last of the big missions associated with this ancient Community of S. Ninian, while it still remained part of the Celtic Church, left its gates, *c.* A.D. 580, under 'DONNAN MOR,' S. DONNAN THE GREAT, an Irish Pict. The story of the life and sufferings of S. Donnan, which were known to the early scholiasts on the ancient Irish *Kalendars*, has been lost; but various extracts indicate the range of his work, and many of his Church-foundations survive to speak for themselves. His itinerary is clearly traced by these foundations stretching from the doors of *Candida Casa* to Caithness, and then across Pictland to the island of Eigg, where he and his followers were martyred. It is of some importance to note that the first and intermediate Churches which he founded on his journey, except where he turned aside to visit Iona, are all near to

## THE PICTISH NATION

Churches originally founded by S. Ninian, a decided indication in itself of his interest in the charges of *Candida Casa*. His foundations are Cill-Donnan in Kirkmaiden (now part of a farm), Cill-Donnan, two miles west of Kirkcolm, both in the same district as Church-foundations of S. Ninian, and in the same county as *Candida Casa*; Cill-Donnan in Colmonell, and another Cill-Donnan in Carrick, both near to foundations of S. Ninian; Cill-Donnan in Arran, and Cill-Donnan in Cantyre; Cill-Donnan on the Inverness-shire Garry, not far away from *Tempul Ninian* on Loch Ness; Cill-Donnan in Sutherland, in the same parish as S. Ninian's Church, Navidale. This is the place described by the scholiast as 'Aldafain Cattaibh in boreali Albania.'\* The name has been blundered by some other copyist transcribing from a Celtic document. 'Aldafain' is simply *Ilidh afon*, † *Ilidh* river, that is, the Helmsdale, formerly the *Īlidh*; and *Cattaibh* is the old name of Caithness, of which Sutherland is the southern part. The original Celtic description probably ran like this: 'Cill Donnan on the river *Ilidh*, in the territory of the Catti in the north of Alba.' Where the Alt-Donnain joins the *Ilidh*,

\* This is the transcript made from a MS. by Thomas O'Sheerin of Louvain in the seventeenth century, and furnished to Henschenius. 'Aldafain,' itself corrupt, has been found even more corrupt. Dr. Whitley Stokes selected the reading '*Alsasain*' from one copyist, and, considering the context, gave it the extraordinary interpretation, 'Old Saxons.'

† This, be it noted, is the Britonic form, pointing to a manuscript of Britonic origin.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

stand S. Donnan's Church and Churchyard. About a mile away, on land where are abundant hut circles and burial-cairns, marking Pictish villages, is the locality called 'the College,' where his *muinntir* settled; and, in the background, the mountain which in its name preserves the nationality of some of the ancient Clerics, 'Cnoc-an- Erinach,' Hill of the Irishman. In Kildonnan parish is also S. Donnan's sanctuary marked off by Girth-crosses, and the *Cathair Donnan* or *Suidhe Donnan*. The old *stagnum* by the Church is called '*Loch-an-Ab*,' although now quite dry.

S. Donnan's Church at Auchterless was probably founded by a voyage across the Moray Firth from Helmsdale. It is near an '*Annat*' or mother-Church, founded by S. Ninian.

S. Donnan's foundations among the Western (Bede's Northern) Picts are at Cill-Donnan, Little Loch Broom; at Eilan Donnan, Kintail; Cill-Donnan at Lyndale, Skye; Cill-Donnan on Little Bernera (Uig), Lewis; Cill-Donnan in South Uist; and Cill-Donnan in Eigg, where he and his *muinntir* perished. Many ancient foundations from Caithness to Aberdeenshire, and from the North Sea to the Atlantic, bear the names of his known disciples; and one of his disciples, Tarlog, founded a Church and laboured in Ross close to the Celtic Abbey of S. Ninian at Edderton, where S. Finbar, another pupil of *Candida Casa*, had also laboured.



## THE PICTISH NATION

An interesting effort of S. Donnan on his northward journey was his attempt to renew communion between the Pictish Church and S. Columba, as representing the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots. One district of Pictland had been left practically uninfluenced by the many missions that had entered Pictland under Brito-Pictish leaders, namely, the district on the north-west between Cape Wrath and Loch Moidart. It is evident from what afterwards happened to S. Donnan that he had contemplated organizing a *muinntir* there, to minister to the Picts of that long stretch. Such a design would, of course, have been obnoxious to the political designs of the Gaidheals or Scots, owing to their ambition to extend their power and influence northward from Argyll. With this purpose in view, S. Donnan went to S. Columba at Iona to secure his friendship and mutual communion between his own and S. Columba's clerics. S. Columba's recognition would also have meant protection for himself and his workers against Aedhan, the king of the Gaidheals or Scots. When the Pictish and Gaidhealic Abs met, S. Columba refused S. Donnan's request, indicating that there was to be no communion between the Churches. The story of the interview and its result is best told in a translation of the quaint account in Celtic:\* 'It is this Donnan who went to Columcille to get him

\* By the early scholiast in the *Feilire of Aengus*.

## BANGOR & GLASGOW

to be a soul-friend (*"anmcharait"*). Columcille replied to him, "I shall not be soul-friend to folk *destined* to red-martyrdom";\* says he, "thou shalt go to red-martyrdom, thou and thy *muinntir* with thee"; and so it, *afterwards*, happened.' Thus ended one of the earlier attempts to renew communion with the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots after S. Columba's denunciation of Findchan, his quarrel with S. Comgall, and the declared hostility of Aedhan, his nominee, against the Pictish sovereign and people.

S. Donnan perished with fifty-two† members of his *muinntir*, in the refectory adjoining his Church on the island of Eigg, on the 17th day‡ of April A.D. 617,§ after celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The *Kalendar of Donegal* calls the authors of the massacre '*bergaigh*,' robbers. The scholiast in the *Kalendar of Gorman* calls them '*pioraiti na fairgi*,' pirates of the ocean, which would indicate the early Frisian Vikings who were on the coasts of Scotland long before the Scandinavian Vikings. The later scholiast in the *Feilire* gives this account of the martyrdom: 'Donnan then went with his *muinntir* into *Gallgaedelaib*.|| And (in course of time) they settle where the chief-lady of the district was wont to

\* There was 'white martyrdom' among the Celts. 'Red martyrdom' was when life was taken.

† The original Irish authority was read both as 'lii' and as 'liv'.

‡ *Feilire of Aengus*.

§ *Tighernac, Annals of Ulster*, Reeves.

|| '*Gallgaedelaib*' is not 'Galloway,' as some writers translate it, nor

## THE PICTISH NATION

keep her sheep. This was told to the lady. "Let them all be killed." "That would be impious," replied everyone. But, at length, men come to slay them. The Cleric was now at the "*Oifrend*" (the celebration of the Eucharist). "Let us have respite till the *Oifrend* is ended," asked Donnan. "It will be granted," replied they. Afterwards, the whole company were martyred together.' *Tighernac* and the *Annals of Ulster* designate the tragedy as a 'combustio,' which would indicate that the buildings were set on fire, and such clerics as came forth, slain by the sword. Up to this time the Pictish Church had, so far as is known, only one martyr\* on its roll of honour.

The ancient notes concerning S. Donnan's Churches are historically most valuable. Considered along with the particulars of S. Moluag's mission in Western Pictland, they reveal that c. A.D. 617 the northern Hebrides and the north-

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the 'Hebrides,' as Reeves translates it. It was a name applied after the Viking invasions to several districts of Ireland and Scotland, where there was a population bred from a mixture of the Gall and the Gaidheal, or from the Gall and the Picts either of Erin or Alba. The Gall in this instance were, of course, the Scandinavians. '*Gallgaedelaib*,' as here used, indicates Caithness, which is still currently referred to by Celts as *Gallaibh* (the shortened form) which displaced *Cattaibh*, the Pictish name for Caithness and Sutherland. '*Gallgaedelaib*' is a misnomer at best. It shows that the scholiast had a very imperfect idea, not uncommon after the Viking invasions, of how much of the north of Scotland the Gaidheals had penetrated; and how much the Vikings had occupied. He appears also to have had the impression that Donnan was martyred at Cill-Donnan, Sutherland.

\* Namely S. Kessoc. S. Cadoc and S. Constantine belonged really to the Church of the Britons.



## BANGOR & GLASGOW

west of the mainland, where both laboured, contained a population in which the Picts predominated. They also show how the way was opened up for S. Maelrubha in his later and more widespread operations in north-western Pictland. They help to vindicate *Nennius*, and they indicate that 'pirates of the ocean' raided parts of the coast of Pictland many years before the appearance of the Scandinavian Vikings. They expose Joceline's manœuvres in the interests of the Roman See of Glasgow by showing that S. Donnan was engaged in Galloway, in the active care of the Churches of *Candida Casa*, at the very time when Joceline wished the world to believe that these Churches and their districts had fallen to the care of Glasgow. Further it is to be noted that while S. Donnan was busily employed as the deputy of *Candida Casa* in extending the Church in the north-west of Pictland, and in ministering to congregations at earlier foundations of *Candida Casa* elsewhere in the North; S. Dagan\* bishop and Ab, another Irish Pict, who had been trained at S. Comgall's Bangor, was actually the ruling Cleric and President of *Candida Casa*. In passing, the presence of these and other Irish Picts occupying leading ecclesiastical positions in the Galloway of this period suggests how this province came to be considered Pictish. Originally it had been part of Roman Britain, and, after-

\* He is referred to in Bede's *H.E.G.A.* lib. ii. cap. iv.

## THE PICTISH NATION

wards, it became part of the revived kingdom of the Britons. But it lay opposite, and close to the territory of the northern Irish Picts whom the Irish Gaidheals or Scots were continually pressing into the sea. It is certain that ecclesiastics like SS. Dagan and Donnan were not the only Irish Picts who had crossed into Galloway; and it is hardly likely that they would have taken the positions there which they did, if there had not been a considerable Iro-Pictish element and influence among the original Britonic population. Even in Bede's time, when Galloway was subject to the Angles of Bernicia, the leading clergy of the new Church of the Roman Mission bear names like 'Pechthelm' and 'Pechtwine' which indicate Pictish owners.

## S. DAGAN OF *CANDIDA CASA*; AND THE ATTEMPTS OF THE ROMAN MISSION TO ABSORB THE BRITO-PICTISH CHURCH CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE Roman missionaries under the leadership of Augustine, who entered Kent *c.* A.D. 597, had taken the invading Teutons as their particular charge. Wherever the military or political power of Angle or Saxon prevailed, they took advantage of it to push forward the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman Church. Across the Saxon or Anglian borders, however, they always came up against the older organization of the Church of the Britons which had ministered throughout the island long before their arrival. It has already been noted that, *c.* A.D. 603, Augustine aspired to impose the authority and organization of the Roman Church upon this branch of the Celtic Church among the Britons; and, to this end, secured a conference with the British clergy who came mostly from the Bangor of S. Dunod. It has also been noted that Augustine's aspirations were defeated by his own arrogance and pretensions, by the fact that the clergy of the British Church were fully conscious of the authority and history of their own Church, and regarded the Roman clergy as innovators and foreigners whose aggression rested on the secu-



## THE PICTISH NATION

lar power commanded by the national foes of the Britons. The failure of the Roman clergy on this occasion was followed by threats which even the pious Bede saw fulfilled in the ghastly massacre of the brethren of S. Dunod's community on the eve of the rout of Legacaester (Chester) A.D. 613, of which the hero was Ethelfrid, the most savage of the Teuton invaders, whom Bede admiringly but most unjustly likened to Saul, king of Israel, except that he declared him ignorant of 'Divine religion.' About A.D. 606, after the death of Augustine, and when Laurentius occupied his precarious seat at Canterbury, the new prelate and two other members of the Roman Mission, Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester, made a second attempt to bring the Celtic clergy, Church, and people, into the Roman fold. Although Augustine at the time of his death had only an insecure hold of the Kentish corner of the Saxon possessions with the goodwill of Ethelbert, one of the Saxon kings, whose subjects were really pagan; he had, if the composite version of Bede can be trusted, with the recognition of Rome, arrogated to himself the title of 'Archbishop of Britain.'\* By the promulgation of this title Rome refused consideration to the Church of the Britons, and denied it the respect due to the daughter of the ancient Church of Gaul.

Laurentius directed his attempt at the control

\* Bede, lib. ii. cap. iii.

## ROME & *CANDIDA CASA*

of the Celtic Church through S. Dagan\* of *Candida Casa*, in the first instance. No details are given, and nothing would be known of the effort if Bede had not referred to it in the preface to a letter which Laurentius and his two colleagues addressed to the bishops and presbyters of the Celtic Church in Ireland.† They also addressed a similar letter to the bishops of the Church of the Britons which, as Bede indicates, had no effect. The letter to the Irish was superscribed as follows: 'Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, Bishops, servants of the servants of God; to the lords Bishops and Abbots throughout all the country of the Irish.' The letter proceeds to state that before they came to Britain they had held both the Britons and Irish in great esteem for sanctity; and had believed that they walked according to the usage of the universal Church, they meant the Church of Rome as they knew it. They had been disappointed with the Britons, however, but continued to hope better conduct on the part of the Irish. 'Now,' the letter continues sadly, 'we have learned from Bishop Dagan, who has come into this aforesaid island (Britain), and from the Abbot Columban (S. Columbanus from Ban-

\* Bede, lib. ii. cap. iv.

† Referred to as 'Scots,' the usual designation on the Continent of the Irish generally, at that time. This name is now the current designation of the Gaidheals, and is usually restricted to the Gaidheals of Scotland. The two Celtic ecclesiastics referred to in the letter of Laurentius were, however, pupils of the great Pictish College of Bangor in Ulster, and were *Pictish* ecclesiastics.



## THE PICTISH NATION

gor) in Gaul, that the Irish in no way differ from the Britons in their walk; because when Bishop Dagan came to us, not only did he refuse to eat at the same table, but refused even to eat in the same guest-house.' Evidently there had been a conference at some convenient centre like that arranged by Augustine at 'the Oak on the border of the Hwiccas.' The Celts, never destitute of humour, could hardly help being amused by this letter. The Celtic bishops, bound by a strong rule to humility, taking their turn of menial work with the humblest brother in the *muinntir*, living under the rule and authority of the Ab, clad in coarse garments, subsisting on the plainest fare, holding no gifts and no property for themselves, aspiring to the severest apostolic simplicity, must have marvelled to find themselves addressed as 'lords Bishops.' It was in extreme contrast to the ways of their own people, who the greater that their clergy happened to be, only loaded their names with diminutives of affection; and even though they were the sons of kings, addressed them in the terms that they applied to their pet children, and even to their pet animals. The letter of the prelates, so far as quoted by Bede, mentions that S. Dagan had come into Britain; but whence or whither is suppressed. S. Dagan's name is the last in the list of Celtic bishops\* in

\* They are not in chronological order. Some names are, others are arranged by groups.



## ROME & CANDIDA CASA

the *Litany of Dunkeld*. Camerarius\* has preserved the information that he was bishop in 'Galloway,' the later diocesan name of *Candida Casa*, and that he had been trained at Bangor, Bangor of Ulster is meant. In the letter he is bracketed with S. Columbanus, another of S. Comgall's pupils at Bangor of Ulster. It is plain that the Roman missionaries wished, in this instance, to rope in the Irish Celts by the agency of the Pictish ecclesiastics of Bangor, the training-centre which at this time (c. A.D. 606) was sending into Britain and over the continent of Europe the most learned and most influential men of the Celtic world. When the Roman bishops in Gaul first assailed S. Columbanus (c. A.D. 585), it was not regarding any essential of the Faith nor any point of morals, then so lax among the Frankish clergy, but simply that he might adopt Rome's latest method of calculating Easter, and that he might allow himself and his *muinntirs* to be absorbed into the Roman ecclesiastical system. Among the Gallican clergy there was sympathy with S. Columbanus, because all bore witness to his irreproachable life; but the poorly-educated, domineering, Frankish clergy, who were the corrupt creatures of an immoral court, persecuted

\* As late as the sixteenth century Camerarius had access to some MS. of Britonic origin which has since disappeared, because to him we owe our knowledge of Euchad of *Candida Casa*, whom Colgan knew of as an 'Apostle to the Picts,' of certain acts of S. Finbar, pupil at *Candida Casa*, and of S. Dagan, the last of its prominent Abbot-bishops.

## THE PICTISH NATION

him. He was summoned to Synods which he never attended. One of his letters still survives which is believed to have been written to the second Council of Mâcon, A.D. 585. The biting irony and laughing humility which it contains were probably wasted on the gross Teutonic minds of the Franks and Burgundians. Intellectually he was as a giant among these men; morally, as an angel of light. But the superscription of his letter is, from 'Columbanus, a sinner,' to the bishops 'his holy lords.' He expresses thanks that so many 'holy men' convene to judge him. He hopes that 'assembled in Christ' they would concern themselves not merely with the Paschal date; but with discipline in the interests of the moral purity of the Church, a condition for which he had already denounced some of the bishops as being responsible. He points out that he came to Gaul for the cause of Jesus Christ, and he pleads that he be left unmolested. He declares that he did not originate the difference about Easter; but indicates, as afterwards to the Bishop of Rome,\* that it began in the method of Anatolius, who was approved by S. Jerome. He indicates also that he was loyal to the traditions of the Celtic Church and the ways of S. Comgall the Great, his teacher. He then closes his letter with a noble appeal: 'Let all follow the Gospel and Jesus Christ our Head.' 'Fathers of the Church,' he continues,

\* In his letter to Gregory.

## ROME & CANDIDA CASA

'pray for us, as we, though vile mortals, pray for you. Do not cast us out from you as aliens. We are joint members of the one Body whether we be Gauls, Britons, or Irish,\* or of whatsoever other nation. Forgive my prolonged epistle and firmness, as of one struggling beyond his strength. *Do not forget* that you, most holy and most patient fathers, are also our brothers.'

The Celtic Church had developed out of S. Martin's revolt against the luxury, moral laxity, and hankering after temporal power which characterized the Church of the West in the fourth century when the influence of the bishopric of Rome was limited by the character of its bishops. In the interval between S. Martin and S. Columbanus the Roman Church had aggrandized itself by giving countenance to the 'barbarians,' after they had settled, in return for their support. The 'barbarians' in the time of S. Columbanus were still only nominal Christians. There was some outward polish to the vice of the decaying Roman civilization which S. Martin denounced; but the public lewdness of the Frankish barbarians which roused S. Columbanus was brutally coarse and disgusting. Many of the clergy had compromised with their Teutonic masters, with the result that the moral obligations and ideals of the Church were thrust aside in many quarters. Many of her ministers cared only for centralizing

\* The reading has been taken as 'Ivernian' and as 'Iberian.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

the control of the Church in the Bishop of Rome, for unquestioning submission to the recent mon-archic type of bishop, for formal adherence to approved dogma, and evenness of organization. S. Columbanus showed that he fully comprehended the deteriorated condition of the Church, he stood for purity and cleanness of life, for humanity in thought and action, for honest adhesion to Christ's example; and he held that there was as much need in his own time as there had been in the fourth century to maintain the tradition of S. Martin, his spiritual father, and to manifest within the Church the apostolic pattern of its ministry, and to demand Christ's own requirements from His converts. S. Dagan acted exactly like S. Columbanus. As President of *Candida Casa*, the treasury in Britain of the traditions that S. Ninian had brought direct from S. Martin, he fearlessly stood aloof from the Roman missionaries. The attitude of both these great pupils of Bangor was the attitude of Bangor itself, and of all its dependent communities, both among the Picts of Erin and the Picts of Alba. The whole of the Northern Picts of Ireland still held out against the dictation of Rome in A.D. 641, because in that year John IV., Bishop of Rome, wrote once more to the Irish clergy trying to attract them into the Roman organization, and under Roman discipline, that is if certain versions of Bede's original can be trusted. Part of the super-

## ROME & CANDIDA CASA

scription of the letter, however, is suspect, and the part of it relating to an abbot and bishop of Armagh in A.D. 641 is certainly an interpolation in the interests of the claims of that See to primacy. However, among the clergy alleged to have been addressed by Bishop John are Laisranus or Mac Laisre, presbyter-abbot of Bangor in Ulster, who died 16th May A.D. 646, and Cronan, bishop and abbot of the neighbouring smaller but more ancient community of Aondruim which had been dependent on *Candida Casa*. S. Dagan's behaviour in refusing to eat with Laurentius and the bishops of London and Rochester has generally been represented as a contemptible example of Celtic pettiness, but this is due to historical ignorance. S. Dagan lived under the very strict Rule of S. Comgall which was observed wherever the pupils of Bangor ruled or ministered. Laurentius and his fellow-bishops were hindered by no such Rule. S. Dagan was not allowed to feast; but was restricted to a minimum quantity of the simplest food, to be eaten only in the evening. He was not allowed to enter into contentious conversations, which was the reason assigned by S. Columbanus, another Bangor pupil, for not meeting the bishops of Gaul in Council. He was compelled to avoid worldly ambition and temptation, and, therefore, the honours held out by the Roman missionaries to those who would submit to Rome. Moreover, S. Dagan,



## THE PICTISH NATION

used not only to a strict life, but to demand a high moral standard from his disciples, could not approve of the Church represented by Laurentius which, as is visible from the pages of Bede himself, tolerated the greatest moral laxity in its secular supporters. We see the state of public life and ignorance among the Teutonic Saxons of Kent in the paganism and immorality of the prince Eadbald\* under the eyes of the professedly Christian king Ethelbert and his chief bishop; and among the princes and people of the East Saxons who, during the life of a professedly Christian king, Sabert, openly practised the coarse idolatry of the Teutons; and as they looked on at Mellitus, the Roman bishop of London, celebrating the Holy Eucharist, demanded of him, 'Why do you not give also to us that white-bread which you used to give to our father Saba?' Is it possible to imagine a sensitive, reverent Celt like S. Dagan, brought up in an atmosphere of impressive devotion, giving countenance to those who were content with such a condition of public morals and manners; or to think of him accepting an invitation to enter a Church supported by these gross Teutons who were the hated foes of his nation? However, there was humour as well as pain in the whole situation. While Laurentius and his fellow-bishops were calling upon the Britons, Picts, and other Celts to submit to Rome and to re-

\* Bede, lib. ii. cap. v.



## ROME & CANDIDA CASA

cognize the new Archbishop of Canterbury as their Archbishop, they had actually not secured their own foothold in England. In A.D. 616 the East Saxons revived idolatry, and Mellitus, the bishop of London, and Justus, the bishop of Rochester, fled to Gaul. Laurentius the Archbishop was about to follow their example when he was restrained by a change in the affections of the king, who suddenly put away his father's wife, his stepmother, with whom he had been living, and professed sympathy for the sufferings of his chief cleric. Justus was recalled to Rochester; but the people of London refused to receive Mellitus their bishop, preferring their heathen priests. Yet the attitude of S. Dagan, S. Columbanus, and other Pictish and British ecclesiastical leaders towards the overtures of these foreign ecclesiastics, hardly able to keep their heads above the flood of Teutonic paganism, has been contentedly described by historians as a typical example of Celtic ignorance and obstinacy. The truth is that the Celtic Church had inherited a tradition as to the necessity of moral as well as theological purity in the Church to which its ministers refused to prove false. S. Dagan's day in the *Kalendar* is the 29th May, but the year of his death in the seventh century has not been preserved.

Some time after S. Dagan's death the military power of the Angles opened a way for Rome into Galloway, where ecclesiastical diplomacy

## THE PICTISH NATION

had failed. The Anglian domination of the ancient British district, so closely associated with S. Ninian and his work, was not brought about by sudden conquest and extermination, but by gradual penetration. No precise dates can be given for it; but it certainly began after the battle of Legacaester (Chester), A.D. 613, when Ethelfrid attempted to secure the separation of the Strathclyde Britons from those to the southward by a wedge of Anglian settlers. The domination was becoming effective in the reign of Edwin the Angle, slain A.D. 633, whose control reached from the North Sea across to the Irish waters;\* and it appears to have been complete in the reign of Oswy, who died A.D. 670. During this period the place names began to change, which has been a source of much confusion in later times. *Candida Casa* was translated into early English, and it became *Hwit-Erne*, now Whithorn. The Celts gave the district a name which the Latin scribes reproduce as 'Galweya,' that is, the province of the Gall or Strangers (Angles). Part of the locality of *Candida Casa* received the hybrid name, 'Glaston,'† still so pronounced, but spelled 'Glasterton.' Another part was known by another hybrid name, 'Ynswitrin,' that is, Innis‡-Whithorn,

\* According to Bede.

† The fabulists, who wrote in the interests of the antiquity of Glastonbury, deliberately transferred much historical matter that applied to 'Ynswitrin' of 'Glaston' in Galloway to Glastonbury of Somerset.

‡ The Pictish *Innis* is not always applied to a complete island.

## ROME & *CANDIDA CASA*

still known as 'Isle of Whithorn.' During the reign of King Edwin, just mentioned, the king's chief cleric, the tactful Roman missionary, Paulinus, in the time of his uncertain tenure of the new bishopric of York, between A.D. 626 and 633, visited 'the first church in Britain, built at Ynswitrin,'\* that is, of course, the church founded at *Candida Casa* by S. Ninian, and 'Ynswitrin' is Isle of Whithorn to the present day. The benevolent bishop, finding the hurdle-work of the building dilapidated, strengthened the Church with wood and metal-sheathing.

That kindness of Paulinus was an act of true Christian charity; because, though *Candida Casa* was in his nominal diocese, there is no indication that its clergy had yet conformed to Rome. The visit, however, was ominous for the future of *Candida Casa*; because, if the mother-Church of the Britons was going to fall under the care of the chief cleric of the Angles, it was manifest that York, from its geographical position and its importance as a political centre, would become the ecclesiastical centre of the future, and not *Candida Casa*. After the flight of Paulinus from his bishopric at York in A.D. 633, the Celts of Galloway were left to the undisturbed ministry of their

\* Cf. Reeves, Adamnan's *V.S.C.* p. 106, and authorities. Even the careful Dr. Reeves makes no protest against the fabulists who transferred this act of Paulinus away from his own diocese to distant Glastonbury, whither, at the time, Paulinus could not have gone except at the risk of his life.



## THE PICTISH NATION

own clergy. In A.D. 635 the mission, headed by Aidan from the Columban Church of the Gaidheals or Scots of Iona, came among the Angles at the request of king Oswald; but even then *Candida Casa* was undisturbed, because it was in close touch with Bangor, and the centre of Aidan's activities was far away at Lindisfarne on the eastern coast of the Angles. In A.D. 664 Ceadda, a disciple of Aidan, was ordained 'bishop of the church of York.'\* This wise and good bishop, who declined to adopt the grand manners of the Roman 'lord bishops,' applied himself 'to humility, self-denial, and study, travelling about, not on horseback, but on foot, and preaching the Gospel in towns, the open country, villages, cottages, and castles, after the manner of the Apostles.' Bede indicates that through his teaching 'the Scots who dwelt among the Angles'—by 'Scots,' † of course, he means Irish, whether Gaidheals or Picts—conformed to the ways of the Roman Church or returned 'to their own country.' ‡

After the Roman bishops, John, § Wilfrid II., || and Egbert, ¶ had by their administrative abilities restored York to be a centre of control, *Candida Casa* again comes into the light. This time it is

\* Bede, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

† Such was the meaning of the name at this time.

‡ Bede, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

§ Transferred to York, 705; retired and died, 721.

|| Succeeded John, 718; resigned, 732; died, 745. Highly praised by Alcuin.

¶ Received the pallium as Archbishop of York, 735.

## ROME & *CANDIDA CASA*

as a diocesan bishopric of the Roman Church, and it is governed by a monarchic bishop, who is a suffragan of the Archbishop of York. Two of the first four Roman bishops bear Anglian names that indicate their Pictish origin and Pictish sympathies. Pechthelm was bishop A.D. 730, and Pechtwine A.D. 776.

Thus *Candida Casa*, the mother-Church of the Britons and Picts, cut off from her own children by an unsympathetic secular power, passed into the organization and service of the Church of a foreign invader, controlled from an alien State. Even then she did not forget her former glory, but by the jealousy of the Sees of York and Glasgow she was kept humble. In later times, when a fresh inflow of Celtic blood into Galloway revived the old Celtic spirit of the bishopric, she insisted on renewing her former interest in the Celts. It is to her honour that, after the Viking period, she sent out her missionary 'Malcolme' with a companion, who, *c.* A.D. 1223-27, occupied and revived S. Ninian's ancient foundation at Fearn of Edderton,\* in Ross, on territory also hal-  
lowed by the work of SS. Finbar and Donnan, both connected with *Candida Casa*. About A.D. 1238-42, this interesting house was transported to *Nova Farina*\* (Fearn), south of Tain, where it

\* The Celtic remains of Fearn of Edderton, and the story of the later house at *Nova Farina*, are fully given in the author's *S. Ninian*, chapter x.

## THE PICTISH NATION

continued to maintain its connection with *Candida Casa* until the Reformation of the Church of Rome in Scotland.



# THE LEADERS OF THE CHURCH IN PICTLAND IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY CHAPTER TWELVE

OF the rank and file of the ministers of the Church of the Picts sent out in the seventh century from *Candida Casa*, Glasgow, and Bangor, little is known except their bare names attached to some cross-marked stone, well, pool in a stream, or disused Churchyard, with, perhaps, a chance confirmation of their existence in the *Life* or *Acts* of some Celtic Ab or bishop. Fortunately something more is recoverable concerning some of the leaders. While S. Donnan the Great was still active in the north and north-west of Pictland S. Blaen\* took up the work of his uncle, S. Catan, and concentrated his attention on the south-west and south.

S. BLAEN was born in the island of Bute, trained at the great Pictish school of Bangor in Ulster, and associated afterwards with his master S. Comgall and the latter's friend S. Cainnech (Kenneth) of Fife and Achadh-Bo in their work in Pictland. His mother was Ertha,† sister of S. CATAN,‡ who had gone in her youth with her

\* See *Vita Catani*, notes, *AA. SS. Hib.* Colgan. S. Blaen's *Life* was written by Newton, Archdeacon of Dunblane. Cf. also *Aberdeen Breviary*. His story was much garbled by the fabulists.

† The Gaidheals or Scots spelled her name 'Erca,' a favourite name with them, because an Erca had been daughter of Loarn Mor.

‡ Not to be confused with S. Cadan of Magilligan in Derry. S. Catan's

## THE PICTISH NATION

brother from Ulster to Bute, where S. Catan organized a *muinntir* some years after the founding of Bangor, A.D. 558. It is out of the ungarbled particulars about S. Catan that most information about S. Blaen is recovered. S. Catan was the son of Madan, descended from Irial the son of Conall Cearnach, and was thus a member of the great Clan Rudhraighe of the Ulster Picts. He was consequently related to S. Comgall the Great and to S. Moluag, which determined S. Blaen's interest in the work of these leading Pictish ecclesiastics. The husband of S. Catan's sister is described as a 'man of that country'\* where she had settled, indicating that he was either a Briton or Pict of Alba. S. Catan is referred to as the foster-father and teacher of S. Blaen; and the *Martyrology of Donegal* is careful to explain that this is 'Blaen of *Cinn-Garadh*.' From the fact that S. Blaen was able to get his early education in Bute, it is apparent that the newer and later *muinntirs* continued to make the education

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day in Scotland was 17th or 18th May. In certain Irish *Kalendars* he is noted at 1st February.

\* The Scotie fabulists, with a view to appropriating S. Blaen as a Gaidheal or Scot, state that Aedhan Mac Gabhran, king of Dalriada, was S. Blaen's father. Apart from the grossness of the suggestion, it is known to be untrue. Aedhan's wife and children are known; and, of course, Blaen is not among the latter. Another phase of the fable which makes S. Blaen to be uncle of S. Molais or Molaisren of Lamlash is therefore untrue also; because this Molaisren was son of Maithgemm, daughter of Aedhan. The Molaisren to whom S. Blaen was related was Ab of Bangor and died on the 16th of May 646. Both were relatives of S. Comgall the Great.

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

of the young a feature of their work as at *Candida Casa* and the Bangors. S. Catan's *muinntir* of Pictish clergy was organized within a *Lis* at the south end of Bute. The place took its name from it, and came to be known as '*Cinn-garadh*,' Head of the Inclosure. Near it, on Kilchattan Bay, was the Church founded by the saint\* and bearing his name. A *Suidhe*, a feature of the locality of so many Pictish *muinntirs*, called after S. Catan, is in Kingarth parish behind the ancient *Lis*, while the *Suidhe Blaen* is opposite. The date of S. Catan's death has not been preserved; but it occurred about the end of the sixth century, because he was still alive when S. Blaen returned from completing his training at Bangor. S. Catan's connection with Bangor and its distinguished president, and his filial appreciation of the advantages of that great

\* S. Catan also founded Churches in Pictland and the western islands. His known foundations on the islands are in Gigha, Colonsay, Luing, and at Stornoway in Lewis. Scarinch chapel, if the Macleod tradition can be trusted, is a dedication of the Roman Catholic period at the instigation of a chief of Macleod. S. Catan's foundations on the mainland were at Kilchattan, Southend, Cantyre; Ardchattan in Lorn; and Aber Ruthven.

As S. Catan was a contemporary and relative of S. Moluag and, like him, related to S. Comgall, and as all were Irish Picts, it is interesting to find them working in the old Pictish territory of Argyll and the islands, in spite of the Gaidhealic or Scotie colonists and their ecclesiastical leader S. Columba. It is plain from this: (1) that the Dalriads took a long time to make their penetration of the Pictish territories in the west effective; (2) that in Cantyre itself and elsewhere in Argyll, S. Columba's act of enthroning Aedhan at the expense of the royal clan of Comghall Mac Domangart, which produced civil war, gave many of the Dalriads political reasons for remaining detached from the Columban clergy.



## THE PICTISH NATION

college of the Picts, naturally moved him to send S. Blaán thither. There the young man spent the greater part of seven years. It is stated also that S. Blaán was for a time with the other eminent Pictish Ab S. Cainnech; but whether this was in Fife, or after S. Cainnech had organized Achadh-Bo, A.D. 578, is not made clear. S. Blaán eventually succeeded his uncle, and he became Ab and bishop of the Pictish community at Kingarth. It is instructive that the scholiast in the *Feilire of Aengus*\* indicates the district in which Kingarth is situated as '*Gallgaedelaib*.' Once more, this is not Galloway, nor was it so understood in the earlier Kalendars. The use of '*Gallgaedelaib*' to cover Bute indicates that the note was made subsequent to the Viking invasions, at a time when the Norsemen had intermarried with Briton, Pict, or Gaidheal along the coasts, and when a breed half-Teutonic and half-Celtic occupied and ruled the island of Bute. This was actually the situation in the tenth century.† The *Feilire* refers to 'Blaán of beauti-

\* *Leabhar Breac* MS.

† '*Gallgaedelaib*' was an inaccurate name from a national point of view; because the Celtic side of the cross-breed was represented by Britons and Picts as often as Gaidheals. The Scotie clerics gave the name currency.

In 1034 '*Gallgaedelaib*' was correctly used of a large part of the west coast, including the Islands. Once it is used of Caithness and Sutherland.

In 1034 the dominions of the *Galls*, under Thorfinn the Jarl, included the Northern, Western, and Southern Islands, Caithness, parts of Sutherland, Ross, Argyll, and Galloway, not to mention coast settlements in Moray, Buchan, Mearns, and Angus.

After the death of Olaf of Man in 1153, Godred his son and Somerled,

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

ful *Cenn Garad*,' which in this instance is not poetical licence. Few more beautiful Church-sites exist in Britain. The *Feilire* also describes the community as spiritually healthful, fair, and 'assertive.' S. Blaan also founded a Church at 'Kilblain' near Kilchattan Cantyre. He carried his work into 'Levinia' (Lennox) and Stirling. He was the founder of the Church of Dunblane, and this site, in later centuries during the Roman Catholic period, became the seat of the bishops of that diocese.\* This accident gave a prominence to the name of S. Blaan which threatened to eclipse the earlier work of his predecessor S. Catan. The year of S. Blaan's death is not known, but his next recorded successor was Daniel, Ab and bishop, who died at Kingarth A.D. 660. Iolan, the next Ab and bishop at Kingarth, died A.D. 689. The community was very ably led during S. Ronan's presidency. At A.D. 737 Tighernac records the death of Ronan, Ab of 'Cind-Garadh.' Maelmanach, a successor of S. Ronan, died A.D. 776. This and the other dates are confirmed by

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lord of Argyll, his son-in-law, quarrelled over the Islands. Following a naval battle fought on the night of the Epiphany 1156 it was settled that Godred should take Man and Arran and the Outer Isles, while Somerled's people received Bute, and the Islands clinging to the Argyll coast south of Ardnamurchan.

\* In the *Breviary of Aberdeen* it will be seen how the fabulists invented for him a journey to Rome, and the miracle of raising a dead boy, for which he received four lordships in England. The whole fable was invented to justify the possession by the Roman See of Dunblane of the revenues of Appleby, Troclyngham, Congere, and Malemath.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the corrected *Annals of Ulster*.\*

Angus the Culdee began to write at the end of the century in which S. RONAN,† Ab and bishop, and Ab Maelmanach died. The epithet 'assertive,' which he applies to the community at Kingarth, was amply justified by S. Ronan's own activities. This Ab founded Churches‡ not only in the districts where his predecessors SS. Catan and Blaan had ministered but on Iona, the sanctuary of the Gaidheals or Scots. More has to be said about this hereafter. Associated with the community and work of Kingarth at this period was the later S. MO-'DAN,§ distinguished as 'of Rosneath.' He also laboured in Argyll, Lennox, and Stirling, and has foundations at Kilmodan ('*Kilmhodhan*') in Glendaruel;

\* Cf. corrected *Kalendar* by Dr. Reeves.

† Skene (*Celt. Scot.* II. vii. 282), by referring to him along with the Anglo-Celtic Easter controversy, has misled some of his followers; and has caused them to confuse this Ronan with 'Ronan the Irishman,' who championed the Roman party against Finan of Iona (Bede, lib. iii. cap. xxv.): Bede's Ronan had travelled on the Continent and was a man of experience c. 664, whereas Ronan of Kingarth died as late as 737.

‡ His Church-foundations were Kilmaronock in Lennox, Kilmaronog in Muckairn, Teampull Ronan in Iona, at Eoroby in Ness, Lewis, where S. Catan had already been. The islands called 'Ronay or Rona' (Rough Island), although they have ecclesiastical remains, are doubtful; because Ronan was not a recluse. S. Ninian's Island, Shetland, popularly called 'Rinan's Ey,' has been wrongly associated with his name.

§ He has been confused with the very early S. Medan, with Aidan (Moaidan) and others of like name. He was certainly not the founder of Dryburgh. His work is confined to the districts visited by SS. Catan, Blaan, and Ronan. His Church-foundations were at Falkirk, Stirling, Fintry in Lennox, Rosneath, Kilmodan Argyll, and Ardochattan in the same county.



## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

in Ardochattan, where in '*Balmhaodhan*'\* his name displaced for a time the name of his predecessor S. Catan; at Stirling in S. Blaas's territory; and at '*Eclais Breac*' or Falkirk. He retired from the active ministry to Rosneath,† where he died. The year of his death has not been preserved, but it was during the eighth century, and probably the old tradition that he accompanied S. Ronan on his journeys is correct. Their Church-foundations are never far apart.‡

Another leading Pict of the seventh century is S. ITHERNAN or ETHERNOC,§ Ab and bishop. His community was settled on the May Island|| in the Firth of Forth. He was a native of Alba. The range of his work included the modern counties of Fife, Perth, Forfar, and Aberdeen. His Church-foundations are on May Island, at Kilrenny, Fife, where the saint's name takes the form 'Irenie' for *Iernie*. There are traces of him at Madderty in Perthshire, and at Forfar. In Buchan¶ he founded the Church of Rathen, near

\* A form which shows that his unmodified name was regarded as Aed or Aedan.

† Which means the Promontory of the Sanctuary.

‡ For example, Fintry, Rosneath, and Kilmaronock, and, again, 'Balmhaodhan' Ardochattan, and Kilmaronog on the opposite side of Loch Etive.

§ His name takes the form Ethernac in the *Litany of Dunkeld*. He is not to be confused with Ernan, the president of Hinba, S. Columba's uncle. Cf. Bishop Forbes, *Kalendars*.

|| This Church became associated in a later century with S. 'Adrian whose name and work became the prey of the fabulists.

¶ Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, gifted by charter a stone of wax or

## THE PICTISH NATION

which on the east of Mormond is 'S. Ithernan's Den.'

Associated with S. Ithernan's work was S. CARAN or Coran. His fair used to be celebrated at Anstruther in Fife on the 23rd of December. Traces of his work are at Fetteresso\* in the Mearns, and at Premnay in Aberdeenshire. *Tigh-ernac* and the *Annals of Ulster* chronicle the death of 'Itharnan' and 'Corindu' (Coran-dhu) A.D. 699 'among the Picts.' The entry follows that of Critan, Ab of Bangor, who died in the same year.

Three seventh-century ministers may be mentioned together; although one belongs to the first part, and the other two, to the latter part of the century. These three have this in common that their Churches on the east coast were of the *casa* or *casula* type, and bear the designation of 'Both.' S. MARNOC's† or S. Marnan's death has been given as A.D. 625.‡ He was a bishop. The Scotie clerics who secured control of the surviving Pictish sources follow their usual device and date him by the reigns of two of their own kings who died respectively in A.D. 609 and 629. They

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forty shillings yearly to the monks who served God at S. Ethernan's on the Isle of May. The house became a cell of the Priory of St. Andrews.

\* His well is at Drumlithie.

† The unmodified name is Earnoc or Earnan. His fair was on the second Tuesday in March; but this is not always a guide, as the Fairs and Saints' days were so frequently changed by statute, and at caprice.

‡ The ultimate authority is not now traceable. Cf. Forbes, *Kalendars*.

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

have also deliberately confused him, at one time with Ernaan the uncle of S. Columba who was president of the small Gaidhealic or Scotie community on Hinba; and, at another, with Mernooc Mac Decill,\* son of S. Columba's sister Cuman. S. Marnoc or Marnan was not a missionary among the Gaidheals or Scots, but among the Britons and Picts. His foundations are conspicuously connected with districts that had been occupied from Bangor of Ulster before his time. They are at Inch Marnoc, off Bute, near a daughter-house of Bangor; at Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, in a district formerly ministered to by S. Finbar; at Paisley,† which had been opened up by a pupil of Bangor. At Glasgow is 'Dalmarnock,'‡ and also at Little Dunkeld. Other Church-foundations are at Foulis Easter in Perthshire; 'Both-Mernoc' in Angus; at Leochel in Alford; at S. Marnoc's, the old Church of the suppressed parish, named after him, and now part of Aboyne; at the Church of Marnoch on the Deveron§ near Aberchirder. Here the saint, it is stated, died.

\* See, for these names, the names entered by a later hand in Codex B of Adamnan's *V.S.C.* Dempster and Adam King have arbitrarily dated him at a period when his Churches were empty and the surrounding country desolated by heathen Vikings.

† Here also was his Fair.

‡ Part of this property was ancient Church lands, according to Dr. Marwick.

§ Some old account evidently connected S. Marnoc with *Candida Casa*; because one martyrologist locates the place of his death in 'Ann-dia (copyist's error for *Candida*) not far from Anglia.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

His relics were certainly exposed at this Church after the veneration of relics had been introduced into Pictland. It is interesting to note that in visiting Aberdeenshire, S. Marnoc closed his tour of ministerial duty in contact, once more, with daughter-Churches of Bangor, namely those founded previously by S. Moluag and his disciples.

S. WALLOC,\* Ab and bishop, who also laboured in Aberdeenshire and who came from *Candida Casa*, had, it is definitely stated, a Church or *casula* woven together with reeds and wattles. This, as we know from the account of the repairs effected by Bishop Paulinus, on his visit, was how part at least of *Candida Casa* was constructed. S. Walloc worked in Mar from towards the end of the seventh century until A.D. 733.† He is described as 'a foreigner'; and, indeed, his name without the diminutive is simply *Wala*, the name given by the Angles and Saxons to foreigners; but especially to the Britons, whom they called Welsh.‡ It is interesting to have the date given by Camerarius confirmed by this name, because it is known that Anglian influence had begun to affect *Can-*

\* He has been arbitrarily and, of course, quite wrongly identified with Faelchu. Garbled references to him are in the *Martyrology* and *Breviary of Aberdeen*.

† According to Camerarius, who, as has been pointed out, gives particulars of various pupils of *Candida Casa* that others ignored or suppressed.

‡ That is, *Walas* or *Wylisc*. Cf. the name Wallace.

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

*dida Casa* at the time when S. Walloc would be there. S. Walloc's foundations are at Dunmeth of Glass, and at Logie-Mar. Two miles below Beldornie in Glass are S. Walloc's Well, 'Walloc's Baths,' and an ancient Church-foundation bearing the saint's name.\*

Another saint whose Church bore the name 'Both' is S. NATHLAN,† Ab and bishop. He was a native of Pictland and belonged to Tullich in Mar. He died in the seventh century, but the date given for his death is that of '*Nechtan neir*,' with whom he has been wrongly identified.‡ He founded the Church of '*Both-elnie*' which is now Meldrum, Aberdeenshire. '*Both-elnie*' is simply a form evolved by metathesis from *Both-Nathlan*, in this instance, Church of Nathlan. Beside the old foundation, about three miles from Meldrum, is S. Nathlan's Well. His festival was celebrated by a market-day in January until a recent date. He also founded Churches at Tullich and 'Colle.'§

How little the Picts of Alba or of Ireland gauged the dimensions of the yet distant Viking peril, of which they had received more than one hint from beyond the North Sea, is seen in the

\* An old Aberdeenshire rhyme is—

'Waloc Fair in Logie-Mar  
Thirtieth day of Januar.'

† A fabulized sketch of his life is in the *Breviary of Aberdeen*. He has been confused with '*Nechtan anair de Albain*,' without any justification.

‡ By modern Scottish and Irish writers.

§ See *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen*, p. 633. 'Colle' has been understood of the old Church of Cowie, and also of Coull, Aboyne.



## THE PICTISH NATION

enthusiasm with which the Irish Picts launched what proved to be the last of the missions on a big scale sent into Pictland of Alba from Bangor of Ulster. With that affection for the sea-coast shown by so many of the Pictish ecclesiastics, which was destined to provide so many human hecatombs to Viking savagery, the headquarters of this new enterprise were fixed at 'Aber-Crossan,' now Applecross, in Wester Ross. In A.D. 671 S. Maelrubha, whose name was varied by the Gaidheals to *Maolruadh* and translated *Sagart Ruadh*, the Red Priest, sailed from the harbour of the great Pictish College at Bangor along with a *muinntir*, and, after visiting certain localities and founding Churches, he settled at the mouth of the Crossan river in north-west Pictland, A.D. 673.\* His object was to establish a centre of Christian religion and teaching in a part of Pictland which up until this date had been less favoured than the east coast and parts of the midlands. In choosing this centre for his workers, he kept well north of the northern frontiers of the Gaidheals or Scots of Dalriada. The nearest Pictish *muinntir* to him on the same coast, apart from isolated Churches, was

\* Dr. Reeves (*Proc. Scot. Antig.* vol. iii.) revived the knowledge of S. Maelrubha, and so far as he founds on the ancient Irish authorities may be followed. Other information provided for him by the then minister of Loch Carron and Dr. Skene is largely inaccurate, some of it foolish. Reeves suffered from his want of local knowledge. Cf. Author's Article on S. Maelrubha, *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. vi. 3. p. 260.



## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

the one on Eigg which, as is known, sprang into life from the ashes of S. Donnan and his fellow-martyrs. Like S. Ronan, at a later period, S. Maelrubha, in consequence of his sympathies with western Picts dispersed among the Scots, also laboured, among other places, in territories belonging to the Gaidheals or Scots. Although his father had been a Gaidheal, the saint did not connect himself with the Gaidhealic centre at Iona. The name 'Maelrubha' is a purely Pictish form. Its recorded phonetics in the Keith charter show that the Picts aspirated the *b* and pronounced it *v* or *f*, producing the forms '*Ma'-ruv*' and '*Ma'ruf*'\*; whereas the Gaidheals sometimes translated the latter half, and, sometimes, the whole name; but always kept to the meaning, The tonsured one with red hair.

S. Maelrubha was born on the third day of January A.D. 642.† His father was an Irish Gaidheal or Scot, Elganach mac Garbh of the Binnigh branch of the great Clan Niall. Before S. Maelrubha's birth the Clan Binnigh had seized and occupied the former Pictish territory in South Tyrone.‡ The saint's mother, who left the impress of her personality and her nationality upon his whole life, was an Irish Pict, Subtan, daughter of Sedna, and niece or grand-niece of S. Comgall the Great.

\* This form led the scribes of the Roman Catholic period, and certain moderns, to try to identify him with S. Rufus of Capua!

† *Tighernac*.

‡ Northwards from Tullaghoge.

## THE PICTISH NATION

S. Maelrubha, as a result of this relationship, was educated and trained at Bangor in Ulster, under the Abbots Baithene and Critan. When he left Bangor with a *muinntir* under his own control to found Abercrossan, he spent two years in a leisurely journey up the west coast of Alba (Scotland), and during its course founded the following Churches:

‘Kilmarow’ (spelling of 1697), in Killean and Kilchenzie;

‘Kilarrow’ (‘Kilmolrew,’ 1500), in Islay.

‘Kilmalrew’ (old charter spelling), in the peninsula of Craignish.

The ancient Church-site in Stra’lachlan, Loch Fyne.

‘Cill Mha’ru,’ Eilean-an-t-sagairt,’ Muckairn;

‘Cill Mha’ru,’ the ancient Church of Arisaig.

The founding of these Churches between the years A.D. 671 and 673, by a relative of S. Comgall and a pupil of the Pictish College of Bangor, indicates that at that time the Picts still possessed interest and influence in the area occupied by the Gaidheals or Scots.

From Arisaig S. Maelrubha still held northward, until at last he halted at the mouth of the *Abhain Crossan*, where he fixed his chief Church and settled his *muinntir*. The district came to be known as ‘a’ *Chomraich*,’ the sanctuary. In the Churchyard of Abercrossan stands a cross-marked stone called ‘*Clach Ruadhri mac Aoigen*.’

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

This is the memorial cross\* of 'Mac Oigi,' who was promoted from Abercrossan to the presidency of the parent community at Bangor, and died there A.D. 802,† or of one of the clerical members of the family to which he belonged. From his headquarters at Abercrossan S. Maelrubha attended first to the Christian congregations of Skye and the adjacent islands. At Portree‡ he continued the ministry which S. Tarlagan, a disciple of S. Donnan, had begun. At 'Aiseag Marui' was his Church and Ferry. By the rock, 'Craig-na Leabhair,'§ he was wont to read the Gospel. This Church at Aiseag also possessed a sanctuary for refugees. Another of his Churches was at 'Cill-Marui,'|| on the Strath-Aird side of Loch Slapin; and another at the head of Loch Eynort. Only one of his Church-sites in Lewis is known, and it is still pointed out on the Harris side of Loch Seaforth.

Eastwards from Abercrossan a line of Church-foundations mark the route by which S. Maelrubha put himself into touch with the earlier Churches of his predecessor and relative, S. Moluag. These

\* It is nine feet four inches in height.

† See *Annals of Ulster* at date.

‡ The 'Fhìll Mharui,' his festival, used to be celebrated here early in September. Its original date, 27th August, indicates that the clergy of the Roman period knew nothing about the history of S. Maelrubha, or that they deliberately changed his day to that of S. Rufus of Capua.

§ Here also his bell was hung, the bell which, when removed to *Cill-Chriosd*, became dumb for ever.

|| The Vikings called the place 'Kirkabost,' Kirktown.



## THE PICTISH NATION

are at Lochcarron,\* Contin,† Urquhart‡ on the Cromarty Firth, Forres,§ Rafford, and 'Keth Mal-Ruf,' now Keith in Banffshire.

After his visit to the Churches in the east of Pictland, S. Maelrubha made a tour northwards. On this journey he was martyred. The Church-sites which mark his line of march are:

The Chapel on *Eilean Ma-rui* in Loch Maree;||

The foundation, now untraceable, at the head of the Easter Carron;

The cell on *Innis Ma-rui*, in Loch Shin, Lairg; and the original Church;

The ancient Church-site of Durness¶ in northern Sutherland;

The ancient Chapel-site at Farr Parish Church\*\* in Sutherland;

'*Tempul*' at *Skail* in Strathnaver, formerly 'Stra' Nawarn, †† now 'Stra' Nair', also in

\* *Suidhe Ma-Rui* is near the manse. The old church called '*Team-pull*' is on the right bank of the Burn of the Waterfall.

† Here is *Preas Ma-Rui*, and here the Féill Ma-Rui was celebrated before transference to Dingwall.

‡ Geographically in Easter Ross; but from 1476, and for some time before, reckoned to be in Nairn for administrative purposes, which fact misled the Aberdeen Breviarist in recognizing the place of S. Maelrubha's death.

§ S. Maelrubha's festival was celebrated here on the 27th August as 'Samarive's Fair.' The name shows the local corruption of '*Sanct Maelrubha*.'

|| Formerly *Loch Ew* (Blaeu).

¶ Said to have been at *Bal-na-Chille*.

\*\* In this Churchyard stands one of the most beautiful of the ancient Celtic sculptured stones.

†† In 1427 '*Strath Nawarne*.' In 1499 '*Straith Nevern*,' *v=w*. In 1794, Lieutenant Campbell's *Survey*, '*Loch Navern*.'

## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

Sutherland, where the saint was martyred.

Very accurate particulars regarding S. Maelrubha's death were still available in the Roman Catholic period; but the Roman clergy, who were frequently foreigners, through a deficiency in geographical knowledge, or for some less obvious reason, represented the scene of the martyrdom at a place very different from the right one, although it came to bear a similar name, and was in a district where S. Maelrubha had laboured. The entry of Camerarius concerning him is, July 19, 670\* (*recte* 722). '*Coelo ipsum dedit Strath Nawernia Scotiae provincia sub Christi annum 670(r.722).*' The actual spot of the saint's martyrdom was known to the Picts as '*Ur-ghard*' or '*Ar-ghard*.' In recent times under Gaelic influence this became '*Air-Gharadh*.' Both names mean, Woodside. Some of the fifteenth-century Scottish writers thought that the place thus named was Urquhart in East Ross, which used to be part of the administrative area of the County of *Nairn*. But this '*Urquhart*' only dates as a place-name from the coming thither of the family of Conacher, keeper of Urquhart Castle † on Loch Ness, after the

\* Either Camerarius or the Printer of his text blundered this entry. July 19 is one of the days in which S. Maelrubha's feast was celebrated. 670 was the date frequently given for Maelrubha's departure from Bangor in 671. Strath-Naver is the known place of his martyrdom. But Camerarius by a lapse (or the Printer) has placed the entry opposite the name of '*Dunanis*' (S. Donnan) whose Church is in the Strath of the *Īlidh* which leads to Strathnaver. It is, however, quite clear that the information of Camerarius referred to S. Maelrubha.

† Cf. *Urquhart and Glenmoriston* (by Dr. Wm. Mackay), p. 11.

## THE PICTISH NATION

twelfth century, and the place itself did not fall under the jurisdiction of Nairn until that county area was created, later even than that date. However, the positive evidence disposes of all guesses and speculation as to which 'Nawarn' was meant in the original accounts; because '*Ur-ghard*' or '*Air-gharadh*'\* is an old Strath-Naver name, covering the area at *Skail*,† where are the ruins of *Tempul*, and the very grave, with its ancient cross-marked stone, of S. Maelrubha, known wherever the men of Ross or Sutherland wander as the 'Red Priest.' The old source, from which the Scottish authorities drew, stated that S. Maelrubha was martyred by 'Danes,'‡ which doubtless points to Frisian Vikings who have left traces of early visits along the eastern and northern coast of Britain. Further, it is stated that the body of the saint 'was dragged by the pagan foreigners into the *thickets*,' which agrees with the spot called '*At the side of the thickets*' where the martyrdom actually took place.§ S. Maelrubha's

\* A cottage-site near '*Tempul*' still bears the name 'Woodhead.' A piece of land some distance below is '*Ach Airgaraidh*,' Field of Woodside or Woodfront. The whole wood was known by the name of a part, '*Sron-Airgaraidh*.' Cf. Pont's form of this name in *Blaeu's Atlas* '*Stron-chergharry*.'

† *Skail*=Hall, and was evidently the Viking equivalent of *Tempul*.

‡ Dr. Reeves objected to ascribing this act to 'Danes' in 722; because the first Danish invasion of England is dated 787. But the late Mr. Lang asked, Did Dr. Reeves imagine that the Danes were only making acquaintance with the British harbours on the occasion of their first full-dress invasion? Dr. Skene has already dealt fully with very early traces of Frisian Vikings at the inlets on the East coast of Scotland.

§ A garbled account of S. Maelrubha's death will be found in the



## SEVENTH CENTURY LEADERS

day was celebrated at his Churches in Pictland as suited local convenience; but, generally, in July or August. The Irish adhered to his correct day on the 21st April. Tighernac records his death very carefully at A.D. 722, '*Maelrubha in Abercrossan, anno lxxx etatis, tribus mensibus, xix diebus peractis; in xi kl. Mai, tercie ferie die pausat.*' He had left Bangor as Ab of his own community when he was twenty-nine years of age, he had directed them for fifty-one years, and had held the presidency of Abercrossan for forty-nine. The *Feilire of Angus* has the Celtic verse which not only indicates his 'white martyrdom'; but his love for his mother, to whom he is known to have been devoted:

In Alba in shining purity,  
Having relinquished all happiness,  
Went from us to his mother,  
Our brother Maelrubha.

By reason of its northern position, Abercrossan was one of the first of the Pictish monasteries to be ravaged and weakened by the Scandinavian Vikings. It was founded from a community rich in manuscripts, some of which found their way

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*Breviary of Aberdeen.* There it is stated that the body of S. Maelrubha was carried to Abercrossan for burial. This is manifestly a faked account; and one of its motives was to explain the two places called '*Suidhe Ma-rui*,' one at Loch Chroisg the other between Torridon and Kinlochewe, as so named, 'because the saint's corpse was rested on them.' A saint's *suidhe* was a place where he read or preached the Gospel to the people, or where he sat in judgment and settled local disputes. Every Celtic saint had a *suidhe* near his headquarters.

## THE PICTISH NATION

to the Continent; but not one jot of written matter originally belonging to Abercrossan is known to be extant now. In the Irish annals, at A.D. 737, it is noted that Failbhe \* Mac Guaire, S. Mael-rubha's successor, was drowned in the open sea with twenty-two of his sailors, a tragedy which must have deprived Bangor of much information about the daughter-community. Again, at A.D. 802 the death of 'Mac Oigi, Ab of Bangor,' is recorded. This Ab, as stated, was promoted to the parent-community from Abercrossan. About his period came the pagan Viking raiders to the coasts, in unwonted strength. The source from which the *Aberdeen Breviary* drew much of its information, which unfortunately does not now exist, stated that on one occasion, after a raid on Abercrossan from the sea, the Vikings were sailing away with their plunder, when they suddenly sank, booty and all, in calm water.

\* *Tighernac.*

# THE FIRST ENGLISH ATTEMPT AT CONQUEST IN PICTLAND NORTH OF THE FORTH AND CLYDE LINE; AND THE INCIDENT OF TRUMWINE'S EPISCOPATE

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

It has already been noted that the earlier kings of the Angles pushed their northern frontier to the Brito-Pictish territories on the Firth of Forth. Bede, in a passage which it is fair to state has been regarded as an interpolation, conveys that Oswald, king of the Angles A.D. 635-642, who had been befriended by the Gaidheals or Scots while in exile at Iona, 'brought under his dominion all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four\* languages, namely, those of the Britons, of the Picts, of the Scots and of the English.'† Whether interpolated or not the passage is audacious fable. Not to mention the Britons of the south-west, or the Saxon invaders of the South of Britain; the Strath-Clyde Britons were at this time independent and were ruled by Gureit‡ who died A.D. 658; and Pictland was independent and was ruled by Brude Mac Wid who

\* He should have said *two* languages, namely Celtic and English, or *three* dialects of Celtic and one language, English.

† Lib. iii. cap. vi.

‡ Cf. Skene's Preface to *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, where he gives the dates of the kings of Strathclyde from the *Annals*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

died A.D. 641, and by Talorg his brother\* who died A.D. 653, according to the Irish annals. Bede, however, shows that the statement was untrue† by a later passage where he claims that Oswald's successor Oswy, king of the Angles, A.D. c. 642–c. 670, 'governed the Mercians; and likewise subdued the greater part of the Picts to the dominion of the English.'‡ This diminished claim falsifies the former; but is itself a gross exaggeration. The simple historical truth, so far as the Britons of the North and the Picts are concerned, is that Oswy completed and made secure the Anglian occupation of the territory of the Britons between the Solway and the Mersey; he exercised sovereign control of the native Britons and the emigrated Irish Picts, who are found at this time in Galloway;§ and for military and political reasons he seized and occupied a narrow strip of Pictish territory running along the banks of Forth from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to the fords of the Forth about Stirling. One side of this strip was secured by the tidal marshes and waters of the Forth. The other side was open to the Britons of Strath-Clyde from their

\* *Pictish Chronicle*. The Gaidheals write 'Wid' as 'Footh.'

† The Gaidheals or Scots were of course also independent under Eochaidh Buidhe, d. 629; Conadh Cerr, d. 629–30; Ferchar; and Domhnall Breac, slain 642 by Hoan, king of the Britons of Strath-Clyde. These were all kings of Dalriada.

‡ Lib. iii. cap. xxiv.

§ Consider S. Dagan; and also the Roman Catholic bishops of *Candida Casa*, with their Pictish names, after that community had conformed.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

capital at Dunbarton; open to the Gaidheals or Scots who, somewhat earlier, had in raiding expeditions crossed Drum-Alban and pushed through the Lennox; and, most serious of all, open to the Picts of Perthshire who were liable to break out through the hills of Menteith. Oswy's apparent scheme, which the Picts would not allow the Angles\* to work out, was to ascend the southern side of the Forth Valley to the head waters of that river, so that the Angles might join hands, if necessary, across Drum-Alban with the Gaidheals or Scots to whom at this period they were inclined to be friendly, owing to the influence of the Iona missionaries† in Northumbria. If this scheme had been successful the Picts of Alba would have been effectively isolated from their kindred, the Britons of Strath-Clyde; and both these nations would have been weakened, and Oswy would probably have beaten them singly in turn. The Picts were wise enough to see that the Anglian scheme could not be allowed to materialize; and the hour and the man for the task were approaching. Meanwhile, it is possible to judge how English history has been made, and to mark the very slender foundation

\* About the time of Oswy's death the local Picts had taken action against the English outposts. Egfrid's first expedition in 672 was partly a counteraction to these movements, and partly an attempt to prevent Brude Mac Bilé's election to the sovereignty of Pictland.

† Most of them retired from Northumbria in A.D. 664, leaving the field to Wilfrid and the Roman Catholics, who, under the patronage of Alchfrid, won over Oswy on the Easter question and to Roman usage generally.

## THE PICTISH NATION

on which certain historians based the absurd story of the subjugation of the Celtic nations of Britain to the English 'in the time of their king Oswy.'

The counterpart of this unblushing exaggeration is seen in the pretensions of the Roman Catholic clergy who had made the Teutonic invaders of Britain their peculiar care. There is the instance of Wilfrid,\* bishop of York at times, a Roman Catholic zealot whose self-will and imperious ways kept him in continuous conflict with his fellow-prelates and with the kings of the Angles. After A.D. 664, when, with his shrewd knowledge of human nature and out of his nimble intellect, he had called up the spectre of S. Peter, had frightened the superstitious king Oswy, and had caused him to turn his back upon, and to reject bishop Colman† and the other clerics from Iona of the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots, men of Christ-like life and apostolic simplicity;‡ he, about A.D. 669, for one of his short terms, worked himself into the bishopric of York. Bede, describing him at this time, states, 'Wilfrid administered the bishopric of York, and of all the Northum-

\* Eddius provides an account of his life. Bede whitewashes him, as a set-off to his treatment by Canterbury. He was son of a Northumbrian noble, educated under the saintly Aidan the Scot. He conceived a violent antipathy to the Celts and their simple life. He loved luxury and magnificence. He was hated in England and Gaul, beloved at Rome; and he became the unscrupulous instrument of Roman aggression.

† Bede, lib. iii. capp. xxv. xxvi.

‡ See Bede's own testimony to Bishop Aidan, lib. iii. capp. v. xvii.



## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

brians, and likewise of the Picts, as far as king Oswy was able to extend his dominions.\* Incidentally, let it be noted that there is here no mention of the other Celts that Oswy was alleged to have incorporated into his dominions. It is certain that not one Celtic Ab, bishop, or presbyter within the sovereignty of the Picts of Alba, north of the Forth and Clyde line, or in the British kingdom of Strath-Clyde, recognized either Wilfrid's jurisdiction or his authority. It is unnecessary to state that the Gaidheals or Scots regarded Wilfrid with scornful sorrow; because he had destroyed the greatest mission of their Church and was hostile to their nation, all because their clergy believed in adhering to the apostolic model of the Church, and differed from him as to the calculation of the date for celebrating Easter. But this same Wilfrid was at Rome for a second time in A.D. 680 defending his conduct in Britain before Pope Agatho. He appears to have influenced his ecclesiastical superiors as easily as he had influenced king Oswy.† The Bishop of Rome called Wilfrid to a Council‡ which was preparing to deal with the Monothelites. At that Council, before one hundred and twenty-five

\* Lib. iv. cap. iii.

† Oswy appears to have become weary of his presence, as he got him away from Northumbria for his ordination in 664; and then, in his absence, filled the chair on which he had set his eyes by appointing Ceadda.

‡ It was a local Council held at Rome in 680 to determine the attitude of the Roman delegates in the Council of Constantinople called for 680-681.

## THE PICTISH NATION

other bishops, Wilfrid, according to Bede, 'made confession of the true and catholic faith'; and with magnificent effrontery characteristic of all his actions, 'confirmed the same with his subscription, in the name of *all the northern part of Britain and Ireland, and the islands inhabited by the nations of the English and Britons, as also by the Scots and Picts.*'\* This extraordinary declaration, we learn from Bede, became part of the records of the Council.† Except the few Gaidhealic or Scotie missionaries who had suffered divorce from their flocks through Wilfrid's intrigues, who were acquainted with his unscrupulous methods in conference, and with his wresting of the letter of the sacred Gospel to suit his own purposes; the thousands of other Christians in the Celtic nations would have staggered in amazement to learn that they had such a sponsor, and at such a place as Rome, with which they associated most innovations on the ancient practice and usage of the Church, and with which they had repeatedly refused to join in fellowship. Even the unhappy Anglican bishopric, of short duration, which was established by the Roman clergy for Trumwine

\* Bede, lib. v. cap. xix.

† On Wilfrid's return from this Council he was charged with having obtained his acquittal at Rome by bribery and was imprisoned, first at 'Bromnis' and after at Dunbar. On his release from the latter place he went to Mercia and then to Wessex. He was expelled from both places. Bede omits all this. Wilfrid was also hated on the Continent, and Winfrid being mistaken for him, owing to the similarity of name, was murdered, 'through one syllable' as an old author put it.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

the Angle among the Picts, in the strip of territory which had been occupied by Oswy on the banks of Forth, was designed not merely to proselytize the nonconforming Picts, but very specially to weaken Wilfrid and the regal episcopal control which he had been striving with much show to centre in himself at York. In A.D. 678, before Wilfrid set out for Rome, Egfrid,\* who had succeeded Oswy as king of the Angles, unceremoniously ejected† him from the bishopric of York and from his kingdom, although he had once been Wilfrid's friend. The Archbishop of Canterbury at the time was Theodore, an Asiatic, formerly a monk at Rome of unassured orthodoxy,‡ whose tonsure had been as un-Roman as that of the Celts. He had been established at Canterbury as Archbishop under the watchful tutelage of Hadrian, an African, Abbot of a monastery near Naples, an astute man. He himself had been twice offered the See of Canterbury, and twice had refused. He had previously travelled extensively among the Franks, and knew what it meant to live among Christians of the Teutonic type. During the interregnum, which preceded the coming of Theodore§ to Canterbury, Wilfrid had taken upon himself to per-

\* Wilfrid wished to control Egfrid's domestic affairs while his first queen lived. Eormenburg, Egfrid's second wife, could not suffer Wilfrid's power and show.

† Bede, lib. iv. cap. xii.

‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. i.

§ He was ordained in 668 at Rome and came to Canterbury in 669.



## THE PICTISH NATION

form the ordinations necessary for the working of the dioceses of Kent. It was at this time that Hadrian and Theodore had taken the measure of Wilfrid and his arrogance. Consequently, when king Egfrid evicted Wilfrid from York, the latter received little sympathy from the Archbishop. Although, on Wilfrid's departure, Theodore knew that he had gone to lay his case before the Bishop of Rome, he treated him as a fugitive from his diocese, and promptly took advantage of the situation to break up the diocese of York, and, consequently, to prevent in the future the monarchic control that Wilfrid had tried to centre there. Theodore, to achieve his purpose, created a bishopric of Deira with its seat at York, and revived the bishopric of the Bernicians with its seat at Lindisfarne or Hexham, and he ordained bishops.\* A little later, in 681, Archbishop Theodore took a farther step, he disjoined Hexham from Lindisfarne and placed a bishop there; and ordained Trumwine to be bishop of that Anglian territory in the Forth region which Oswy had taken from the Picts. Trumwine's seat was at Abercorn. Here he ministered for five short years to the sentries at the Anglian outposts which stretched from the fords of Forth at Stirling to the Pentland Hills. This is the complete foundation for the Roman

\* Bosa and Eata, the former at York, the latter at Lindisfarne or Hexham.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

Catholic and Anglican fables which claimed a diocese in Pictland, subject sometimes to York, sometimes to Canterbury, whose holder bore the empty title 'bishop of the Picts.' Trumwine was little, if anything, better than a garrison chaplain, intruded with a hated Teutonic soldiery among the Pictish Celts who despised both him and them. During the very years when he was credited with the care of the Cis-Forthian Picts these were being quietly and unostentatiously ministered to by their own unmonarchic bishops and simple-living presbyters from the local centres of the Celtic Church at Glasgow, Kingarth, Inchmaholm, and Dunblane. They little knew or cared that the crafty oriental Theodore had created, under Canterbury, a so-called Pictish bishopric to empty the pretensions of his impetuous, over-driving Teutonic brother at York, who had been claiming to be spiritual spokesman, not only for the English, but for the Celts of Alba and of Ireland.

While these foreign ecclesiastics schemed at Canterbury, or intrigued at Rome; a Celtic soldier was sharpening the claymore that was soon to end their manœuvres, and to dissipate the Teutonic menace, in the shape of the Angles, from the Celts of Northern Alba. This soldier accomplished in A.D. 686 what William Wallace repeated some centuries later when he roused the Celtic soul of Northern Britain against the

## THE PICTISH NATION

English. He also achieved a similar decisive triumph to that of Robert Bruce at Bannockburn when Anglo-Norman tyranny in the North was crushed. The deliverer in A.D. 686 was, like William Wallace, a Briton, the son, by a British prince, of a Pictish princess from the little Pictish kingdom whose capital was in Strath-Earn, Perthshire, which came to be called '*Fort-chernn*' or '*Fort-renn*';\* although its people were better known in ancient times as '*Verturiones*.'† He was born among the Strath-Clyde Britons. He is known in history as Brude‡ '*Mac Bilé*.'§ His race was royal, because Taudar, another of Bilé's descendants, who died A.D. 752, was king of the Strath-Clyde Britons. We do not know the date of Brude's birth. Through his mother, '*Mac Bilé*' became Brude or chief of the Men of the Earn, whose territory was most directly threatened by the English outposts at the fords of Forth at Stirling. If that had not been enough to rouse his freedom-loving soul; he had only to remember his paternal home among the Britons of Strath-Clyde whose kingdom had suffered mutilation, and whose homes had been subjected to intolerable outrages by Anglian raiders. In A.D. 672, the year in which he was making good his claim

\* This name is simply a later gloss on the Pictish name '*Rath-Erann* in Albain' (Strath-Earn) where S. Fillan laboured. Tighearnac's spellings are '*Fortrend*' and '*Fort-Chernn*.'

† Itself regarded as meaning Men of the Earn.

‡ The Speaker.

§ *Pictish Chronicle*, *Tighearnac*, and the other Irish sources.



## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

to be Sovereign of Pictland, he had, with little preparation, faced the English, but without much apparent success.\* From A.D. 685 he was less impulsive. The initial steps in this campaign have not all come down to our time. We can infer enough to realize that he was a military leader of the best Celtic type. The power which he controlled and the extent of his sovereignty can be estimated from the successful expedition by which he reduced the Picts of Orkney, A.D. 682, in consequence of rebellion against his authority. The accumulated anger of years was shut up until the opportune moment for its explosion. He refused to be tempted into easy action from the territory of the Britons, where he would have required to meet the full military strength of the Angles on ground of their own choosing. He began operations from his own kingdom in Strath-Earn. With uncanny patience he persistently teased the English into angry action by attacks on their advance guards at Stirling. His tactics were meant to madden the English, already jumpy through proximity to the weird mountains that disturbed their ancestral affinity for swamps and flats, inbred by Germanic estuaries. The English line of communications too was thin, and open in the extremerear to the Britons, who were Brude's relations and fellow-citizens. Egfrid was still

\* The English authorities describe it as a 'rising.' Their effort was apparently an attempt to prevent the sovereignty of 'Mac Bilé' in Pictland.

## THE PICTISH NATION

king\* of the English. He was possessed by the Teutonic lust to exterminate his neighbours. He sent a wanton expedition under his general, Berct, among the Gaidheals or Scots of Ireland, although they and their kin in Dalriada had been conspicuous benefactors to the English; he wasted their territories, took captive their women,† and wrecked their Churches and *muinntirs*. Even Bede charges him with crime in laying waste an unoffending nation. He was the first, but not the last, king of the English whom the Irish Gaidheals cursed 'with constant imprecations, invoking the vengeance of Heaven.'‡ The instrument of Heaven on this occasion was the Army of the Picts, to whom the Gaidheals or Scots themselves had given trouble and caused suffering on almost every occasion that the Picts were occupied in repelling the Angles. Egfrid had so often found the Celts an easy prey that Brude Mac Bilé was soon gladdened to find him expectant, like Edward 'the Hammer' in later days, of decisive action. Egfrid marched into Pictland with his entire army, and crossed the Forth near

\* Egfrid succeeded Oswy his father in 670, and was slain in 686, according to Tighearnach, and 685 according to Bede's data.

Aldfrid, said to be a brother of Egfrid, Oswy having been claimed as his father, succeeded Egfrid.

Aldfrid was a scholarly man who had been brought up among the Gaidheals. William of Malmesbury gives the impression that Egfrid was responsible for his exile.

† Adamnan had to go from Iona to secure the release of these women.

‡ Bede, lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

Stirling, bent on smashing Brude in his own province of 'Fortrenn,' Strath-Earn. But Brude had no intention of giving Egfrid battle where he desired it, or while his communications were entire. He 'feigned retreat,'\* as the old accounts put it; and, as he retired, ever lured the enemy on. Egfrid, with his lust of conquest, perhaps saw visions of the subjugation of all Pictland which had been the dream of his predecessors, and of their Roman Catholic prelates. Brude with admirable strategy drew his enemy across the Tay, and, at last, beyond the Sidlaw Hills, far away from his base. There he halted the Pictish army near Dunnichen in Forfarshire. This was the capital of the Picts of Angus, and the place where Nectan the Great,† Sovereign of the Picts c. A.D. 456-480, had bestowed a fort on S. Buidhe in which he built his Church, in days when the Angles had hardly cleared from the German mud-flats. Fortune had favoured Brude in the choice of his rallying place. It insured the support of the petty king of the Pictish province of Angus with his always powerful clan. The slow retreat had given time for the Picts of Mearns, Mar, Buchan, and, perhaps, Moray to come to the aid of their sovereign, as they were bound to do by the Constitution. Brude's flanks were safe from any trea-

\* Cf. Bede, lib. iv. cap. xxv.

† Nectan reigned as Sovereign of the Picts at his own stronghold as capital.



## THE PICTISH NATION

chery on the part of the Gaidheals or Scots from across Drum-Alban, which they would not have been in Strath-Earn, if the Gaidheals had been treacherously inclined, which can hardly be conceived considering the foe. But Brude took no risks. Bede explains that Egfrid was 'drawn into a narrow pass among remote mountains.' As the 'mountains' were the Sidlaws, it looks as if the main army of Brude had retired by Strathmore, while an enticing force had affected to fall back on the strong capital of Angus rounding the Sidlaws by the Carse of Gowrie road, Egfrid and his army following hard. As soon as Egfrid and his men were thoroughly involved between the surrounding hills and the marshes, which at that time fed the tributaries of the Lunan and the Dean, Brude attacked. The day was 'Sabbath,' our Saturday, 20th May A.D. 686.\* The battle resulted in crushing disaster to the English army. Bede states that king Egfrid and 'the greater part of the forces that he had led thither were slain.'† This glorious and well-merited triumph produced great joy in Pictland. Riaghuil (Rule), Abbot of Bangor of the Irish Picts, who was in Pictland of Alba at the time, sang Brude's praise

\* This is the year in *Tighernac*, and in the other Irish Annals. Bede gives 685; but he is uncertain as to the dates at this time. He had given the date of king Oswy's death as 670, which Plummer has corrected to 671. He also calls 685 the 'fifteenth' year of king Egfrid's reign; but if he succeeded, as Bede indicates, in February 670, then May 685 was the sixteenth year of his reign.

† Lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

in verse, a fragment of which has already been quoted. S. Cuthbert, who had tried to dissuade Egfrid from this unhappy campaign, received early intimation of the disaster, and broke the news to Eormenburg, the English queen, with whom he was staying at Carlisle.\* One can imagine the utter despair of the few fugitives from that stricken field as they headed towards England—the frowning Grampians on one side, the inhospitable Sidlaws on the other; the Pictish army flushed with decisive victory in command of the main road and southward passes; and beyond, miles and miles of Pictish territory with villages full of outraged and angry Picts. The only chance for fugitives was flight into the Braes of Angus, a dash through Atholl and across Drum-Alban into Dalriada, to throw themselves on the mercy of the Gaidheals or Scots, their ill-treated benefactors. This course was the more attractive; because Aldfrid the Scholar, illegitimate son of Oswy by a Scottish woman called Fina, only heir to the English throne, was in Dalriada, having been exiled to Iona by king Egfrid. Apparently this was the road taken by the survivors and the released captives; because the body of Egfrid was, by grace of the Picts, allowed to be recovered from the battlefield and carried to Iona, where the Gaidheals or Scots permitted Aldfrid their guest to bury it among the

\* Bede's *Life of S. Cuthbert*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

dust of Scotie saints and kings. It is difficult to know which most to admire, the chivalry of the Picts in allowing royal honours to the remains of a wanton and unrelenting enemy; or the forgiveness of the Dalriad Gaidheals or Scots in receiving to the sacred precincts of their mother-Church the body of a king who had repaid them with basest ingratitude for unstinted kindnesses to himself and family; and who had sent his soldiers to ravish, plunder, and murder their Irish kin. The battle is called '*Cath Dun Nechtain*' in the Irish sources, while the Anglo-Saxons refer to it as the battle of 'Nechtán's-mere.'

The political results of Egfrid's ill-starred campaign, and his defeat at 'Dun Nechtain,' were far-reaching. Southern Pictland was freed of the English garrison that had lain along the southern bank of the Forth harassing the frontier clans; and the Angles retired beyond the Pentland Hills into what afterwards became the south-eastern corner of Scotland, continuing, of course, into Northumbria. The Britons of Strath-Clyde were left alone by the Anglian tribes on their eastern borders; and the Anglian raiders sought less dangerous occupations. The English power had been beaten until it shrank. From the known expostulations of S. Cuthbert, it is evident that strong feeling had been growing among the native Anglican clergy against wanton war for the sake of territorial expansion, these native pastors

326



## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

realizing, what their continental brethren of the Roman Church were slow to comprehend, that the Picts were least dangerous when left alone. Bede sums up\* the situation in words sad enough to him, 'From that time,' that is the date of the battle of 'Dun-Nechtain,' 'the strength of the Anglian kingdom "began to ebb and fall away";† for the Picts recovered the territory‡ which the English had held; and so also did the Scots§ that were in Britain; and some of the Britons|| regained their liberty, which they have now¶ enjoyed for about forty-six years.'

No consequent event better emphasizes the shattering effect of the victory of the Sovereign of Pictland on the English, and the exotic character of the Roman Catholic Church in the territory occupied by the Angles on the Forth, than the headlong flight of Trumwine the bishop, and the other Anglican clergy; the upsetting of the

\* Lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

† Phrase from Virgil, *Aen.* II. 169.

‡ The territory along the river and firth of Forth.

§ The Scots of Dalriada (Argyll). The Angles occupied no territory of theirs; although by sitting along the south bank of Forth they prevented their raids into Pictland through the Lennox.

|| The Britons of Strath-Clyde. This indicates that the Angles had held the western parts of Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Dumfriesshire in thrall. They certainly raided these parts frequently. The 'liberty' which Bede refers to did not extend to Kirkcudbright or Galloway, because Bede says that in 731 *Candida Casa* was part of the Anglian province of the Bernicians. There had, however, as others have pointed out, been no complete extermination of the Britons here; because Britons and Irish Picts occupied Galloway at this date, and took a lead in affairs.

¶ Namely in 731 when Bede was completing his *History*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

five-years old episcopal chair established by Canterbury at Abercorn-on-Forth, and the disappearance of the usurped title 'Bishop of the Picts,' a people who in the seventh century had no desire for monarchic, 'regional,' or diocesan bishops; although they honoured and loved the bishops who lived with the presbyters under their Absin the Pictish *muintirs*, dispensing the Sacraments, teaching, ministering to the poor, studying, and helping to keep their communities by toiling with their own hands in the fields, working the nets in the rivers and the sea, sewing clothes or sandals, and all the while taking turn in maintaining the praise of God which ceased not night or day. When Trumwine reached Northumbria he 'commended his followers wheresoever he could' to the charity of friends; he himself, with a few of his own brethren, found what appears to have been a comfortable asylum at *Sron-na-solis*,\* the Promontory of the beacon-light, in Hilda's 'monastery,' where he acted as chaplain to the English princess Elfred,† who was abbess at the time. One obvious lesson from the ejection of Trumwine from Abercorn was that if the Roman Catholics wished to succeed in introducing their hierarchy into Pictland, it would have to be done

\* Bede spells it '*Streanaeshalch*,' which he interprets as Bay of the Lighthouse, lib. iii. cap. xxv.

† She was dedicated to holy virginity by her father, king Oswy, when she was a year old as a thankoffering for victory over the pagan Angle Penda and the Mercians.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

by peaceful suasion and penetration, after the manner which they finally adopted in Galloway to capture *Candida Casa*, and not by bullying, and pretensions of superiority at the points of the swords of English battalions.

Until the time of Angus, another of the great soldier sovereigns of Pictland, who became a new terror to the English, the national army of the Angles avoided the Picts. Even Adamnan, the spiritual chief of the Gaidheals or Scots, sought the patronage and goodwill of the hero of 'Dun-Nechtain.'\* Brude Mac Bilé died in A.D. 693.† The chiefs of Pictland appointed Taran MacEntfidich to succeed him. He was apparently a weak sovereign, and was deposed after ruling four years. Two of those years were nominal, the real power during that time being in the hands of Brude, chief of the powerful house of Derelei, who eventually was called to the sovereign's place. During his

\* The Gaidheals or Scots forged his name to the '*Lex Adamnani*,' and style him 'King of the Region of the Picts.'

† The Pictish sovereigns between Ciniath Mac Luthrenn and Brude Mac Bilé are: Gartnaidh Mac Wid (G. *Foith*), died 635; Brude Mac Wid, died 641; Talorg Mac Wid, died 653; Talorgan Mac 'Enfred,' son by a Pictish mother of the fugitive Angle Eanfrid son of Ethelfrid, followed. Eanfrid had been banished from England, and had found asylum among the Picts (*cf.* Bede, lib. iii. cap. i.). He was recalled to England, and died the apostate king of the Bernicians. Talorgan his son, whose right of election to the sovereignty of the Picts arose from his mother, died in 657. Gartnaidh son of Donnel followed him, and died in 663. Drust his brother succeeded him, and was sovereign until 672, when he was deposed, and Brude Mac Bilé was appointed. The *Pictish Chronicle* gives the duration of his reign as 21 years; and Tighernac confirms by giving his death at 693.



## THE PICTISH NATION

reign, in A.D. 698, the English general, Berct,\* who had been Egfrid's pitiless instrument in ravaging the territory of the Irish Gaidheals or Scots, and who, under king Aldfrid, had been living as a rural 'ealdorman,' essayed on his own account to find out what the new sovereign of the Picts was like, and took the field. The Picts, who had a long account against him, made him pay with his life. Brude Derelei died in A.D. 706.† He was succeeded in the sovereignty by a second member of the family, Nechtan Derelei. This sovereign was destined to make trouble for his subjects. The knowledge that Brude Derelei had practically wrested the sovereignty from the elected monarch; and that he was the second member of the clan Derelei to hold the supreme power, evidently made him irresponsible and careless towards the feelings of his subjects. He was drawn into friendly intercourse with the English over matters relating to the government and usages of the Church of Pictland, which fall to be considered later. This, in spite of the fact that in A.D. 711‡ the English showed their feelings towards him and the people whom he ruled by appearing in force on the Moor of Mannan,§ on the borders

\* His full name was 'Berctred.' (Cf. Bede v. xxiv.)

† The date is Tighernac's. The *Pictish Chronicle* states that he reigned 'xi.' years. This is a transposition of 'ix.' However, if two of the four years credited to the weak Taran be reckoned, he reigned xi. years.

‡ Bede, lib. v. cap. xxiv.

§ This is the '*Campus Mannand*' of the Irish sources. Bede mentions this fight in his summary, but it is kept out of the narrative.

## ENGLISH FAIL AND FLEE

of Stirlingshire and East Lothian, under king Osred's chief ealdorman, Bertfrid. Both sides suffered severely. The Anglican historian records no victory, and in the Irish sources no victory is claimed; but the annalists confess that, to the disappointment of the Picts, a chief, Findgane Mac Deleroith, was slain. These incidents show that Nechtan's subjects were not being very tactfully prepared for the international and inter-ecclesiastical relations into which their sovereign was soon to be drawn.



## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS COM- PLETE EVERYWHERE IN PICT- LAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY CHAPTER FOURTEEN

AT the beginning of the eighth century the organized Pictish Church was the sole ministering body throughout every corner of the Pictish dominions, excepting a few square miles at one or two different points on the eastern borders of Dalriada, on the line of Drum-Alban, where the Gaidheals or Scots had intruded their clergy from I (Iona). As Dicuil\* and others show, confirming the passage paraphrased by Joceline from the *Old Life* of S. Kentigern, the Pictish clergy had occupied the field not only to its verge in Caithness, in the Orkneys, and in the Shetlands, but as far north as Iceland.† It is well to grasp not only how these Pictish clerics were organized in their wide operations; but how and from whence they were directed. They were not independents; they were all members of some religious clan which itself might be a branch of some great central community like *Candida Casa* or Bangor. Even if a single cleric desired only to go into

\* Cf. *De Mensura Prov. Orbis Terrae*; Edd. Letronne and Parthey. Dicuil wrote A.D. 825.

† Cf. *V. S. Kent.*, Joceline, cap. xxiv., and the *Landnamabok*, Ari Frodi, who came to Iceland c. 1075.



## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

temporary 'retreat' on a lonely island, or into a 'desert,' he asked the sanction, or took the direction, of his Ab.\* All the Celtic clergy, wherever they might go, remained loyal to their Ab, and subject to the discipline of the central community in which they had been trained, or to the branch with which they had been affiliated. Even S. Columbanus, among the Vosges mountains, far away from his parent-community at Bangor of the Irish Picts, although he refused to submit to the episcopal jurisdiction of the Roman bishops, or to regard himself as subject to the discipline of the Bishop of Rome, made no claim to be an independent; but declared, on the contrary, that he was loyal to the rules and discipline authorized by his Ab, S. Comgall the Great of Bangor. He made clear too that he considered the government and usage under which he had been trained at Bangor as in accordance with the teaching and practice of the Apostles. Monarchic, diocesan episcopacy he regarded as an innovation; and he was not slow in indicating that the opulence and magnificence of the monarchic clergy, and their consequent relations with a corrupt court, were injurious to the whole Christian Church and to Society.

In striving to explain the organization and government of the Celtic Churches, historians have as a rule not been able to prevent them-

\* Sometimes 'Retreat' was enforced as a matter of discipline; as when an Abbot of Iona retired to a 'desert' and a junior official took his place among the brethren.

## THE PICTISH NATION

selves from reading into them the forms of Church government familiar to themselves. Episcopalians have persisted in regarding the Celtic bishops as monarchic and diocesan, which they were not. They were members of their *muinntirs*, and were under the government of the Abs, and they had no dioceses; but they had power to refrain from an ordination,\* even though the candidate were the Ab's nominee. Presbyterians, on the other hand, have professed to see in the Celtic bishop living in subordination to the Ab only a simple presbyter with a special duty relating to the Sacraments, and to solemnities like ordination. But though the bishop was less in authority than the Ab, he was more in the administration of ordinances than the presbyter, because no presbyter was expected to dispense any Sacrament if a bishop happened to be present.† Sometimes, of course, an Ab was also an ordained bishop; but some of the greatest Abs deliberately remained presbyters. The relations of bishop and Ab were much like those of the chaplain of a modern British regiment to his battalion commander. At divine services the chaplain is senior officer, but in all other work and service he is subject to his battalion commander; so in the Celtic

\* S. Columba expected the unnamed bishop to exercise this right when Findchan called him to ordain king Aedh of the Picts of Uladh.

† No bishop would dispense the Sacrament in the Church of Kildare when a presbyter was present. The story was that on a bishop insisting on his right to dispense the Sacrament rather than the resident presbyter, the latter in a moment of temper murdered him.

## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

*muinntirs*, at sacramental services the bishop, if invited to act,\* was for the time being in command of the community; but in all other work and service he was, with the rest of the community, subject to the Ab.

Consequently diocesan bishops or bishops with monarchic powers† are not to be found in the Church of the Picts before, or at, the beginning of the eighth century; though they be looked for never so imaginatively.

As has already been pointed out, the executive ministry of the Church of the Picts throughout all Pictland and the Pictish Islands was organized in small ecclesiastical clans in which the Ab was substituted for the chief. In the early period these *muinntirs* or families consisted of twelve members on the model of the Apostolic band; but later, the Abs, like S. Comgall or S. Dunod, who led in missionary enterprise, or who aimed at making their colleges centres of education, presided over *muinntirs* numbering hundreds and even thousands.

So soon as S. Maelrubha had established his *muinntir* at Abercrossan, Pictland was supplied with efficient communities under governing Abs throughout its entire length and breadth. Some early communities like S. Ninian's, Stir-

\* There is on record the instance of a presbyter-Ab who was greatly annoyed because he dispensed the Lord's Supper in the presence of a visiting bishop who did not reveal his office.

† Unless, of course, they were Abs who had been ordained as bishops; and then they were monarchic not as bishops but as Abs.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ling,\* and the Banchories† of SS. Ternan and Demhanoc had become diminished at this period, or were staffed like collegiate Churches. Some, on the other hand, like S. Ninian's Glasgow,‡ S. Ninan's Loch-Ness,§ and S. Ninian's Fearn of Edderton, had increased in strength and usefulness. Even solitary cells and *Diserts*, which originally had been places of retreat, had become, or were becoming, associated with active communities, as, for example, *Abthein* of Kinghorn, *Disert* of Angus, Cloveth, and Isle of Loch-Leven. Tribal Churches like Abernethy, Dunblane, and Brechin, which at first had been dependent on the big communities, had now become centres of training, government, and supply. The following tables show at a glance the distribution of the Pictish *muinntirs* throughout Pictland at the beginning of the eighth century so far as these are known. The tables are not exhaustive. Some communities like Banchory on the Isla have hardly left a memory behind them; others like S. Findomhnan's at the buried town of Forvie in Buchan, and S. Fergus's at Dalarossie, have left little more than the bare names of the founders, and remains that tease the antiquary.

\* This community was disturbed by the Anglian invasion of the southern bank of the Forth.

† These suffered through proximity to the later central community at Mortlach, and the branches at Cloveth and Dunmeth.

‡ Which became S. Kentigern's (Mungo).

§ Following Dalriad penetration, taken over by clerics of the Gaidh-eals or Scots in Adamnan's time.







# CHURCH OF PICTLAND OF ALBA

## CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY, FURTH OF PICTLAND, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

NAME OF <i>MUNNITHIR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUNNITHIR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> (WHITE HUT).	Britons, but after the middle of the sixth century Brito-Iro-Pictish.	Territory of the STRATH-CLYDE Britons; AFTERWARDS WHITE-HERN OF THE ANGLES, STILL LATER, GALLOWAY.	S. NINIAN called 'THE GREAT' AND 'THE OLD.'	Between A.D. 397 and 399.	WHITE-HUT ON S. HILARY'S FARM AT LAGUGH, AND 'MAGNUM MONASTERIUM' MORMOUTIER, TOURS.	S. CARANOC the Great, S. TERNAN, S. Nennio 'Manchan', Mugent, and, later, S. Dagan and apparently S. Comgan.
BANGOR distin- guished as 'Bangor-Uladh,' of the Irish Picts.	IRO-PICTISH.	ARDS OF ULSTER, in Pictish king- dom of Ulster, Ireland.	S. COMGALL THE GREAT.	A.D. 558.	MAGHBILE (S. Fin- bar's); CLONARD (S. FINIAN, train- ed among the Britons).	The names of 30 Abs, besides other officials, are extant, and their dates stretch from the year of foundation in A.D. 558 until A.D. 928.
<i>ACHADH-BO CAL- NNECH.</i>	IRO-PICTISH.	ACHADH-BO in what is now Queen's County; but formerly in the hin- terland of the Manapien Picts. His first commu- nity was at Drum- achose among the Northern Irish Picts.	S. CAINNECH, OR IN PICTLAND, KEN- NETH.	A.D. 578.	S. FINIAN'S CLON- ARD.	Libran, Ab of Achadh-Bo, <i>d.</i> 618. Seannal, Ab of Achadh-Bo, <i>d.</i> 782.
GLASGOW, including the small- er community at	BRITONS OF STRATH-CLYDE.	S. NINIAN'S ON THE MOLENDINAR, GLASGOW.	S. KENTIGERN 'MUNGO.'	c. A.D. 553. He returned to Strath- Clyde c. 573; and to Glasgow c. 581 (Forbes). Before A.D. 590.	S. SERVANUS OF COLROSS AND S. FERGUS OF THE <i>DISERT</i> AT CAR- NOCH. GLASGOW.	S. Fergihl 'the Geometer,' re- signed; and died bishop of Salburg in 789. Fearadach, scilicet, and Ab of Achadh-Bo, <i>d.</i> 813. Ailill, Ab of Achadh-Bo, <i>d.</i> 853. Suibhach, Ab of Achadh-Bo, <i>d.</i> 857.
GOVAN.	BRITO-PICTISH.	ON THE CLYDE, GLASGOW.				S. Conval who founded the Church of Eastwood. At a later period Balthere of Lyn- ingham was a pupil.
PAISLEY.	IRO-PICTISH.	ON THE CART, REN- FREWSHIRE.	S. MIRRAN.	Between A.D. 560 and 590.	S. COMGALL'S BAN- GOR.	S. Constantine the Briton. This royal Ab was associated also with S. Mirran. S. Constantine founded churches at Crawford; and in the Valley of the Stin- char.

LOCAL CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY WITHIN PICTLAND AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY. EAST COAST.

NAME OF <i>MUINNIR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUINNIR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
<i>PETNA W'HEM</i> ( <i>Pittenweem</i> ).	PICTISH.	FIFE (opposite Isle of May).	It bears the name of S. Ninian.	...	One of the ancient Cave retreats where a <i>muinnir</i> was formed. Its origin has been observed by the fabulists in the ridiculous <i>Legend of Adrian</i> . IRISH PICTS.	S. Fillan of <i>Fife</i> was Ab here. He founded Forgan and Aber- dour on Forth. Before he died he retired to the <i>disert</i> of 'Tyrus', that is Tyrie near where the Pictish <i>muinnir</i> of Abthein, Kinghorn, was organized. Here also was a foundation of S. Ninian. About the seventh century Pit- tenweem and Isle of May be- came connected.
ISLE OF MAY.	PICTISH.	FIRTH OF FORTH.	S. ITHERNAN.	Seventh century before A.D. 669.	S. CAINNECH's first community was at Drumachose of the Irish Picts; ACHADH-BO be- came his chief Church later.	The historical S. RIAGHUIL (RULE). The 'S. REGULUS or RULE' of the fabulists was the literary ghost of the above. Tutalan Ab of <i>Cind Righ</i> <i>Monadh</i> (St. Andrews), d. A.D. 747.
'REGLES' (mother-Church) <i>CIND RIGH</i> <i>MONADH</i> (St. Andrews).	PICTISH.	FIFE.	S. CAINNECH OF ACHADH-BO.	Between A.D. 563 and 578.	<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> .	The names of the Pictish acting Abs have not survived; but some of their 'heirs' who in- herited the Pictish Churchland, retaining the title Ab, and min- istering by a 'Chaplain' are known, Maricius, Abbe Aber- eloth, c. 1201-1207; Galfridus
'The COLLEGE' or <i>MUINNIR</i> of <i>ABER-ELOTH</i> ( <i>Arbuthnot</i> ).	PICTISH.	FORFARSHIRE.	S. NINIAN THE GREAT.	Between 397 and 432.		Eloth, c. 1201-1207; Galfridus

<p>'ANNA T' (parent community) of MUNROS (OLD MONTROSE). The ancient name is still preserved by the 'Annat-bank.</p>	<p>Pictish.</p>	<p>MOUTH OF THE SOUTH Esk.</p>	<p>S. CAINNECH'S successor and the Celtic Ab on whom the Roman Catholic fabulists based the <i>Legends of S. Andrew</i>.</p>	<p>Achadh-Bo, A.D. 578.</p>	<p>Probably from <i>AHER-ELOTH</i> or <i>CIND RIGH MONAIDH</i>.</p>	<p>Church afterwards known as <i>Sigheil Cairnach Mor</i> (Chapel of S. Caimnech the Great). S. Brigh, S. Morubh ('Moruf') and S. Marnoc were connected with the work of this community in early times. The Church of Monifeth is known to be built on the old 'Abtuen' of Monifeth. Nicolas was titular Ab in thirteenth century. A Celtic cleric called William performed the spiritual duties of the charge for him. The successors of the Celtic Clergy figure in the late period as <i>Céle De</i>, c. 1220. The missal of Blessed Marnoc was still used in the Celtic part of this district, by order of the Roman bishop of Brechin when the regular missal was used in the coast Churches, c. 1348.</p>
<p>'ANNA T' (parent community) of MUNROS (OLD MONTROSE). The ancient name is still preserved by the 'Annat-bank.</p>	<p>Pictish.</p>	<p>MOUTH OF THE SOUTH Esk.</p>	<p>S. Brioc (Brechin charter-spelling, not to be confused with S. Brigh of Monifeth and Panbride).</p>	<p>Early sixth century.</p>	<p>Probably from <i>AHER-ELOTH</i> or <i>CIND RIGH MONAIDH</i>.</p>	<p>S. SKAOC, S. 'MARTAN' of Logie AND EVIDENTLY S. GIRIG ('Cyrius') were connected with the work of this community. The <i>Abbein</i>, or as it is explained, 'the land of the Abbacy of Munros' was not alienated from the representatives of the old Pictish Ahs until the time of king William.</p>



LOCAL CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY WITHIN PICTLAND AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY. EAST COAST—Contd.

NAME OF <i>MUINNIR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ARES OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUINNIR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
ABERDOUR.	BRITO-PICTISH.	NORTH COAST OF BUCHAN.	S. DROSTAN THE BRITON.	c. A.D. 500. ( <i>See</i> DEER.)	This was S. DROSTAN'S ORIGINAL COMMUNITY founded from some unknown community among the Britons. Aberdeen in later times became dependent on Deer. It was the port for communications between S. Drostan's Caithness foundations and the mother-Church at Deer.	( <i>See</i> DEER.)
ROSEMARKIE.	IRO-PICTISH.	BLACK ISLE, ROSS AND CROMARTY.	S. MOLUAG of 'the hundred Churches.	Between A.D. 562 and 592.	S. COMGALL'S BANGOR AND LIS- MORE OF LOREN.	( <i>See</i> LISMORE.)
FEARN OF EDDERTON (' <i>Ferina</i> ' and ' <i>FARINA</i> ').	BRITO-PICTISH.	EASTER ROSS, on Dornoch Firth.	S. NINIAN THE GREAT.	Before A.D. 432.	<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> . The later Roman Catholic house at ' <i>Nona Ferina</i> ' remained subject to <i>Candida Casa</i> until A.D. 1560.	S. Finbar, pupil of <i>Candida Casa</i> , laboured here early in the sixth century. Near <i>Nona Ferina</i> is one of his foundations. Tarlog and Demhan from S. Donnan's <i>muinntir</i> also laboured here before 617. Reoddaidhe whose cross was dug up near <i>Nona Ferina</i> was Ab of Fearn in the eighth century and died A.D. 758-62. The <i>Irish Annals</i> in recording

DORNOCH.	BRITO-IRO-PICTISH.	SUTHERLAND, ON DORNOCH FIRTH.	S. FINBAR OF MAGHILE, TERRI- TORY OF THE IRISH PICTS.	Before A.D. 560 (S. Finbar, <i>d.</i> 578-9).	CANDIDA CASA FROM BANGOR became the home of S. Finbar's own community which co-operated both with <i>Candida</i> Casa and with Bangor.	<p>between those of 'Fearn' in Pictland of Alba, and 'Ferns' in Ireland—sometimes they do not even distinguish between both and the presidents of 'Fearn', 'Lindisfarne'—so it is not possible to give a list.</p> <p>Owing to the Viking occupation not only the records but many of the ecclesiastical place-names at Dornoch were obliterated. SS. Dominand (Creich), Callen (Cucallen of Rogart) and Machlie (MacLog of Golspie) laboured here after S. Finbar's time. The ancient community of S. Finbar were represented by <i>Celle De</i> who bore his name as late as c. 1272. S. Gilbert in changing the seat of the Roman Catholic bishopric meant to usurp the ancient property of the Celtic Church. This only delayed the conforming of the <i>Celle De</i> to Rome, and S. Gilbert had to maintain his Chair by a garrison of Murrays. When the <i>Celle De</i> at last conformed they became Trinitarian Friars.</p>
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See note on following page.

NOTE.—Although Dornoch, Sutherland, is the last Pictish religious community tabulated here, as existing at the beginning of the eighth century on the East Coast of Pictland, it by no means completes the list. There were many others; but the ravages of the Vikings have left few details about them. Dicuil (A.D. 825), referring to the eighth-century Pictish workers in the far North; Ari Froda, referring to Ingulf's visit to Iceland, A.D. 874; and certain *Saga* and *Charter* references show that in the eighth century the Pictish communities were distributed not only to the extremity of the Mainland, but throughout the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and beyond, to the Islands 'towards the frozen sea.' Unfortunately the Vikings left little to us of the settlements of these communities beyond the wreckage, like the eighteen cells within the *Lis* at Deerness in Orkney and the skeleton of the Church; or the Round Tower of Egilsay; or the bare Churchyard with the coffined and buried Celtic bell of Birsay. When the Vikings arrived on the Northern Coasts and Islands, we know, from the place-names which they bestowed, that they found ancient and active Pictish religious communities at the following among other places—on the Mainland, at St. Ninian's Navdale, and Kildonan, both in Sutherland; at St. Ninian's and its harbour of 'Papigoe,' Wick, and at Halkirk, both in Caithness. On the Islands, the communities of 'S. Colm the bishop' (Camerarius) at Hoy and Burness; at Deerness and the adjacent 'Paplay,' at Birsay, Egilsay and Papa Westra, all in Orkney; at St. Ninian's Isle, at Papa Stour, both in Shetland and in several other places bearing the name 'Papa.' In the beginning of the eighth century the Pictish Church had given to the Northern Mainland and Islands a ministry as efficient and as well organized as the Christian ministry in these places to-day. Yet Dr. Haddan and others chronicle under the date c. A.D. 1000 'The Orkneys converted to Christianity.' What they ought to have chronicled was that about that date the pagan, Teutonic, Viking invaders gave a nominal assent to Roman Catholicism by the command of Sigurd, Viking Earl of Orkney, who was ordered to become a Christian, and to proclaim Christianity to the pagan Vikings of the Islands by Olaf Tryggvesen, King of Norway, his superior, who was himself acting under the orders of his conqueror Sueno, the Roman Catholic King of Denmark. Then followed the building of a Church, dedicated to Christ, near the domicile of the old Pictish *muinntir* at Birsay which became the seat of the first Roman Catholic bishopric of Orkney, at the time Norwegian and subject to Dronheim. Little did the Roman bishop of these devastating, desecrating Teutons know as he heard his cathedral bell call the hours that the Pictish Clergy, who had ministered before him, had safely buried their humble but most sacred bell in a stone cist near the Pictish Churchyard, out of sight of his sacrilegious fellow-Teutons. The conversion of the Vikings to Roman Catholicism took place, as we have seen, by order of the military authority, which left no room for toleration to the Pictish Clergy who risked martyrdom in order that they might minister to the remnant of Pictish Celts who had survived the savagery of the Vikings in the North. The same sword that dictated the conversion of the Teutons dictated at the same time banishment or conformity to the Pictish Clergy. Perhaps, as the Pictish Ab of Birsay laid his bell in its carefully prepared tomb—prepared as carefully as if it had been for the body of a king—he hoped that, some day, he or one of his faithful *muinntir* would return to give it a glorious resurrection. The Vikings, contrary to the practice of the Picts, *dedicated* the Churches which they built, following the Roman practice. Sometimes they built their Churches near or on the sites of Pictish foundations, which explains a Church bearing the name of a foreign saint near a Churchyard bearing the name of the Pictish founder of the earlier Church. Viking dedications are to their own saints like Magnus, Rognvald, or Olaf, when not to Roman Catholic saints like B. M. Mary, S. Catherine, or SS. Nicholas, Lawrence, or John. The Viking Roman Catholics of Orkney raised no altar at Birsay or Kirkwall to a single Celtic saint. The district chapels to Colm and Duthus of Tain are not exceptions. S. Colm was a Pictish bishop and his Church was revived by the Vikings, and the later Catholics mistook it for a *dedication* to S. Columba. S. Duthus *visited* Orkney, and his Church was a *foundation* not a *dedication*.



NAME OF <i>MUNNTR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUNNTR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
<i>CINN-GARADH</i> (Kingarth).	Iro-Pictish.	ISLE OF BUTE, FIRTH OF CLYDE.	S. Catan, and his successor and nephew, S. Bhan.	Between A.D. 558 and 578.	S. COMGALL'S BAN- GOR.	DANIEL AB, and bishop, <i>d.</i> 660. IOLAN AB, and bishop, <i>d.</i> 689. S. RYVAN AB, <i>d.</i> 737. MAELMANACH AB, <i>d.</i> 776. NOE AB, <i>d.</i> 790.
LISMORE.	Iro-Pictish.	HEAD OF THE FIRTH OF LORN.	S. MOLUAG.	Between A.D. 558 and 563.	S. COMGALL'S BAN- GOR.	S. DUBHOC or Dubhi, whose cross still survives at Lismore. NEMAN AB, <i>d.</i> 610. S. ECHAD AB, <i>d.</i> 635. IARNLAG AB, <i>d.</i> 700. There are other ABS of LISMORE of LORN SUCH AS MAC CONGETH who died in 753, but the Editors of the <i>Irish Annals</i> have mixed them up with the ABS of Lis- more-Mochuda in Ireland; and it is not now easy to separate them out.
KILDONNAN OF EIGG.	BRITO-IRO-PICTISH.	ONE OF THE HEBRIDES, OFF ARISAIG.	S. DONNAN THE GREAT.	Shortly before April A.D. 617.	<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> , which about this time was co-oper- ating with S. COM- GALL'S BANGOR.	OAN 'PRINCEPS' OF EIGG, <i>d.</i> 725. CUMAN UA BECCÉ AB, <i>d.</i> 751. Later-known ABS who are not dated were Conan, Berchan, Enan and Conghalach.
'ABER-CROSSAN.'	Iro-Pictish.	S.W. ROSS.	S. MAELRUBHA ( <i>d.</i> A.D. 722 at the age of eighty).	A.D. 673.	S. COMGALL'S BAN- GOR.	FAILBHE MAC GUAIRE, a suc- cessor of S. Maelrubha, was drowned at sea with his 22 sailors, A.D. 737. MAC OIGI AB OF ABERCROSSAN was promoted to be AB of the parent community at S. Com- gall's Bangor and died there A.D. 802.

LOCAL CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY WITHIN PICTLAND AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY. INLAND.

NAME OF MUINNŌIR.	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF MUINNŌIR AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
INNIS NA CHOLM (‘INCHMAHOLM’ AND ‘INCH- MO CHOLMOC’).	Iro-Pictish.	LAKE OF MEN- TEITH.	‘S. COLM’ (not to be confused with S. Colm of Buchan).	Before A.D. 514.	S. AILBHE’S COM- MUNITY at EMLY. S. COLM OR COL- MAN AFTERWARDS ORGANIZED A COM- MUNITY OF HIS OWN AT DROMORE IN ULSTER WHICH BECAME THE MOTHER-CHURCH OF THE OTHER COMMUNITIES THAT HE HAD FOUNDED IN ALBA.	S. FILLAN ‘Llaifar,’ also of EMLY, continued the work here from his own community at ‘Rath Erann.’ Camerarius refers to Berchan, a bishop, Ab of Inchmaholm, whose date was after A.D. 686.
DUNBLANE.	Pictish.	S. PERTSHIRE.	S. BLAAN, a pupil of S. Congall’s Ban- gor.	Between A.D. 578 and 610.	CINN-GRADH (Kingarth, Bute).	No names have been preserved. The Celtic Church was repre- sented at Dunblane and Mut- hill by <i>Cele Dē</i> as late as A.D. 1214. A certain S. Brīde laboured here in early times. The ancient <i>Annaf</i> or mother- Church on the burn west of Dounne is more ancient than S. Blaan’s foundation.
ABERNETHY ON TAY.	Iro-Pictish.	S.E. PERTSHIRE, on BORDERS OF FIFE.	The tribal Church was founded in the reign of Gartnaidh mac Donneth, and completed in the reign of Nectan of the clan Erp. S. CANNRECH of	Between A.D. 563 and 578. Gartnaidh reigned 584 to 599. Nectan of the family of Erp reigned A.D. 599 to 601.	The <i>Regles</i> of CIND RICH MONADH (St. Andrews); and ACHADH-BO.	No names have been preserved; but it continued to be a centre of the Celtic Church until long after the coming of the Vikings. There was still a titular Ab of Abernethy in the time of king William the Lion, whose name was Ianneseon of Orr. His



<p>The 'College' of BRECHIN. (The name 'College,' applied to several early Pictish <i>ministers</i>, is still used of the site at Brechin.)</p>	<p>PICTISH.</p>	<p>ANGUS.</p>	<p>at the time working in Fife under king Gartnadh's protection and would naturally be the founder. The fabulists of the Roman Catholic period invented an absurd story which square with historical dates, ascribing the founding to 'Darlugdach.</p>	<p>local king before, he became Sovereign of Pictland in 384, and as S. Canmorch returned to <i>Abte dlu Bo c.</i> 578, the date of this foundation at Abernethy lies near 578.</p>	<p>No early names have been recorded. S. 'Arné' or 'Army,' whose <i>swidnes</i> is in Glen Ogill and at Kinneff, was an early worker here. 'Drostan Dairtaighe,' that is Drostan of the Oratory, d. 'n <i>Ard Breccain</i>' A.D. 719. The <i>Aberdeen Breviary</i> states that his 'retreat' or <i>desert</i> was in Glenesk, which is in the Heights of Brechin; and his inscribed cross is still at St. Vigean. The <i>Irish Annals</i> have unfortunately mixed up, without distinction, the names of early clerics who belong to Brechin in Alba with those who belong to 'Ard Breccain' in Ireland. S. 'Moruf' (Maerubba), anchorite, Ab and bishop, died in the</p>
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LOCAL CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY WITHIN PICTLAND AT THE BEGINNING  
OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY. INLAND—*Contd.*

NAME OF <i>MUINNTEK</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUINNTEK</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
'ANDAT' (parent community) of METHLICK.	BRITO-PICTISH.	ABERDENSHIRE.	S. NINIAN THE GREAT.	Before A.D. 432.	<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> .	Heights of Brechin A.D. 823. Like S. Dubhac he was also connected with Monifed. One of his Churches was at Barry and another in the Mearns. The <i>Irish Annals</i> also appro- priate him for Ard-Brechain, Ireland. Artgus was Ab and bishop c. A.D. 865. Duncan was Ab up to A.D. 965, when he was slain. King Kenneth's community of Scotic clerics was represented by a titular Ab (known as 'John Abbe') as late as 1219. The spiritual duties were dis- charged by the prior 'Maol- bride'.
'ANDAT' (parent community) of KYNÔR.	BRITO-PICTISH.	Near HUNTLY, ABERDENSHIRE.	S. KENTIGERN (MUNGO).	Before A.D. 612.	GLASGOW.	NONE RECORDED; but the com- munity continued until the Roman Catholic period, and became the centre of one of the reorganized parishes. S. NIDAN A BRITON and relation of S. Kentigern. Probably also S. Walloc. There was an Aberdeenshire tradition that KYNÔR superseded the ANDAT of METHLICK; but both con- tinued until the Roman Cath- olics reorganized the parishes.

<p><b>TURRIFF.</b></p>	<p><b>PICTISH.</b></p>	<p><b>BUCHAN, ABERDEENSHIRE.</b></p>	<p><b>BRITON.</b></p>	<p>ing to the Aber- deen authorities who are confirmed by the fact that a younger sister of S. DROSTAN had married the Scotie king Gabhran before A.D. 532.</p>	<p><b>DEER.</b></p>	<p><b>MUNITY OF THE BRITONS. SS. MEDAN AND EOGAN ARE BOTH STATED TO HAVE BEEN FROM CANDIDA C.A.S.A.</b></p>	<p>S. COMGAN WAS Ab c. A.D. 734. After the Gaidhealic or Scotie ascendency c. 1132 Domongart was <i>Fertigiz</i> at Turriff; and a little later Cormac was Ab of Turriff.</p>
<p><b>'MURTHLAC' (MORTLACH).</b></p>	<p><b>IRO-PICTISH.</b></p>	<p><b>NEAR DUFFTOWN, BANFFSHIRE.</b></p>	<p><b>S. MOLUAG.</b></p>	<p>Between A.D. 565 and 592.</p>	<p><b>S. COMGALL'S BAN- GOR AND LISMORE OF LORN.</b></p>	<p>The following were Abs and bishops of this community in the eleventh century. S. Beathan, 'Donert' or 'Donerc', Cormac, and Nectan. The names and persons are histori- cal although Boece's dates need correction. S. Beathan founded the Church of Kinkell in Gari- och, and 'Kil-Yean' near Inver- ness. He died in the reign of Donnchadh mac Crinan, who was slain by his own subjects A.D. 1040 in the sixth year of his reign. S. Beathan was buried at the postern of 'Mur- thlac Church.</p>	



LOCAL CENTRES OF ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPLY WITHIN PICTLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF  
THE EIGHTH CENTURY. INLAND—*Contd.*

NAME OF <i>MUINNTEIR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN AS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUINNTEIR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
CLOVAOR 'CLOVETH.'	PICTISH.	Near LUMSDEN Village, Aberdeen- shire.	S. MOLLUAG.	Between A.D. 565 and 592.	BANGOR and LIS- MORE; Branch from <i>MORTILACH</i> (Mortlach).	Nectan is seen from the entry in the <i>Book of Deer</i> to have become bishop of Aberdeen by A.D. 1132. He was nearly fifteen years Ab and bishop at Mortlach, and for about the same number of years he was monarchic and diocesan bishop of Aberdeen. Nectan appar- ently conformed entirely to Roman Catholicism, gave up life in the community of Mortlach, and at king David's wish organ- ized the new See of Aberdeen (Cf. <i>Fordun</i> ).  By a bull of Pope Adrian IV, the lands of the old <i>muinniteir</i> of 'Cloveth,' and the town of 'Mortlach,' and the lands of the old <i>muinniteir</i> there were confirmed to Edward, Roman Catholic bishop of Aberdeen 1154-1171.  The Celts of Cloveth did not allow the lands of the Pictish <i>muinniteir</i> at Clova to go to the Roman Catholics without a struggle; because the sixth Roman bishop of Aberdeen, Gilbert de Sterling (1228-1239), was compelled to use force to recover 'Cloveth and Birse from thievish mountaineers.'



DUNMETH.	BRITO-PICTISH.	GLASS, ABERDEENSHIRE.	S. WALLOC.	Between A.D. 700 and 733.	<i>CANDIDA CASA</i> from which, ac- cording to Came- rarius, S. Walloc came.	According to Dr. Moir's remarks on Boece's references to Mor- lach—'Murlthac, Clova, and Dunmeth' were governed by S. Beathan as Ab and bishop c. A.D. 1040. The Scottic kings gave these three places to endow the See of Aberdeen.
'AN TEAMPUL' or 'Cill an-e-Rinian', S. Ninian's, Loch-Ness.	BRITO-PICTISH.	Urquhart, Loch-Ness.	S. NINIAN THE GREAT.	Before A.D. 432.	<i>CANDIDA CASA.</i>	S. ERCHARD OF M'ERCHARD, one of S. Ternan's converts, con- tinued the work here. In the time of Adamnan, 679-704, this centre fell under the con- trol of the Gaidhealic or Scottic Church of Iona through the extension of the Dalriadic kingdom into the 'Great Glen.' Bishop Cairrell, son of Nessan, was apparently put in charge; and 'Pit-Chairrell', the endow- ment of his Chapel, became part of the endowments of S. Ninian's.

*MUINNTIR* OF THE CHURCH OF THE GAIDHEALS OR SCOTS INTRUDED WITHIN PICTLAND AMONG CERTAIN BORDER CLANS ALONG THE LINE OF THE WESTERN FRONTIER ('DRUM-ALBAN'). These *muintirs* formed no part of the Church of the Picts. They were not in communion with it. They were restricted to the Border tribes which through intermarriage contained a leaven of Gaidheals or Scots. Ecclesiastically, the clerics in these *muintirs* were subject to the Ab of Hy (Iona); politically they were in sympathy with the Gaidheal or Scotie kings of Dalriada. Their political leanings and propaganda drew down on them the wrath of the Sovereigns of Pictland in the eighth century.

NAME OF <i>MUINNTIR</i> .	NATIONALITY OF MEMBERS.	LOCALITY.	FOUNDER.	DATE OF FOUNDATION.	PARENT COMMUNITY.	KNOWN ABS OR PRESIDENTS OF <i>MUINNTIR</i> AFTER TIME OF FOUNDER.
DRYMEN.	SCOTS OF DALRIADA.	LENNOX, IN THE BORDER TERRITORY BETWEEN DALRIADA AND THE BRITO-PICTISH KINGDOMS.	S. COLUMBA (COLUMGILLE).	c. A.D. 580.	I (Hy or Iona).	This is evidently the community which Lugba Mocuinn ruled when king Rhydderch at Dunbarton secured him for his mission to S. Columba. The community must have restricted its ministries to Gaidheal or Scotie settlers because the clergy of S. Blaas's Pictish communities ministered in this district; and Lennox had been christianized long before S. Columba came to Dalriada.
<i>MUINNTIR</i> CALLED 'KAILLIAN FIND' (Brit. Mus. MS. of 'Adamnan'); or 'KAILLIAN INDE' (Schaffhausen Codex of Adamnan).	SCOTS OF DALRIADA.	EXACT SITE UNKNOWN. It was in the valley of the Upper Tay, near, but above, Dunkeld. The Latin scribe was evidently trying to render a Celtic description meaning— <i>Muintir</i> of S. Finan among the <i>Caillen</i> (' <i>Chailin</i> '), that is the Caledonians whose capital was <i>Duni-Cailen</i> (Dunkeld).	S. Finan the youthful companion of S. Columba, who took ill in this very locality while accompanying S. Columba on a journey to Gartnaidh, or to Brude mac Maelchon, or to both.	Not long after A.D. 597.	Iona.	Judging from the fact that Adamnan required to establish a community as full closer to the frontier, S. Finan's community was not favourably regarded by the Picts. It was suppressed under Nechtan the Sovereign.

DULL.	SCOTS OF DALRIADA.	NEAR THE JUNCTION of the Lyon and the Tay in Perth- shire.	ADAMANAN.	BETWEEN A.D. 679 and 704.	IOWA.	It was the planting of this strong community within Pictish ter- ritory that hastened the dras- tic measures under Nechtan the Sovereign in A.D. 717.
S. NINIAN'S, LOCH-NESS.	See	Table of Pictish	MUINNTER.			Between A.D. 679 and 704 this ancient community fell (until the times of the Pictish king Angus Mac Fergus) into the territory governed by the kings of Dalriada. Thereupon Adamnan Abbot of Iona took over the control and supply of this establishment. The new community was evidently placed in charge of Cairrell as Ab and bishop. Cairrell, as the Duke of Argyll has shown, founded certain Churches throughout the Dalriad terri- tories. Bishop Cairrell was son of Nessian and great-grandson of a king of Leinster, whose death took place A.D. 638. Bishop Cairrell lived from the beginning of the eighth century. Dr. Mackay has drawn atten- tion to his Chapel in Glen Urqu- hart, 'Pit-Cairrell,' its endow- ment was part of the endow- ments of S. Ninian's, Loch- Ness, in A.D. 1599.



## THE PICTISH NATION

A short study of the foregoing tables will reveal that the *greater* centres of culture, control, and supply which had educated and supplied a continuous ministry to the Church of the Picts, *Candida Casa*, Bangor, and Glasgow among them, were at the beginning of the eighth century actually outside the dominions of the Pictish State, and sovereignty. This, however, did not prevent the Church from being national, and it saved it from being insular in its culture and religious views. Incidentally, also, this saved the Church of Pictland from local political control, and from becoming an instrument in the hands of the Pictish sovereigns.

In this respect, it presents a striking contrast to the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots of Dalriada. That Church from its origin continued to be one of the chief political factors in the Dalriad kingdom. S. Columba had found Dalriada a tributary province and had made it a kingdom. He not only created the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots; but he created the State of Dalriada, and from his time onwards every Gaidhealic or Scotie congregation continued to be a political outpost and centre of propaganda on behalf of the Gaidhealic or Scotie State. It was this which caused one of the Pictish sovereigns to allow the expulsion of the few communities which the Gaidheals or Scots had intruded into Pictland along the line of the Drum-Alban frontier. The Picts objected

## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

to have their independence sapped under cover of religion. Besides, a political Church hankering after temporal power and interference was obnoxious to the Picts whose own Churchmen had adhered to the ideal of teaching the citizens the religion of Jesus Christ and the morality of the Gospel, demanding only from the State freedom and protection while prosecuting their work.

At its origin, after A.D. 399, the Church of Pictland of Alba had been Celto-Catholic. As it grew, it kept up communion with the Church of Celtic Gaul and the christians among the Britons and Irish. When the barbarian migrations into Gaul had cut it off from S. Martin's, Tours, the mother-Church of all the Celts, *Candida Casa* continued to be the repository of S. Martin's ideals, a new '*Taigh-Martain*,' and foster-mother to the Brito-Celtic christians. At the beginning of the eighth century the Church of Pictland of Alba was still Celto-Catholic; but it was on the eve of being cut off from *Candida Casa*. The Angles at this time had at last succeeded in bringing the greater part of Galloway within the Anglian kingdom. This meant not only that *Candida Casa* came under the authority of the English king; but that it would be compelled to conform to the Church of the Angles, which was Roman Catholic, and to accommodate itself to a place in the system and organization of the



## THE PICTISH NATION

Roman Catholic Church. The absorption of *Candida Casa* into the Roman Catholic organization took place c. A.D. 730. Its first Roman Catholic bishop was a Pict; but as he was an Anglian prelate his jurisdiction was restricted, under York, to the portion of Galloway ruled by the English. The English prelates tactfully refrained from disestablishing the old *muinntir*; but the conforming members were changed into Canons. Bangor of Ulster, which had been co-operating with *Candida Casa* for a long time, now became the chief fostering centre of the Pictish Church outside the realm of Pictland. The change at *Candida Casa* does not appear to have been accomplished without dissent. There was, however, no room for dissenters under the government of the English. Those who adhered to the ancient ideals, and to the Church government of the Celto-Catholics, were forced to betake themselves to Bangor, in the kingdom of the Irish Picts, or to some of the *muinntirs* in Pictland of Alba.

At this time S. Comgan\* (Cowan) severed his connection with Galloway and betook himself to Pictland of Alba where he ultimately became Ab of the Pictish Community at Turriff, a branch of Deer in Buchan. Before his departure, among other works in Galloway, he founded the Church

\* By aspiration after a preceding word the name becomes '*Comhghan*,' pronounced '*Cowan*.'



## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

of Kirk\*-Cowan in Wigtownshire, northward from *Candida Casa*. His nephew, S. Fillan, † founded Kilfillan also in Wigtownshire, and Kil'illan (Houston) in the territory of the Strath-Clyde Britons. S. Comgan was the son of Ceallaigh Cualann, a petty king of the Picts of Leinster, who died A.D. 715. His sister was Kentigerna one of the few authentic early religious women who laboured in Pictland. Her 'retreat' was *Innis na Cailleach* in Loch Lomond and her death is recorded A.D. 734. The fabulists as usual have garbled the *Lives* of S. Comgan and his relations, and have added some members to the family group who had no historical connection with it. The established facts are as follow. Previous to c. A.D. 715, S. Comgan laboured in Galloway as one of the community of *Candida Casa* to which he had come, like other Irish Picts, from Bangor. Meanwhile his nephew Fillan was being trained at the 'muinntir' inbar ‡ near the home of his father Feredach§ who was a Pict of Ulster. In course of time Fillan joined his uncle at *Candida Casa*, as is apparent from the proximity of their Church-foundations in

\* The extension of English power and speech to Galloway is seen in the use of Teutonic 'Kirk' for Latino-Celtic 'Cill.'

† Not to be confused with 'S. Faolan "Ilafar" of Rath-Erann' Perthshire; nor with S. Fillan of Pittenweem, Aberdour, and Forgan, who died at the *désert* of 'Tyros,' Tyrie, near the *Abthein* of Kinghorn. The early Scottish Roman Catholics failed to distinguish one from the other.

‡ This is the only intelligible interpretation of the account corrupted by the Scottish fabulists that he was educated at *Muinntir* 'Ibar.' '*Muinntir* inbar' is the uttered form of *Muinntir Fhinbar*.

§ He was of the race of Fiatach Finn.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Wigtownshire. Shortly after S. Fillan's arrival in Galloway the English Roman Catholics, taking advantage of the penetration and occupation of Galloway by the Angles, annexed *Candida Casa*, and absorbed it, with those Celts who are known to have conformed like Pechthelm, into the Roman Catholic organization. Among those who did not conform and went elsewhere were SS. Comgan and Fillan. They set out for the west of Pictland of Alba to the same locality\* into which S. Donnan the Great, from *Candida Casa*, had journeyed about one hundred years earlier, and they founded Churches quite near to Eilan Donnan in Kintail. Here S. Comgan founded the Church, which still bears his name, at Kirkton Lochalsh, and S. Fillan founded '*Cill 'illan*' near Dornie, the churchyard of which is still used. During their stay here, Kentigerna, the mother of S. Fillan, who had been recently widowed and had resolved to devote herself to religious work and meditation, joined her son and her brother. Her recorded presence with them is confirmed by the existence of the site of her cell at 'Kil-Kinterné'† in Glenshiel, across Loch Duich from her son's foundation at Cill 'illan at the head of Loch Long. Other Church-foundations‡ of S.

\* S. Comgan and S. Fillan would find themselves in touch also with their fellow-Pict S. Maelrubha from Bangor who at this time was at Abercrossan.

† Spelling of 1543. Cf. Prof. Watson's *Place-names of Ross*, p. 172.

‡ The other Church-foundations called 'Kilquhoan' in Sele and Ardnamurchan were within the kingdom of the Gaidheals or Scots, and

## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Comgan are, S. Comgan's in Glendale, Duirinish, *Teampull Choan* in Strath, both in Skye; Kilchoan in Knoydart, and Kilchoan in Kiltarn, Ross. From Ross-shire S. Comgan passed east to the Pictish community at Turriff and became their Ab. The old parish Church of Turriff still stands on the picturesque site of the Church which S. Comgan founded. This *muinntir*, which he ruled in the eighth century after his retreat from Roman Catholic aggression at *Candida Casa*, had itself conformed to Rome by A.D. 1132. At that date its members were clerics of Celtic race; but they are found acting along with the prelates of the new Roman hierarchy, as can be seen from the entries in the *Book of Deer*, when a certain Cormac was Ab. S. Comgan died at Turriff but the year of his death in the eighth century is not now known. On S. Comgan's translation to Turriff S. Fillan returned to Strath-Clyde, and connected himself with the daughter establishment of Bangor at Paisley. He died at his Church of Kiltillan Houston, A.D. 749.\* Kentigerna went south

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probably belong to S. Comgan Mac Degill a relation of S. Columba. Dr. Reeves does not think so; but at this date there was little chance of a Brito-Pictish minister being allowed to found Churches in Dalriada; although after Angus Mac Fergus overran Dalriada, he evidently tried to force the Pictish clergy upon the Scots. It must not be overlooked either that Kentigerna and her family had been disinherited by the Irish Gaidheals or Scots.

\* This is the corrected date of Camerarius. In his early printed work '649' is given along with several obvious misspellings. 749 is meant as is evident from the date of the death of his mother, which is confirmed. She died before him.



## THE PICTISH NATION

also to be near S. Fillan, and she established herself not far away from him on *Innis na Cailleach* where she died A.D. 734.

The incident of Kentigerna\* and her devotion to S. Fillan get behind the historical imagination to the heart. She lived up to the meaning of her name, perhaps title, 'Lady of Grace.' Widowed, disinherited by the pitiless, everlasting lust of conquest on the part of the Gaidheals or Scots, homeless, a ministry of goodness in Pictland of Alba was preferable to a life of idle humiliation in Erin. She sought out her son in the wilds of far Kintail. Barred from living with him by his vows, under which he had agreed to minister without luxuries—without even the comforting attentions of a tender mother—she could yet live near him, take part in the same work, and cheerfully endure similar hardships. It sufficed her that he was near by, and that sometimes she could speak to him. And when S. Comgan was called eastwards to the duties of a bigger 'family' and

\* She had a sister called Muirenn who died A.D. 748. Muirenn became the wife of Irgalach, a Gaidheal or Scot on his father's side and chief of Bregia in Meath. Through his mother he became lord of the Pictish territory of Kiannaght. He slew his cousin at *Inis mac Nesan*, which roused the Scotie Abbot Adamnan against him. Adamnan stood in the waters of the Boyne on the borders of Irgalach's territory and 'cursed' him. He afterwards secured his excommunication at a Synod of Scotie clerics. Irgalach defied Adamnan. Certain writers, owing to a similarity of names, have imagined that the big island in Loch Lomond next to Kentigerna's was the residence of Muirenn, Irgalach's wife; but Muirenn resided in Ireland. The isles of Loch Lomond were 'retreats' for the Brito-Pictish clerics long before Kentigerna's time. S. Mirran of Paisley had a 'retreat' at Loch Lomond.

## CHURCH ORGANIZATION

a more responsible charge; and when S. Fillan resolved to return to his former field among the Britons; Kentigerna, once more, took up her pilgrimage, through difficult mountains, that she might continue to breathe the same air as her son. From the high ground beside her island-retreat, in the intervals of work, she could often look across the intervening Clyde to the plains of Renfrew, and assure herself that at Kil'illan the one soul she held dearest was responding to her tenderest thoughts.

# CHURCH AND KING IN PICT- LAND DURING THE PUBLIC LIFE OF NECHTAN THE SOVEREIGN OF PICTLAND

A.D. 706-724

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

DURING the first half of the eighth century two aggressive movements, that had threatened to disturb Pictland of Alba for some time, suddenly became violently active, and shook up the old life and organization of the people from the depths. One movement was native, internal, and political; the other was foreign, external, and ecclesiastical. The POLITICAL MOVEMENT was directed at the sovereignty of Pictland of Alba, and was designed to effect that on a vacancy the successful candidate should always be selected from one or other of the powerful regal clans controlling Angus, Earn (Fortrenn),\* or Fife. This involved dispensing with formal election by the convened chiefs of all Pictland, as required by Celtic law. It required that the successful candidate should possess sufficient political and military power to overawe the minor chiefs who had not been consulted. It also involved the risk of the accession to the sovereignty being settled by battle between candidates with nearly equal claims and power,

\* This form is simply a gloss on the older Pictish name *Rath-Erann* which is connected with the still older *Verturiones* and also with the original of the modern name 'Earn.'



## CHURCH & KING

while the chiefs of Pictland supported neither one nor the other. In this connection one word of caution is necessary. The names Angus, Earn, and Fife must not be interpreted at this time geographically but politically; because it is evident that in the beginning of the eighth century the chiefs of these places held possessions and exercised control far beyond the geographical areas of their respective clan-kingdoms. For example, Nechtan whose lordship was Angus had a fortress in Strathspey, and owned property in the vicinity of Inverness; Brude mac Bilé by the success of his arms added to the petty kingdom of Earn (Fortrenn) all the old Pictish territory that he had retrieved from the Angles, an addition which pushed forward the frontier of 'Fortrenn' far to the south of Stirling; and there are indications that all, or the greater part of Fife became merged about this time in the kingdom of the Earn. Again, however, the Celtic tendency to divide up a wide property between a number of sons was as strong among the Pictish chiefs as among other Celts. Hence, one property might be associated with another in one chief's life-time; but entirely separated from it in the life-time of his successor; although still held by a member of the first chief's family or clan. In this respect the ownership of parts of Fife, especially the north-west corner, is a continual puzzle. In the reign of one sovereign the north-west of Fife may

## THE PICTISH NATION

appear to belong to the chiefs of Angus; but in the reign of the next sovereign it will appear to belong to the chief of Earn (Fortrenn). The explanation probably is that, as among the Gaidheals or Scots of Ireland, certain lands were owned and controlled by the sovereign during his tenure of office.

The ECCLESIASTICAL MOVEMENT aimed at the conversion of the ministers and members of the Church of the Picts to Romanism which meant ultimately for them, among other things, submission to the rule of the foreign Bishop of Rome; the introduction into Pictland of a Roman hierarchy under an alien archbishop who had his seat in England, in the midst of the steady enemies of the Picts; conformity to Roman usage, especially the acceptance of Rome's revision of the old Catholic date for celebrating the Resurrection of the Lord; and the adoption by the Pictish clergy of the coronal tonsure, instead of the frontal tonsure, as worn in certain parts of the East and by the Celtic ministers. One hundred years before this time the Roman archbishop of the English had stated the conditions\* on which he would welcome the Celto-Catholics into the Roman Communion, although no Celt had sought for them. The Celts were invited to keep the Paschal celebrations at the Roman date; to administer Baptism according to the Roman prac-

\* Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. ii. cap. ii.

## CHURCH & KING

tice, accepting the dogma of Baptismal regeneration; and to put the highly successful missionary organizations of the Celtic Church, and the incomparable preaching and teaching ability of the Celtic clergy under Roman control for the enlightening of the Teutonic invaders of Britain in the Anglian and Saxon kingdoms. If the Celtic clergy had agreed to all this, the Roman archbishop was prepared to 'gladly suffer' the many other practices and usages in the Celtic Church that differed from Roman order. The archbishop, however, had spread the Roman net in vain for the Celts in the beginning of the seventh century. The romanized Angles then resorted to the method foreshadowed in Augustine's threat\* of carrying fire and sword among the Celts, achieving extermination and calling it 'conversion,' establishing a bishop for a Teutonic garrison, like the unfortunate Trumwine, and calling his charge a 'bishopric of the Picts.' This sort of missionary enterprise had been effectively discredited and defeated by the military genius of Brude mac Bilé the sovereign of Pictland. This is why, in the beginning of the eighth century, the Roman prelates were preparing a new plan of campaign for the capture of the Church of the Picts; and the first move in the new scheme was to secure the goodwill and co-operation of Nechtan the sovereign of Pictland.

\* Bede, lib. ii. cap. ii.



# THE PICTISH NATION

## THE CHEQUERED REIGN OF NECHTAN DERELEI, SOVEREIGN OF PICTLAND

Nechtan became chief of the Pictish clan Derelei in A.D. 706, on the death of his kinsman Brude, the sovereign of Pictland. Nechtan also, at the same date, assumed the sovereignty of Pictland, as would appear from the sequel, without having taken the formal consent of the chiefs of the Pictish clans. The territories of the clan Derelei, at this time, included Angus, Stormont, Atholl, as far as the western frontier of Pictland at Drum-Alban, Badenoch to the same western frontier,\* and thence northward to both shores of the Inverness Firth. Nechtan's brother, or half-brother Talorg Mac Drostain, as Dr. Skene has pointed out, was chief of Atholl. Nechtan himself possessed a fortress in Strath-Spey near Loch Insh, the ruins of which still bear his name. Bede states that 'Naiton' was king of the Picts who inhabit the *northern* parts of Britain.† But, as has been pointed out, Bede's geography was Ptolemaic, and his *north* of Pictland is our *west*. This agrees with the fact that, excepting Angus and Stormont, which are on the east, the greater part of the Derelei territories stretched along the *western* borders of the Pictish sovereignty; and Nechtan's fortified seat was also in

\* The Gaidheals or Scots of Dalriada had for a time at this period pushed their frontier east as far as Glen Urquhart.

† Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xxi.

## CHURCH & KING

this area. Bede indicates that Nechtan possessed considerable education, and 'meditated on the ecclesiastical writings.' It is interesting to notice in this connection that one of the Pictish *Bangors*, with its combined religious and educational work had been established, near his fortress in Strath-Spey, on the Calder, beside the modern Newtonmore. The locality still bears the name '*Banchor*.' Nechtan developed a fondness for ecclesiastical affairs and an extraordinary interest in Paschal cycles, clerical tonsures, and the fatal ambition, for a king, to introduce innovations into the Church of the Picts. In trying to explain to ourselves how a Pictish chief could raise this strange interest in the by-products of Roman ecclesiasticism, leading inevitably to unpopular relations with both sets of the national enemies, the English and the Gaidheals or Scots, it is not necessary to look for all the explanation among the Roman propagandists in England. It is advisable not to overlook the probability that, in his youth, Nechtan was educated in one of the Scotie *muinntirs* under Adamnan, while the lad was a hostage among the Gaidheals or Scots, in pledge of the peace that subsisted between the Picts of Atholl and Badenoch, on one hand, and their neighbours, the Scots of Lorn, on the other, at the time when Ferchar Fada\* the Scotie chief

\* He died king of Dalriada, A.D. 697. He was 15th king of Dalriada and first king from the clan Lorn since the time of Loarn Mor, c. 503.



## THE PICTISH NATION

was wresting supremacy in Dalriada to the clan Lorn from the clan Gabhran, whose chiefs had been an abiding curse alike to their kinsmen in Lorn and to the Picts across Drum-Alban. There is clear evidence that Adamnan was the master-operator behind the defection of Nechtan. He was Abbot of Iona from A.D. 679 until 23rd September 704. He had no control over, and no communion with the Pictish Church; and, judging from his expressions, he possessed the current Gaidhealic or Scotie hatred of, and contempt towards the Pictish people. In spite of his limitations he deserved the epithets 'good and wise' bestowed upon him by Bede. He won distinct places in literature and diplomacy, and attained considerable success as a legislator. He was the trusted counsellor of the liberal-minded Finnachta Fledach, sovereign of Ireland. He renounced the doctrines and usages of the Celtic Church, and adopted the doctrines and usages of the Church of Rome while adhering to his office as presbyter-Abbot of Iona, an action which created a Celto-Catholic and a Roman-Catholic party in Iona; and ultimately rent the community in twain, resulting in rival Abs within the one little island. Adamnan was fond of public life, and for seven years absented himself from his post in Iona, being taken up with Irish affairs. He was credulous, superstitious, and extremely susceptible to foreign influence. In his desire to

366



## CHURCH & KING

further the extension of the Church of Rome to include the Celto-Catholics, he displayed all the enthusiasm of the pervert and the unwearied toil and intolerance of a zealot. There are indications in his *Life* that he intrigued with Brude Mac Bilé to gain access to Pictland. His master-stroke in this direction, which gave him opportunity to influence Nechtan and his clansmen, was his taking advantage of the peace which reigned between the Scots of Lorn and the section of the Derelei Picts in Atholl, Badenoch, and part of Lochaber, to intrude a community of the Scotie Church from Iona to Dull, within the Pictish frontier, and near the southern bounds of Nechtan's clansmen, and to intrude a staff of Scotie clerics into the ancient Pictish foundation of S. Ninian's, Loch Ness, on the north-western borders of Nechtan's home-territories, to which the clan Lorn had at this time penetrated. Adamnan, from his known sympathies and policy, would take very good care that Dull was staffed with Celtic clerics who had conformed to Romanism; and, indeed, Cairell,\* a monastic bishop who appears at this time at S. Ninian's *Tempul*, Loch Ness, was of the conformed group in Ireland. Nechtan was thus, from his youth up, before and after he became Sovereign, subjected within his home-territories to the near influence

\* The Duke of Argyll deals with his foundations in Lorn in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. v. part i., 1915-16.

## THE PICTISH NATION

not only of the proselytizing Adamnan, but to the attentions of two groups of his agents. But there is more to connect Adamnan with Nechtan than these arrangements for diluting the Christianity of the clan Derelei and their chiefs. Bede informs us that during Adamnan's diplomatic mission, *c.* 687, to Aldfrid,\* king of the Northumbrian Angles, the English Roman Catholics of 'the more learned sort'† utilized the opportunity to press Adamnan to conform to Rome. Ceolfrid, Abbot of the Roman monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, unhesitatingly claims the chief credit‡ for influencing Adamnan to enter the Roman fold, and even repeats some of the exhortations and arguments that he uttered to him.§ Therefore, when *c.* A.D. 710, six years after Adamnan's death, Nechtan, the Sovereign of Pictland, writes to this same Ceolfrid, Roman Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, asking for more exact particulars regarding the Roman date for celebrating the time of the Lord's Resurrection, and also particulars concerning the Roman tonsure, 'notwithstanding that he himself already possessed no small knowledge of

\* Formerly a pupil at Iona.

† Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xv.

‡ About this time Adamnan had been greatly impressed by the Gaulish bishop Arculf, who was shipwrecked in the west and reached Iona on his way home from Palestine. From him he learned about the veneration of relics and dedication of churches—practices unknown to the Celtic Church.

§ Bede, lib. v. cap. xxi.

## CHURCH & KING

these things,'\* it is clear that the sovereign's inspiration had arisen from the earlier associations with Adamnan, or from the two communities that he had left to proselytize among his clansmen. Ceolfrid the Angle was unknown to the Picts, and was shut off from them by racial antipathy; and no Pictish sovereign would have thought of appealing to him except under external direction with some special end in view. In his letter, Ceolfrid exposes his dealings with Adamnan as one with whom Nechtan is already familiar. Nechtan candidly confesses that he had found the way of an ecclesiastical innovator hard, because he begs a written reply from Ceolfrid, 'by the help of which he might the better confute those who presumed to celebrate the Resurrection out of due time,'† meaning the clergy and people of the Church of his own realm of Pictland.

After Ceolfrid's reply had been delivered, in A.D. 710, Nechtan summoned a Synod at which he presided, and the letter was read in the sovereign's presence. The Synod was composed of Pictish clergy, chiefs of the Pictish clans, and contained '*many learned men*,' a note for which the shades of the Picts must be grateful to Bede, in view of the contemptuous references to them as 'the tribes' and 'the barbarians' by the Gaidh-eals or Scots. The letter of Ceolfrid is given at length in Bede's history. The spectacle, which

\* Bede, lib. v. cap. xxi.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. xxi.



## THE PICTISH NATION

he also describes, of Nechtan the sovereign of Pictland kneeling on the ground before the Assembly as the reading finished, 'giving thanks to God that he had been found worthy to receive such a blessing from the land of the English,' must, as the sequel shows, have roused contempt and scorn in the Men of Earn (Fortrenn); and in the other Picts whose forefathers for generations had interposed their bravest and best to stem the unending waves of Teutonic savagery that had rolled in from England upon the territories of the more southerly clansmen. Was it for this that twenty-four years earlier the Men of the Earn and their sovereign-king, under the walls of the Angus capital of Nechtan's clan at Dun-Nechtain, had crushed Egfrid and his army of butchers who set out to treat the Picts of Alba as they had treated the Gaidheals of Ireland a few months before, sickening even their own clergy with horror, and rousing them to protest? Bede's picture of Nechtan reveals a royal fanatic, such as became too common in Alba, mad with zeal for forms and ceremonial, and times and seasons; but icily unappreciative of the Christ-like example and apostolic faith, fervour, and manner of life of the Brito-Pictish clergy who had founded and maintained the Church of his realm; and, elsewhere, had evoked reverence and admiration, from the Apennines to Hecla. When Nechtan had closed his thanksgiving, he solemnly affirmed and declared

## CHURCH & KING

that henceforward he would observe the Roman Paschal date; and then and there decreed that the clerics of his kingdom\* should be tonsured in Roman fashion. Up to this time the Church of the Picts did not venerate the relics of the holy, did not *dedicate* their Churches to saints, did not hold the doctrine of patron saints, and did not esteem one Apostle above another. But Ceolfrid in his letter to Nechtan lays stress upon S. Peter, and Bede informs us that the nation of the Picts 'reformed' by Nechtan's decree, 'rejoiced as being newly put under the guidance of Peter, the most blessed chief of the Apostles, and committed to his protection.' † If Bede, as seems, wishes to convey that the christians within the Pictish sovereignty *at once* turned romanist in type he is indulging in pious exaggeration and historical inaccuracy. The events following, in the reigns of Nechtan and his successors, show that Nechtan had merely introduced a romanizing party into the Pictish Church whose watchword was 'S. Peter'; and whose labours in proselytizing and usurping the earlier Churches of the Picts were restricted to a few sites in the clan-territories of Nechtan's family. Nechtan's party were soon to

\* This was of course his own petty kingdom. This sovereign had no power to make such a decree for the whole sovereignty without the assent of a majority of the chiefs. This appears not to have been given, and Bede is silent on the point; although he states that Nechtan's decree was sent throughout 'all the provinces' of the Picts. We know that it was unheeded in many of them.

† Bede, lib. v. cap. xxi.



## THE PICTISH NATION

be weakened and discredited by another party of Roman proselytizers whose watchword was to be 'S. Andrew.' Doubtless Nechtan had a shrewd notion that although royal edicts had been the English instruments for converting Angles in the mass; more than edicts would be required for his conservative Celtic subjects, with their inborn love of freedom in thought, and their peculiar tenacity to first religious knowledge.

THE ARRIVAL OF S. CURITAN (BONIFACIUS), A  
FRIEND OF S. ADAMNAN, IN ALBA AS NECHTAN'S  
CLERICAL AGENT

In support of Nechtan's edict and the royal policy, S. Curitan, who received the Latin name 'Bonifacius,' was brought into Pictland. He was also called '*Albanus*,' which in his time meant a native of Alba, that is, a Briton or Pict; although later in history, when the Scottish monarchs usurped the title 'king of Alba,' the Gaidhealic or Scotie scribes gave this designation to Dalriad Gaidheals, to distinguish them from the Gaidheals of Ireland. S. Curitan's *Acts* are no longer available, or rather they are, but fabulized at least twice over by Roman Catholic scribes of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, until what remains is the stupid and grotesque story known as the *Legend of Bonifacius*. This *Legend* not only shames the intelligence of those who constructed it; but it must have insulted the



## CHURCH & KING

intelligence of those who supported the 'English Claims,'\* to defeat which, this bit of fiction and other literary monstrosities were manufactured. Certain valid details about S. Curitan are, however, recoverable. Judging from his reception at the Bangor foundation at Rosemarkie, S. Curitan had probably been trained at Bangor of the Irish Picts, or at one of the daughter-houses in Alba. Although Bangor had not conformed to Rome; Cennfaeladh, Ab of Bangor, and S. Curitan joined S. Adamnan in his efforts to humanize the military laws of Ireland, *c.* A.D. 697, when the Gaidheals or Scots both of Ireland and Dalriada left him unsupported.† This confirms Bede, and helps further to show that S. Curitan was not a Gaidheal or Scot; because Bede states that Adamnan drew no supporters in his ecclesiastical and civil policy from his own community in Iona, and also takes pains to show that in Ireland he attracted supporters only from communities that were not Columban, or as he puts it, 'those that were free from the dominion of Iona.'‡ Again, S. Curitan was not expelled from Pictland,

\* The 'English Claims' took literary form, A.D. 1300, through Pope Boniface VIII. and Edward. The unblushing audacity of the Scotie Churchmen is nowhere better manifested than in that version of the *Legend* which transforms Curitan into a Pope of Rome, whom they call by Boniface's name, and then tell the world how this Boniface of fiction behaved in the Papal Chair.

† Even the minutes garbled in the interests of the primacy of Armagh show that the clergy were from Leinster and the south of Ireland.

‡ Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xv.

## THE PICTISH NATION

in A.D. 717, when the Gaidhealic or Scotie communities intruded within the Pictish border were banished furth of Pictland. Besides his Irish connections, S. Curitan was also in touch with the English Roman Catholics. He and the Anglo-Roman zealot Egbert\* were present with Adamnan in the Synod at Tara which exempted women from military expeditions organized within the Irish sovereignty. In the garbled copy† of the original minutes his name is retained as 'Curitan epscop.' He was an Ab as well as bishop.‡ In the ancient *Martyrology of Tallagh* his entry appears as '*Curitani sci epi agus ab ruis m bairind.*'§ The copyist blundered the entry. It should have ended at '*m.*' '*bairind*' belongs to the entry that should have followed which related to 'S. Bar-find.'|| The corrected entry would mean 'of Curitan Ab and bishop in Ros——.' As a matter of local knowledge, the place which the copyist ought to have designated was '*Ros-mhaircni*'¶

\* In the Synod minutes his name is written '*Ichbrocht*' the Irish for Egbert. Through the dream of a companion he drew back from a mission to Germany in order that he might go into residence with the Scotie community at Iona with a view to influencing them to conform to Rome. His mission to Iona had the same aim as Curitan's mission to Pictland.

Egbert worked so well in Iona that he split the community of Columba into two parties with rival Abs.

† The O'Clery MS. at Brussels.

‡ Monastic, not diocesan.

§ The Franciscan MS.

|| Cf. *Kalendars of O'Gorman and Donegal*. In the MS. of that of Marianus O'Gorman is written '*Rosmean*' and then, apart, '*Barindi Ep.*' Elsewhere the latter saint appears as '*Bar-Fionn*' and '*Bar-indus.*'

¶ Spelling in *Book of Clan Ranald*. Cf. Watson, *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 128.

## CHURCH & KING

in Ross of Pictland, now 'Rosemarkie.'\*

It is now possible to make use of certain statements that are contained in the least fabulized of the old accounts† of S. Curitan; because they are confirmed by local remains. When 'Albanus Kiritinus' (S. Curitan) sailed to Pictland, probably from a port of the Northumbrian Angles, he landed on the northern shore of the firth of Tay. This was in Angus, the eastern portion of Nechtan's clan-territory. He was bent on founding Roman Churches, dedicating them to S. Peter, under whose 'protection' Nechtan had decided to place the kingdom. He was accompanied by followers whom he could detach to minister in the new Churches. As he is at this time designated 'Ab and bishop,' it is plain that he adhered to the Celtic form of organization; and was not beginning diocesan episcopacy. After landing, Curitan proceeded to the mouth of the river 'Gobriat' in Pictland and there founded the first Roman Catholic Church in Pictland. 'Gobriat' is Invergowrie near Dundee; and there in the seventeenth century a Church-site still remained called *Kil-Curdy*,‡ Church of Curitan. He then went to Restennot, near the modern capital of

\* The blundered entry has caused much vain speculation that local knowledge of Pictland would have saved. Probably the copyist was writing to dictation; and there is not much difference to a careless ear in the enunciation of 'mhaircin' and 'bhar-fhin.'

† For this account see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Book II. chap. vi. p. 230.

‡ Since corrupted into 'Kin-Curdy' and 'Kincuddy.'



## THE PICTISH NATION

Angus, and founded another Church which he dedicated to S. Peter. Apparently he had dedicated the former Church to S. Peter also, but the Picts of Invergowrie adhered to the native custom of calling a Church after its founder. Evidently, even with the sovereign's help, Curitan could not establish his working-centre in Angus where the Pictish Church had always been strongly organized. He was therefore moved on to Rosemarkie where there was the *muinntir* and Church originally established by S. Moluag of Bangor and Lismore between A.D. 562 and A.D. 592. Whether he succeeded in influencing all the community of Rosemarkie to conform to Rome is not told; but as late as the thirteenth century there was still a Celtic religious community at Rosemarkie which had remained outside the Roman episcopal organization. Curitan dedicated S. Moluag's old Church to S. Peter; and the surrounding earlier Celtic Churches were also, in certain instances, dedicated to saints in the Roman Kalendar; and their founders' names, which they had borne over a century and a half, ignored by the Roman party. The zealot and the pervert are often destitute of conscience; and the name of Simon Peter has seldom been so outraged as when used to insult the memory of S. Moluag, of 'the hundred communities,' to whose work S. Bernard of more charitable mind testified handsomely. As if in scorn of S. Curitan's efforts

## CHURCH & KING

to silence the testimony of the stones to the men who had personally evangelized the Picts of Ross, the folk of Ross not only preserved the names of the old saints above S. Peter's and other eastern saints; but adhered to the old ways, and even named the Churches which S. Curitan founded and dedicated, by his own name. The site of the Church at Rosemarkie which he dedicated to S. Peter is still called *Kil-Curdy*,\* Curitan's Church. S. Curitan also founded Churches at Bona near Inverness, Corrimony off the Great-Glen, Struy in Strath-Glass, Farnua† in Kirkhill, a Church at Assynt of Novar, and Cill-Churdaidh in Avoch. All, in pursuance of S. Curitan's and Nechtan's programme were probably dedications to S. Peter; but their sites still carry Curitan's name. Even the Churchyards of *Bona and Corrimony* are still 'Cladh Churitain.' Nechtan's and his cleric's efforts had resulted not only in ecclesiastical, but in political schism. The king's inability to establish Curitan in Angus, or anywhere in the southern provinces where the *muinntirs* of the Church of the Picts were numerous and strongly manned; the indicated restriction of S. Curitan's activities, on the northward, to the shores

\* A church still stood here in 1641. The present form of the name here as in Gowrie is 'Kincurdy.' When the seat of the bishop of Ross was transferred to Fortrose c. 1309, the Cathedral was dedicated to SS. Peter and Boniface (Curitan).

† Called by the author of the Wardlaw MS. Church of 'Corridon.' Cf. *Saints associated with the Valley of the Ness*, p. 14.



## THE PICTISH NATION

of Cromarty Firth, and southward, to the neighbourhood of Inverness; show that the Pictish clergy stood aloof from Nechtan's Roman missionaries. The Men of the powerful petty kingdom of the Earn (Fortrenn) were, as after events showed, moving against the sovereign; and were making up their minds that if protecting saints were available for Pictland; they would choose one for themselves, and certainly not the same one as the hated English. These sturdy clansmen, who had so long been a wall of flesh and blood against the Teutonic invaders, failed to see how S. Peter could be, at once, Protector of the Picts and of their immemorial enemies.

Nechtán left nothing undone that would keep his reign from being dull. As if to quicken the coming liveliness, in the year after Nechtán had taken action on Ceolfrid's letter, Bertfrid, the chief ealdorman of the English, let loose, as noted, a raiding army into what is now the Lothians and part of Stirlingshire. The raiders were checked, and turned, on the Moor of Mannan; but not without loss to the Men of the Earn (Fortrenn), and regret to the nation in the untimely fall of a chief of the leading clan in the south-east, the Dele-roith. Clearly, this was neither a happy way of commending S. Peter to these clansmen, nor a likely method of popularizing Nechtán the Sovereign, S. Peter's latest champion. Two years after this, in A.D. 713, Kenneth Derelei, a chief



## CHURCH & KING

of Nechtan's own clan was slain in a movement not described; but that popular dissatisfaction with Nechtan was active is seen in the 'obligating' of Tolarg Mac Drostain, his brother or half-brother and the chief of Atholl, to a share in the government.\* The promotion of Tolarg was connected with the next important event, because it was his clan-territories that had been chiefly affected by the intrusions of the Scotie clergy.

THE GAIDHEALIC OR SCOTIC CLERGY UNDER IONA, ARE DRIVEN OUT OF PICTLAND FROM THE BORDER STATIONS INTO WHICH THEY HAD INTRUDED ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER

In A.D. 717, within four years after Tolarg had become Nechtan's deputy, the Gaidhealic or Scotie clergy under Iona who had intruded into Pictland, just within the western frontier, were 'expelled.' The action was neither of the

\* There is some difficulty as to the exact position of Tolarg at the Court of Nechtan the Sovereign. One reading of the word used to describe that position is '*legatus*' which would describe a lieutenant-governor, a position occupied by the near relatives of other chiefs.

The *Pictish Chronicle* does not recognise Tolarg's joint authority; but neither does it recognise Cennaleph's, Brude Mac Maelchon's colleague for a short time.

Two printed copies of the *Irish Annals* give the describing word as '*ligatus*,' and this is varied to '*ligatur*' in a third copy. But Tolarg was an extremely difficult person to 'bind.' He was 'king of Atholl,' and binding Tolarg would not have restrained the Men of Atholl who resented the presence of the Gaidheals or Scots within their borders.

Unless Tolarg and the Men of Atholl and the Men of Fortrenn had been parties to the expulsion of the Gaidhealic or Scotie clergy, that

## THE PICTISH NATION

magnitude nor importance that certain writers have stated. It only affected the *muinntirs* of Dull, '*Kailli an Find*,' S. Ninian's, Loch Ness, and Drymen, all on the border at that time. Nechtan as titular sovereign receives credit for the expulsions from the Annalists; but the policy was manifestly Tolarg's, backed by the Picts of Atholl and the Picts of Fortrenn; because these two provinces were most affected by Gaidhealic or Scotie aggression, especially by the activities of the principal intruded community at Dull, which Adamnan had founded. It is certain that the expulsion could not have been effected without the consent and active participation of Tolarg and his Men of Atholl, along with the Men of Fortrenn.

The historians who followed the misinterpretation of Bede's geographical references to Pictland have treated the expulsion of the Scotie clergy from the Pictish borders as a national upheaval. Having interpreted Bede's reference to S. Columba's work, not of the Picts in the modern *west*, but of the Picts in the modern *north*; they were shut up to the conclusion that

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expulsion could not have taken place; because it was into their territories that the Scotie clergy had intruded, and the expulsion had to be carried out by them.

The connection of Nechtan and his family with Angus and Atholl is seen in the *Legend* of 'Triduana' where 'the tyrant *Nechtán neamh*' (S. Nechtan) is her lover; and pursues her from Rescobie in Angus to Dunfallandy in Atholl (*cf. Aberdeen Breviary*).

## CHURCH & KING

the expulsion by Nechtan meant the emptying out of all the religious communities in northern Pictland, at least, and the leaving unmanned of all the northern Churches. A little local knowledge of the face of Pictland would have saved these historians from the unhistorical speculations and huge blunders in which they became utterly mazed. Apart from what is known and related of the actual ministries in Pictland of the native clergy, and of clergy from the Britons and from the Irish Picts; the following considerations ought to have guided the historians to correct conclusions about the Pictish Church on the one hand, and regarding the Gaidhealic or Scotie clergy on the other. Dallan, the contemporary panegyrist of S. Columba (Columcille), knew nothing of any settled or acceptable ministry among the christians of Pictland, east of the frontiers of Dalriada, by S. Columba; but he tells of the hostility with which S. Columba was received on the upper reaches of the Tay, and how the saint 'silenced the fierce ones.' Yet at that very time, when S. Columba was being treated with hostility, S. Cainnech, the great Pictish teacher, a former fellow-student with S. Columba, was conducting a peaceful and acceptable ministry on the shores where that same river enters the sea. Adamnan the great Scotie Ab of Iona, and chief authority about S. Columba, knew nothing of Scotie establishments in



## THE PICTISH NATION

Pictland remote from the frontiers of Dalriada. His picture of S. Columba shows a wary diplomat taking journeys to the Pictish sovereign across Drum-Alban on behalf of the Gaidhealic or Scotie kingdom of Dalriada. He gives us glimpses of the saint's kindly attentions to Pictish folk whose paths he crossed on his journeys; but takes pains to show that S. Columba was helpless when trying to teach in the Pictish dialect of Celtic. It is Adamnan, also, who makes it plain that S. Columba's master-hand set Aedhan 'the False' on the broken throne of Dalriada. Not only does he enable us to trace the steps by which Aedhan extorted the independence of Dalriada from his suzerain and clan-chief, the sovereign of Ireland; but he shows us S. Columba, in defiance of Brude his host, ordaining Aedhan to kingship instead of to the Toiseachship fixed by Brude; and, moreover, shows Aedhan challenging the Pictish sovereignty with every soldier that he could mobilize. Adamnan also candidly exhibits S. Columba, and the whole community at Iona, offering special intercessory prayer for the success of the Gaidheals or Scots, who were fighting in one of the Pictish provinces, and only desisting when they could congratulate themselves that 'the barbarians,' the Picts, were in flight. These praying Gaidheals or Scots had manifestly no spiritual interest in, or responsibility for the Picts, and the hard terms of the

## CHURCH & KING

biographer show that he had no affinity for the non-conforming subjects of Nechtan. Moreover, if there had been any Gaidhealic or Scotie religious communities in Pictland, away from the intruded border communities, in Adamnan's time; Adamnan himself would have ruled them and directed them to carry out his policies. Consequently, he would not have required to intrude a Scotie community into Pictland through a side door at Dull, in extension of his romanizing schemes; and he would not have left the Angle Ceolfrid to expound the designs of the romanizing party to Nechtan; he could have done all himself, and more efficiently, because more directly, and through numerous local agencies. But the fact was, neither Adamnan, nor any other Scotie Ab before the ninth century, controlled any religious communities within Pictland, apart from the few already mentioned on the frontier line.

This is remarkably confirmed by the testimony of the face of Pictland. Professor Watson\* has stated that in the great Pictish district represented by the county of Ross, there is not on the mainland one single Church-foundation by S. Columba (Columcille). In the town of Inverness where S. Columba had interviews with the Pictish sovereign there is also not one Church foundation by S. Columba. The same is true of the

\* *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. lxvii.

## THE PICTISH NATION

former Pictish districts, now known as Sutherland,\* Caithness,† Orkney,‡ and Shetland. In the county of Inverness there are two, perhaps three,§ places on the roads where S. Columba journeyed at which the saint is commemorated. On the east of Inverness, there is not an old Church or Church-site bearing the name of S. Columba (Columcille) which cannot be shown to be a *dedication* of the Roman Catholic period to S. Columba, and not a *foundation* during a mission in Pictland; the truth being that the alleged mission of the Scotie saint in Pictland is as much a creation of the imagination as the 'Myth of Deer,' by which the romanized Scotie clerics who usurped that ancient monastery, after the Scotie ascendancy, wished the world to think that it had been founded by S. Columba (Columcille). The very stones of these ancient so-called Columban Church-sites of Pictland cry out the names of their true founders, the Colms,|| Colmans, and Colmocs with whom

\* Sir Robert Gordon's 'Kilcalmkill' in Strath-Brora was his own invention. It is not a Church-site, but a property by a ravine. On 14th November 1456 the Laird of Dunbeath gives the name as 'Gillyecallomgil' which is the *Gil* or ravine of the servant of Columba. 'Gillyecallom' was the name of an early Sutherland family, and the whole name was a property-name in Strath-Brora.

† S. Columba's Dirlot is a dedication of the Roman Catholic period.

‡ The Church in Hoy, like other Churches of S. Colm, has been ascribed to Columcille. In this case by the author of the *Statistical Account*. The natives always called it S. Colm's.

§ The old Church of Invermoriston, perhaps Kingussie, possibly Petty, but there is strong charter indication that Petty, like Auldearn, is a dedication of the Roman Catholic period.

|| There are places that a Colm occupied in Pictish times where the



## CHURCH & KING

the fabulists, for S. Columba's glory, deliberately confused his name. Even the stones of the Church-sites within the Scotie kingdom of Dalriada witness against the fabulists; because they keep S. Columba's true designation, and in the abundant 'Kil-Columcilles' of Argyll and the Western Isles leave no possible doubt as to the original founder, S. Columba (Columcille). Much that in this respect is true of S. Columba is also true of S. Adamnan. Great and powerful as S. Adamnan was among the Gaidheals or Scots, there is not one old Church or Church-foundation in Pictland, Dull excepted, which bears his name, that cannot be shown to be a dedication of the Roman Catholic period. This would not have been the case if there had been Gaidhealic or Scotie communities in the interior of Pictland under this distinguished Ab and zealous proselytizer. He would have had numerous foundations.\*

When therefore Nechtan's subjects expelled the Scotie clergy, the greatest exodus would be

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Gaidheals or Scots, after their ascendancy, actually dedicated Churches to S. Columba, if Fordun can be trusted, and Inchcolm in Forth is an example.

\* Dr. Reeves and Dr. Skene felt the need of showing something for Adamnan in Pictland.

Forvie ascribed to him is, unfortunately for them, 'St. Findomhnan's.' 'Teunon' (Forglen) is a dedication of the Roman Catholic period after the property fell to Aberbrothoc.

S. Skeulan's Aboyne and S. Arnty's in the Mearns have been arbitrarily referred to S. Adamnan. It is true that the aspirated form of his name varies, but it is always recognizable between 'Adamnan' and 'Aönan.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

from the strong *muinntir* of Dull, on the Pictish side of the western frontier. Certainly Dull was the disturbing community in the eyes of the Picts. Having been founded and staffed by Adamnan, it became of necessity part of the romanizing organization, and could hardly help being aggressive. A foreign Church can seldom be aggressive without abusing hospitality, and rousing political hostility. The Gaidheals or Scots had not only abused the hospitality of the Picts from the first days that they entered Pictland; but S. Columba in abusing Brude's hospitality on Iona had challenged the whole political interests of Pictland when he set Aedhan 'the False' on the Dalriad throne. Adamnan was just as unscrupulous, and penetrative at the expense of the Picts, as S. Columba. Both had regarded the world as made for the Gaidheal or Scot. Wherever the Scotie cleric was able to establish himself the Scotie flag was sure to follow sooner or later. The reasons for the expulsion of the alien clergy were political. It was the menace to the Pictish State of these hostile propagandists within the Pictish frontier-line that roused the Picts of Atholl and Fortrenn to compel Nechtan and Tolarg to drive them out. Dalriada could do nothing to help her clergy; because her people were in the midst of civil war, with two kings, Duncan Becc reigning in Cantyre possessing the support of Clan Gabhran, and Selbac reigning in Lorn with the support of the Clan

386

## CHURCH & KING

Lorn, and recognized as the rightful king. This state of affairs existed until A.D. 719 when after a decisive naval battle at Ard-Anesbi\* the power of Selbac of Lorn began to wane.

Certain writers have confidently stated that Nechtan's reason for expelling the Scotie clergy was 'because they would not conform to Rome at his decree.' This would, indeed, have been a curious position in which to find the chief Scotie community at Dull, which had been established by S. Adamnan, seeing that Adamnan had been an earlier and keener Roman propagandist than Nechtan who, in seeking conformity, was Adamnan's pupil. However, such a reason does not harmonize with historical facts; because in A.D. 716, a year before the expulsion of Adamnan's community from Dull, certain clergy of Iona, who had rebelled against Adamnan, had begun to conform. One authority† states that in this year the Paschal celebrations were entirely changed, another that they had been moved, namely, to the Roman date. Bede also states that in this same year Egbert, the zealot, was at work proselytizing in Iona with success;‡ indeed, under the year A.D. 716 he enters, 'The man of God Egbert brought the monks of Hi to observe the Catholic Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure.'§ Tighernac dates the

\* On the west coast, but not known now by this name.

† Cf. *Annals of Ulster* and *Tighernac*.

‡ Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xxii.

§ Bede, lib. v. cap. xxiv.



## THE PICTISH NATION

adoption of the Roman tonsure at Iona in A.D. 718. This slight difference does not alter the fact that the Gaidhealic or Scotie clergy were conforming to Rome with great rapidity, and no one could reasonably have quarrelled with them on that ground, which all goes to confirm that the reasons why the Scotie clergy were barred out of Pictland lay in the old, well-grounded, political suspicion and antipathy with which the Gaidheals or Scots were regarded by the Pictish people.

Iona, or even Dalriada, was comparatively small, and full conformity to Roman usage should soon have been complete, if it had been pressed; but, at this time, there is no sign that the Roman party urged the alteration of the *organization* of the Scotie Church, or the introduction of monarchic and diocesan episcopacy. The same restrained policy was observed by the Roman party in the circumscribed district occupied by S. Curitan within the wider area of the Church of Pictland. S. Curitan's position as Ab and monastic bishop at Rosemarkie indicates that there was still no attempt to set up monarchic and diocesan episcopacy in Pictland.

By A.D. 724, Nechtan's foreign relations, his ecclesiastical innovations, his evident desire to keep the supreme power in his own family, and popular dissatisfaction with his colleague Tolarg, who was at this time in exile, had roused political forces, against which he declined to make a stand.

## CHURCH & KING

The Annalists state that in this year Nechtan became a cleric, but are silent as to the community which he joined. They content themselves by stating that Drust\* became sovereign on his retirement. Nechtan apparently still continued to interfere in the realm; because two years later, in A.D. 726, Drust still reigning, Nechtan was put under restraint. In the same year, however, Drust was ejected from the Pictish throne by Alpin or Elphin. Alpin was a Gaidheal or Scot by birth and training, and, as appears from certain incidents in his career, possessed a claim to the Pictish sovereignty through his Pictish mother. His sudden leap into the midst of the troubled political life of Pictland has all the appearance of an attempt to avenge the expulsion of the Scotie clerics from their border settlements; and, probably, if Alpin had been allowed to continue in power, he would have restored them; but the Picts refused to tolerate a sovereign with Gaidhealic or Scotie sympathies. Once again in their history the Picts produced a great military leader and born ruler, Angus I. Mac Fergus, who was destined to rank with their greatest soldiers and sovereigns, and to be named along with Brude Mac Maelchon and Brude Mac Bilé. In A.D. 728, after Alpin had ruled less than two years, Angus took the field and challenged his whole power. In the first battle he routed the

\* His own province or clan is not given, but he was evidently of British descent on his father's side.

## THE PICTISH NATION

army which Alpin sent against him. In the same year Alpin reorganized a second army against Angus. An unexpected feature of this expedition is the dramatic re-appearance of Nechtan, ex-sovereign, cleric, and prisoner, at the head of his mobilized and marshalled clan, allied as usual with an outlander, Alpin. Alpin was driven from the field; but although the honour of victory went to Angus, the chief prize, namely the throne, was seized by Nechtan, who had fought on the side of the vanquished. It is the one touch of comedy in a tragic battle. Nechtan had kept his wits, and enough men, ready for immediate action, no matter how the battle might go; and, while Angus was proceeding leisurely to take over the complete spoils, the old sovereign had reseated himself on the throne, and taken up the familiar reins of power. This meant another campaign for Angus. In A.D. 729, before Nechtan had been many months in his old seat, Angus and his army were again in the field. He and his forces encountered Nechtan and his army at 'Monith-Carno,'\* near a loch called 'Loogdae.'† Nechtan was defeated, and the 'Exactatores‡ Nechtain' fell in the action, namely, Biceot Mac Moneit and his son, and Finguine Mac Drostain, and Feroth Mac Finguine.

\* *Mynydh Carn*, Mountain of the Cairn. Locality not known.

† These places were somewhere in what is now central Scotland, and with sufficient local knowledge might yet be identified.

‡ A difficult word in connection with Nechtan. Probably the collectors of the sovereign's share of the produce of certain lands. Cf. 'the king's share' in *Book of Deer*.



## CHURCH & KING

Nechtan himself escaped, but, on his flight, Angus became sovereign. Nechtan died in A.D. 732, about three years after his defeat; whether he returned to the seclusion of his monastic retreat, or retired to his fortress in Strath-Spey, is not told, and when the Annalists record his death, it is as 'Nechtan "mc" Derelei' without the proud title 'Rex Pictorum.'

Nechtan in his time had played many parts. He was the first ruler in the northern part of Britain, so far as is known, but not the last, to discover the variety of adventure which lies open to the leader of a Celtic people who wishes to innovate upon the accepted religion. All his intrigues, persistence, sacrifices, and sufferings were rewarded by the establishment of only one romanizing community, namely S. Curitan's at Rosemarkie. There is no sign of any attempts on S. Curitan's part to do more than alter the Paschal date, to popularize the Roman tonsure, and to secure veneration for S. Peter. Outside the neighbourhood of Rosemarkie the *muinntirs* and Churches of Pictland were antagonistic to this Roman mission. At Nechtan's death his innovations had resulted in a great deal of confusion within the realm, and much faction. If Nechtan had ever contemplated introducing a Roman hierarchy,\*

\* Strenuous efforts have been made by Roman Catholic and Anglican writers to show that Nechtan would not have introduced his Roman innovations without also introducing Roman prelates. They have no support in history, and seeing S. Curitan remained an Ab and monastic bishop

## THE PICTISH NATION

and clergy who would be independent of the *muinntirs* of the Pictish Church, he ended his work without accomplishing his designs. Even S. Curitan, his agent, adhered to the old organization and government of the Pictish Church; and, in spite of his innovations, died Ab of Rosemarkie and monastic bishop in the community there—not 'bishop of Ross' as some have carelessly stated. In A.D. 732, when Nechtan died, there was still not a single monarchic and diocesan bishop in Pictland.

### LEADING CLERGY OF THE PICTISH CHURCH WHO WERE ACTIVE IN NECHTAN'S REIGN

During the first sixteen years of Nechtan's reign, S. Maelrubha and his community at Abercrossan were diligently taking their part in manning the Pictish Church over an extensive part of northern Pictland and the Islands. Although neither Abercrossan nor the parent community at Bangor had conformed to Rome; that did not keep S. Maelrubha out of S. Curitan's district. It probably attracted him thither; and S. Maelrubha's Church-foundations are found close to the Rosemarkie district, and as far east of Rosemarkie as Keith in Banffshire. If the Church-foundations

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it is vain to go beyond him. Besides, the Roman plea from Augustine downwards was for uniformity at Easter and in the tonsure. Doubtless they had the hierarchy in the back of their minds; but they were too far-seeing to insist on it until uniformity in other matters had been secured.

## CHURCH & KING

of S. Maelrubha and those of S. Curitan be marked into the same map of Pictland; it will be seen at a glance that the Church of Pictland as represented by S. Maelrubha shows signs of much greater activity and acceptance than the romanizing mission intruded by Nechtan, even although S. Curitan survived S. Maelrubha many years, when the work from Abercrossan was being continued by Failbhe Mac Guaire.

The *muinntir*, first organized by S. Donnan the Great, was actively operating from the Island of Eigg in Nechtan's time; and for the first nineteen years of Nechtan's public life it was governed by Oan\* who was succeeded by Cumine Ua Becce.†

SS. Comgan and Fillan were colleagues with S. Maelrubha in the work of the Pictish Church in Ross; and sometime previous to A.D. 734 when Nechtan was still alive, S. Comgan became Ab of the *muinntir* at Turriff, Aberdeenshire.

In one of the territories of Nechtan's widespread clan, at Brechin in Angus, S. Drostan Dairtaighe‡ helped to carry on the work of the

\* Died A. D. 725.

† Died A. D. 751.

‡ His retreat and 'Oakhouse' (oratory) were in Glen-Esk at Ard-Brecain. The Irish Annalists have treated him, and certain others, as belonging to the monastery of Ard-Brecain in Ireland. However, S. Drostan's work was at Breccain (Brechin) in Pictland. His cell-site in Glen-Esk, where his name is preserved, used to be known. His ancient memorial cross, with its well-known uncial inscription, still survives and is now at S. Vigean's Church in Angus. Cf. *Aberdeen Breviary* as to his retreat in Glen-Esk.



## THE PICTISH NATION

Pictish Church for thirteen years after Nechtan became sovereign.

Before Nechtan died, Tuatalan was Ab of S. Cainnech's *Regles* and community at *Cind Righ Monaidh* (St. Andrews), still a centre of the old Church.

During Nechtan's term of public life and beyond it, S. Ronan was Ab of the Pictish Community at *Cinn-Garadh* in Bute; and contemporary with S. Ronan was Mac Coigeth, Ab of the Pictish Community, first organized by S. Moluag, in Lismore.

Two years before Nechtan's death, Pechthelm, Protector of the Picts, became in A.D. 730 the first monarchic and diocesan bishop north of what afterwards became the border-line between Scotland and England. His seat was at *Candida Casa*, and his diocese also took this name, although more frequently referred to as 'Galloway.' Sometime previous to Pechthelm's consecration the section of the community of *Candida Casa* which adhered to the site, under English protection, had conformed to Rome.

The great Iro-Pictish Community of Bangor in Ulster which had co-operated with *Candida Casa* in fostering the Churches of Pictland of Alba had not conformed to Rome at this time; and, so far as can be perceived, was as cold towards the Paschal controversy and the change of tonsure as the other Communities in the north

## CHURCH & KING

of Ireland. During Nechtan's public lifetime Bangor was governed successively by Cenn-faeladh,\* who had helped Adamnan in his efforts to reform the military law of Ireland, and by S. Flann† of Antrim.

\* He died 8th April 704.

† He died in 722.



STATE AND CHURCH IN PICT-  
LAND DURING THE REIGN  
OF ANGUS I MAC FERGUS,  
SOVEREIGN OF THE PICTS,

12 AUGUST A.D. 729-761

CHAPTER

SIXTEEN

ANGUS I. MAC FERGUS was chief of the Men of the Earn (Fortrenn); and, at first, ruled in Fortrenn\* which, in his time, through Brude Mac Bilé's reconquests, had become the most important division of Pictland. In A.D. 729, after defeating Nechtan, he assumed the sovereignty of all Pictland. He will always be remembered as the man who enthroned S. Andrew, 'first of the Apostles,' as the Protector of Pictland, while he deposed S. Peter. S. Andrew is frequently referred to as the patron saint of 'Scotland'; but it need not be forgotten that he was, at first, patron saint of Pictland, and the Scots in later days took him over with much else that was Pictish. Other acts of Angus were not so harmless to Pictland. Even more violently than Nechtan he ignored the Celtic law which required that the sovereign should be elected at a convention of the chiefs. There is this to be said for the chiefs of the southern clans of Pictland; they had suffered most of the hardships, and provided most of the resistance demanded by the invasions of the English of North-

\* According to the Transcript of the *MacEgan Annals*. Fragment No. 5301 in the Brussels collection of MSS.



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

umbria, and the Gaidheals or Scots from Argyll; consequently, they felt that the sovereign, who by his office was Commander-in-chief, should be chosen from among themselves as being nearest to the enemy, and as having most to lose through the selection of a weak ruler. Nevertheless, by dispensing with election, Nechtan and Angus left the supreme power at the mercy of the chief whose military power was strongest and most far-reaching. This political blunder endangered the unity and integrity of Pictland. It facilitated civil war; and it invited any alien Gaidheal or Scot, or Angle, who could provide an excuse, to take part in settling the accession to the supreme power while, at the same time, it afforded him a chance to wrest it to himself. Again, Angus, in carving a way to the supreme control of Pictland, had been greatly aided by Nechtan's unpopular foreign policy, especially his relations with the English; and the consequent efforts to introduce the doctrines and usages of the Church of Rome; but Angus himself became friendly with the English, after he had beaten them, and gave his support to a new effort to romanize the Church of the Picts.

### THE CAMPAIGNS BY WHICH ANGUS SECURED HIM- SELF IN THE SUPREME POWER. ALPIN MAC EACHAIDH THE HALF-PICT

The military activity of Angus I. Mac Fergus in so far as it affected Nechtan has been noticed. It

## THE PICTISH NATION

is necessary, however, to deal with it as it affected the position of his country and the development of his own political life and power.

After Nechtan became a cleric in A.D. 724, Drust assumed the sovereignty of Pictland. The *Pictish Chronicle* indicates that he and Alpin were joint-sovereigns; but it is apparent from the *Irish Annals* that Drust reigned alone from A.D. 724 until 726, when he was driven from power and Alpin became sovereign. Then, instead of the joint-sovereignty which the *Pictish Chronicle* indicates, there was a competition for the supreme power which could not avoid disturbing Angus's kingdom of Fortrenn, and exasperating Angus himself and his people. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Angus intervened, probably as much in the interests of the peace of his own province as in the interests of the sovereignty. He met the army of Alpin, the half-Pict and nominal sovereign, at 'Monith-Craebh'\* in A.D. 728. Alpin's forces were apparently led by his son who, along with many of his men, fell, and left Angus to enjoy the first of a series of victories. Alpin lost no time in trying to avenge his loss, and to check the growing power of Angus. In the same year, with a new army, he sought out the forces of Angus at 'Caislen Craebhi,' called 'Credhi'† by

\* Believed to be Moncrieff in Perthshire.

† The 'Castellum Credi' had not been so named at this date. The correct name is without doubt 'Craebhi,' and indicates one of the various places in Perthshire, named with 'Crieff' as a second element.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

playing on the name or by a copyist's blunder. The resulting battle was disastrous to Alpin. His army was captured, his territories in Pictland were seized by Angus, and he fled from the field. This was the battle at which Nechtan reappeared, and slipped into the throne while Angus was completing the punishment of Alpin. Alpin retreated to his paternal country, among the Gaidheals or Scots, destined to reappear in a more distant field. One would like to know what were Angus's feelings as he turned back in his victorious pursuit towards the centre of affairs, to find Nechtan, the old sovereign, snugly settled on the throne from which he had just driven Alpin. Angus's next action shows that he had not meant to clear a way for the return of the sovereign whose rule had caused an upheaval in Pictland, and also that he aimed at exercising the supreme power himself. In the following year, A.D. 729, before Nechtan had time to secure himself in his old seat, Angus and his clan—that is, the Men of Fortrenn—marched against Nechtan, and encountered him and his army, as has been noticed, at the Mountain of the Cairn, near the loch 'Loogdae.' The old monarch was defeated, many of his supporters were slain, he himself fled, and when he left the victory to Angus he also left the way open to the sovereign's throne. Angus, however, was not allowed to take that way at once, or unchallenged. Drust, who had been sovereign of Pictland, A.D. 724, when



## THE PICTISH NATION

Nechtan became a cleric, and who had been ejected from the supreme power by Alpin in A.D. 726, suddenly appeared in the field with an army against Angus. Drust doubtless thought, like Nechtan, that having once filled the throne, he had preferable claims to Angus. In A.D. 729 the two armies met at '*Drum-derg Blathmig*,' the Red Ridge of Blathmig, which is believed to be Drum-derg on the western side of the Forfarshire Isla. In the battle Drust fell, and his army was defeated. Angus I. Mac Fergus was now, from the date of the battle, 12th August 729,\* the unchallenged sovereign of Pictland. To win the supreme power he had fought four great battles, all against former sovereigns. For two weary years Pictland had suffered the horrors of civil war, because one or two of the more powerful chiefs had chosen to break away from the old constitutional law of the Celts that the sovereign should be duly elected at a convention of the chiefs. The Picts had honoured this law longer and more consistently than any other branch of the Celts;† but the hankering of leaders for absolute power was in the atmosphere of the time, and was apparently due to the example of the kings of the Teutonic Angles, and the fostering of romanist intriguers who hated the democratic clan-system of the Celts, because an absolute

\* Tighernac's date.

† In Ireland the sovereignty was early monopolized by the clan Niall, although election was reverted to, even in the late period, in times of crisis.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

ruler served their purposes better than a group of chiefs, or a sovereign who was limited by his chiefs. The idea that the sovereign should be limited by the chiefs, which was so often asserted during the later history of northern Alba, was imbedded in the original political organization of the Picts.

Some incidents of this period deserve passing notice. The Picts have not usually been regarded as a maritime people; but after Angus had disposed of Nechtan, the Pictish fleet to the number of one hundred and fifty ships was wrecked on a headland called '*Ros-Cuissine*' (not identified), in A.D. 729.

The Gaidheals or Scots of Dalriada were at this time, and had been for a long time previous, divided among themselves. From the year A.D. 689, when the crown of Dalriada passed from the clan Gabhran to the clan Lorn, the former clan persistently tried to recover the supremacy from the latter. Just before Angus became sovereign of Pictland, the Scots were ruled by two kings, one in Lorn and the other in south Argyll; and each claimed and sought to assert supremacy over all Dalriada. This strife\* among the Gaidh-

\* The Gaidhealic or Scotie kings of Dalriada, showing their clan and title in the *Annals*, are, after the death of Maelduin of clan Gabhran, king of Dalriada, who died 689, as follow—

Ferchar Fada of Lorn, claimed to reign over all Dalriada, d. 697.

Eochaidh Rineaval of the clan Gabhran (claimant), d. 697.

Ainbh-cellach of Lorn, expelled from the 'kingdom' in 698 by help from Ireland. Killed in war with his brother in 719 while still dethroned.

## THE PICTISH NATION

eals or Scots was a constant menace to Pictland, because the border Picts were in danger of being unwillingly involved, or willingly attracted towards the Scotie quarrels for the sake of their own interests. After Angus had become sovereign of Pictland, the chief of the clan Gabhran, Eochaidh Mac Eachaidh, occupied the throne of Dalriada for about six years; but Muredach, grandson of Ferchar Fada, chief of Lorn, was also claimant to Eochaidh's seat and to the supremacy among the Scots.

This king of Dalriada, Eochaidh Mac Eachaidh, who died A.D. 733, has more than passing interest in connection with the reign of Angus Mac Fergus over the Picts. Alpin the half-Pict, who in A.D. 726 ejected Drust from the supreme power

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In 714 Selbac of Lorn was rising to power. He was of the family of Ferchar Fada, and claimed the crown of Dalriada. In 719 Selbac defeated his brother and began to reign. In the same year he was in action against the clan Gabhran under Duncan Becc, who died in 721 as 'king of Cantyre.' Selbac became a Cleric in 723. He died in 730. Dungal, son of Selbac, now became king in 723. He was ejected from power c. 726 by Eochaidh Mac Eachaidh, and the latter began to reign. Eochaidh died 'king of Dalriada' in 733. Alpin Mac Eachaidh now claimed the crown, and persisted until 736-7. Dungal meanwhile had become a freebooter. He was wounded in 734, and put in chains, in 736, by Angus, sovereign of the Picts. In the year 733 Muredach Mac Ainbhcéallach, grandson of Ferchar Fada, became king of Lorn. *For a time, the Scotie monarchy of Dalriada ceased to exist after A.D. 737.* When Angus Mac Fergus died 'king of the Picts' in 761, he is styled by one authority 'Ri Alban'; that, in this instance, meant all northern Britain.

Flann and the *Albanic Duan* displace certain of the above kings, but the above dates are from the *Irish Annals*. The Latin editors begin their deliberate falsifications with certain kings in the above list, and put four of them about a century away from their correct dates. This was to hide the effects of Angus's occupation of Dalriada.



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

in Pictland, seizing it for himself, and who in turn was defeated in battle and driven out of Pictland by Angus, is regarded by the best authorities as Eochaidh's brother.\* As Dr. Skene† pointed out, his designation in the oldest lists is 'Alpin Mac Eachaidh.' The compilers of the later Latin lists of Scotie kings, with a view to hiding the exploits of Angus I. Mac Fergus in Dalriada, and also for the purpose of strengthening Kenneth Mac Alpin's claim to the Pictish supremacy in the ninth century, have deliberately falsified the position of this Alpin in the lists of the Scotie chiefs, and have dated him about one hundred years later than his real period.‡ Nevertheless, Alpin was a very active agent in shaping the events of Angus's reign. He had tried to prevent the rise of Angus to power. No sooner was he ejected from Pictland in A.D. 728 than he began to seek power among his father's people in Dalriada; and after his brother's death in 733 he became a claimant to the throne of Dalriada. According to the eleventh-century list of Scotie kings, he actually reigned in the south of Dalriada for four years, which would be A.D. 733-737, disputing the throne of all Dalriada with Muredach, chief of Lorn, just as Muredach had disputed it with Alpin's brother Eochaidh.

\* One writer calls him his 'son,' due to the fact that their father was also Eochaidh (Gen. Eachaidh).

† *Chronicles P. and S.* pp. clxxxv-clxxxvii.

‡ Cf. Skene's remarks, *Chronicles P. and S.* p. cxxviii.

# THE PICTISH NATION

## ANGUS AND THE PICTS CONQUER THE GAIDHEALS OR SCOTS OF DALRIADA

Revenge was certainly not the ruling motive in Angus I. Mac Fergus; but incidentally he avenged the Picts most thoroughly for what they had suffered, especially in the western Pictish provinces of Lennox, Fortrenn, and Atholl, from long repeated and vindictive aggression by the Gaidheals or Scots. To a masterful soldier and swift-acting ruler like Angus, the anarchic ferment among the Scots on the right flank of his sovereignty was an unendurable danger and provocation. Alpin the half-Pict, his rival, whom he had ousted from the Pictish sovereignty, was in Dalriada and was related to one of the ruling clans there; and at any hour he might spring a surprise on Angus. Dungal, also, the son of Selbac and grandson of Ferchar Fada, was there, and after his dethronement in A.D. 726-7, had turned freebooter and raider. In A.D. 733 he organized two expeditions 'for plunder,' attacking first '*Innis Cumennraighe*'\* and then '*Toraidh*,' both attacks

\* Clearly these two places were not only in Angus's dominions, but in his clan territories. The names have been corrupted by the copyists of the *Annals*. Tighernac gives '*Cumennraighe*,' but the *Annals of Ulster*, '*Culrenrigi*.' To make matters more confused the various Irish editors tried to locate the places in Ireland. *Toraidh*, the place of towers, is given as '*Toraigh*' and as '*Toraic*.' The Irish editors have identified it with Tory Island! The sequel shows that both places were in the dominions of Angus. '*Innis*' in Pictland is as often as not an island in a river or loch. I offer as an interpretation of both places *Comrie* and *Turret*, both near Dundurn (Dund-Earn), Angus's stronghold on the Earn.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

in Angus's absence. Brude, Angus's son, who had been left in charge, was evidently surprised during the raid on 'Toraidh,' because he sought 'sanctuary.' This sanctuary Dungal violated, and he laid violent hands on Brude. The violation of ecclesiastical or royal sanctuary\* was a capital crime among all the Celts; and, in Ireland, had not only been followed by instant punishment, but, sometimes, by grievous war, if the culprit was protected. In this instance, as Dungal was a subject of Dalriada, which at the time was in a lawless state, his crime necessitated an expedition by Angus against him and against the clan Lorn, which harboured him. Angus located him at his fort '*Dun-Leithfinn*,'† on the northern modern border of Lorn, and engaged him. This was in A.D. 734. Dungal was wounded, but escaped, and fled to Ireland from 'the power of Angus.'

It is quite evident that Dungal had not been without confederates, because, while his army was in Lorn, Angus distributed other punishments. Talorg Mac Congusa, a Pictish chief from the north, who had shown disaffection to the house of Angus in A.D. 731, and who had been punished by the same Brude whom Dungal attacked, was now in A.D. 734 seized by his own brother, and deliv-

\* Comrie owes its name to its sanctuary. Near the neighbourhood of the sovereign's seat there was always a sanctuary, where people, though at feud, could have access to his person for redress.

† The last part of the name is '*Leven*,' and is now preserved in the river and loch of the name which divides the counties of Inverness and Argyll.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ered to Angus's men, by whom he was drowned. Tolarg Mac Drostain, chief of Atholl, brother or half-brother of Nechtan, the former sovereign, who had been in exile in Lorn, was now fettered and imprisoned near Dunolly, the fortress of the chief of Lorn, evidently to restrain him from annoying Angus. It is also a sign that Muredach, the chief, professed to be friendly to Angus.

What movement occurred to break the peace we are not told; but in A.D. 736 Angus, at the head of the Pictish army, marched into the very heart of Dalriada. Eochaidh Mac Eachaidh, the 'king of Dalriada' who ruled the clan Gabhran and the other southern Dalriad clans, had died in A.D. 733, just before Angus's expedition into Lorn against Dungal. The man who claimed to succeed Eochaidh was Alpin, his brother, the half-Pict, Angus's rival; and, according to one authority, he did succeed, and reigned in south Dalriada 'four years,'\* which, as already noted, were from A.D. 733 to 736-7. It is manifest from Angus's line of march, and from consideration of the earlier history of Alpin, that Angus was out in A.D. 736 mainly to strike at Alpin and the Gabhran clan, or such others as might be inclined to support them. On his march Angus laid waste Dalriada as far as Knapdale. He assaulted and captured the Scotie capital at *Dun-Add*;†

\* Cf. the *Duan Albanaich*.

† On the river Add at Crinan. Here the ruins still exist. They have been examined and described to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

and he burned *Creich*.\* He appears then to have wheeled about, and having marched towards Lorn, he encountered Dungal the freebooter and his brother Feradach, both sons of Selbac and grandsons of Ferchar Fada and so of the royal line of the Scots, and these he fettered and made prisoners. Angus's own son, Brude, succumbed after this campaign. Alpin, his chief adversary, escaped. Angus, in putting Dungal and Feradach in chains, thought that he had robbed Lorn of leaders who were hostile to him; but he overlooked their kinsman, Talorgan Mac Fergus, a great-grandson of Ferchar Fada formerly head of the clan Lorn and king of Dalriada. Talorgan was a mere youth. He thought that the sooner Angus's attention was diverted from his country the better. He raised the clan Lorn, and with sound but daring strategy cut through Angus's line of communications, and took a line that threatened Angus's capital at Dun-d-Earn, and the road to the south. The *Annals* make clear that he struck directly at Fortrenn, and did not waste his small force on the rearguard of Angus's powerful army occupying Dalriada. His enterprise is called an invasion (*bellum*), not a raid. It took its name from '*Cnoc Coirpri*,' now '*Cnoc Cophair*,'†

\* This name abounds in Pictland and in Dalriada. In this instance the place is to be sought in Argyll.

† From this point Talorgan had the choice of the road through Glen Gyle and Strath Gartney in Angus's dominions with its facilities for surprise, or the more exposed road by Balquhidder.

## THE PICTISH NATION

near the head of Glen Gyle. It covered the district '*Calatros*' as far as '*Etar Linndu*.' The *Between of Linddu* is the Pass of Leny. The student of place-names will find an historical parallel for equating '*Calatros*'\* with the modern Callander† at the south end of this Pass, which commanded the road to and from Angus's capital on the Earn. Talorgan, in spite of his well-devised strategy, failed to get his blow home to the heart of Fortrenn. Angus had not left his home territories without a sufficient garrison. Talorgan's army was turned, and put to flight, and was pursued through the passes, and many chiefs fell. Angus took one significant step at the close of these dealings with the Scots. In A.D. 734 he had left Tolarg Mac Drostain, brother or half-brother of Nechtan and chief of Atholl, in captivity at the capital of Lorn, Dunolly. In A.D. 739 this Tolarg, who had rarely been out of trouble with his fellow-Picts, was seized by Angus and drowned. In A.D. 741 the Scots of Dalriada made one more attempt to rid themselves of the dominance of Angus, but the attempt was in vain, and Dalriada was once more 'smitten' by the conqueror.

The early fabulists and certain modern historians who follow them have wasted much ingenuity in explaining away the result of Angus's

\* Certainly not Culross on Forth as offered by Dr. Reeves. 'Cardross' on the upper Forth would have been better. Even the 'Trossachs' may contain an element of the old district name.

† For the '*Calatria*' at Falkirk compare the Glasgow Charter of 1136.



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

campaigns in Dalriada. He *conquered* Dalriada; but he did not exterminate its male inhabitants. Unlike the Teutonic English in southern Pictland, he did not make a wilderness and call it peace. He broke the regal power of the clans Gabhran and Lorn, and cut them off from succession to the Dalriad monarchy. So effectively was this accomplished in the case of the clan Lorn that not until the time of Maelcoluim, who died in A.D. 1034, did that clan furnish a candidate to royal power. The Picts recovered sole control of the territories in the south and west of what is now Inverness-shire, which the Gaidheals or Scots of Lorn had penetrated. These districts and the original Lorn fell under the sway of Pictish chiefs, connected with the family of Angus; and these chiefs styled themselves 'kings of Dalriada,'\* and were so recognized. As regards the clan Gabhran, the most powerful among the Gaidheals or Scots, and the most aggressive towards the Picts, because they inherited the traditions of Aedhan Mac Gabhran, 'the False,' S. Columba's nominee to the throne, Angus and the Pictish army awarded them extreme punishment.

\* The names of some of them will be found preceding Kenneth Mac Alpin's name in the *Synchronisms* of Flann; and in the *Duan Albanaich*. Both these documents are eleventh century. Their fault is that in one or two instances they have entered a clan chief who was *claimant* to the crown as having actually reigned. Their entries are supported, almost wholly as to this period, from the *Irish Annals*. The twelfth-century Latin lists of the Scotie kings, as regards this period, were deliberately falsified in the interests of the Scotie ascendancy, and are quite untrustworthy.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Alpin the half-Pict, who was related to the clan Gabhran through his father, again succeeded in making his escape. While Angus lived, not one of their other leaders dared to lift his head. After his death, Aed Finn Mac Eachaidh and his brother set up to rule from Cantyre; but they were quickly displaced by the Pictish chiefs of the family of Angus, who at this time figure in the lists as 'kings' of Dalriada; although they were really the lieutenant-governors of the Pictish sovereign. In the two oldest documents, witness is borne to the humbled position of the chiefs of the clan Gabhran in the title '*Ardfhlaith*,'\* high chief, instead of *Rí*, king, which is bestowed on Aed Finn. Some recent historians, while compelled by completer knowledge of the old Celtic documents to admit the conquest of Dalriada by Angus, are nevertheless still so swayed by the inventions of the Scotie fabulists regarding Kenneth Mac Alpin's origin that they declare that Angus's occupation produced no 'fusion' of the two nations of Picts and Scots. Doubtless there was not much fusion between the regal families of the two nations; but already, especially in Lorn, there had been a great deal of fusion among the masses. Before Angus's time the Dalriad colonists had already fused extensively with the western

\* So in the *Duan Albanaich*. Flann's copyists have mangled the word, varying in the three MSS. from '*Airgnech*' to '*Aireatec*.' It should be noted that this Aed Finn and his brother Fergus were sons of Eachaidh, consequently brothers of Alpin, and so half-Picts.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

(Bede's 'northern') Picts; and the clan Lorn had absorbed the Picts of 'Beregonium' and their power so completely that little was afterwards left to mark the difference between them and the Gaidheals or Scots, apart from the laments and relics associated with their capital.

### THE REAPPEARANCE OF ALPIN THE HALF-PICT

The chief disappointment of Angus's campaigns in Dalriada had been the escape of Alpin Mac Eachaidh, the half-Pict, ex-Sovereign of Pictland, and, according to Flann and the *Duan Albanaich*, ex-king of Dalriada. Until recently he eluded the historians as completely as he had eluded Angus. His career in Dalriada, and after, is left out of the *Irish Annals*, for reasons not apparent; but he appears, after his brother, among the kings of Dalriada in the two eleventh-century documents mentioned. Alpin's reign, or attempt to reign, in Dalriada began on the death of his brother, Eochaidh, in A.D. 733. He reigned three\* or four† years, according to the *Chronicles*. Three is the accurate number, because his dethronement and flight from his seat took place in A.D. 736, when Angus I. Mac Fergus and the Pictish army entered Dalriada, laid it waste, and stormed and seized Dun-Add, the fortified capital. As Angus entered, Alpin left. Once before, when

\* Gray's transcript of the (twelfth century) *Chronicle of the Scots*.

† *Duan Albanaich*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

he had been ejected by Angus, he left the crown of Pictland behind him; on this occasion he left the crown of Dalriada. With his flight the Gaidhealic or Scotie kingdom of Dalriada came to an end, in spite of the fact that Aed Finn, 'the high-chief,' and his brother, of the same family as Alpin, made attempts to revive it. Their failures only emphasized how completely the sceptre had passed from the Gaidhealic or Scotie clans to the Pictish family of Mac Fergus, Angus's people.

But Alpin was determined to have a kingdom. Where he found it is told in the '*Short Chronicle*' of the twelfth century, transcribed in the time of James V. by James Gray, priest of Dunblane. The manuscript from which Gray copied must have been badly torn or badly faded; because no scribe, even if partially illiterate, could have achieved the blunders in spelling which James accomplished unless his original had been worn and dim. Nevertheless the original was clear concerning Alpin. It preserved the duration of his reign correctly as three years. It knew the full designation of Alpin as 'Alpin filius Eachaidh Anghbaidh,' the last epithet being applied to his father by Flann also, in a still earlier manuscript. It states with strict historical accuracy that after Alpin's reign ceased, the kingdom of the Scots passed into the kingdom of the Picts.\* But con-

\* 'tunc translatus est regnum Scotorum in regnum Pictorum.'

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

cerning Alpin himself this manuscript tells that he was killed in Galloway after he had wasted and made havoc in it. One of the tainted *Chronicles*\* describes the actual manner of his death: 'He was killed by a single man who lay in wait for him among thick wood at the entrance to a river-ford, and at the time, he was riding at the head of his followers.' Dr Skene† has identified the scene of Alpin's death at 'Laicht'-Alpin, † near a stream which falls into Loch Ryan. Unfortunately the Annalists give no clue to the length of time which intervened between Alpin's flight from Dalriada and his death in Galloway. All that is clear is that some years had passed, because before Alpin came to his end he had succeeded in subduing part of Galloway.

This Galloway‡ enterprise brought Alpin into conflict with the English of Northumbria; because, before this time, as has been noted, the Brito-Pictish population of Galloway had submitted to the kings of Northumbria; and the English had not only penetrated into parts of the province but had superimposed the Anglo-Roman ecclesiastical system on the native Church.

\* That in the *Scalacronica*.

† *Chronicles, Picts and Scots*, p. clxxxv. 'Laicht'-Alpin means Alpin's stone.

‡ Incidentally, Alpin's occupation of Galloway helps to explain the undoubted traces of the Gaidheals or Scots in that province which appear alongside remains of the original Brito-Pictish population.

## THE PICTISH NATION

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ANGUS AGAINST THE ENGLISH. PICTS AND ENGLISH COME TO TERMS; AND TURN THEIR ARMS AGAINST THE BRITONS OF STRATHCLYDE. ALPIN IN GALLOWAY

The Scottish writers, through whose hands most of the old documents passed, have not allowed us to know much about the English campaign of Angus I. Mac Fergus. The English writers have been only a little less reticent. In the days of the 'English Claims,' and the consequent Scotie pretensions, the Scottish writers kept Angus the Pict out of the national story; and the English writers had no wish to enlarge upon his exploits in their country.

The chief authority now for Angus's English campaign is the memorandum, by the continuator of Bede's history, that in A.D. 740 Northumbria was 'cruelly and unjustifiably wasted by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, while Eadbert, the English king, and his army were absent and *employed against the Picts.*' An echo of this campaign appears to be contained in the words, also by Bede's continuator, that Angus, king of the Picts, continued to the end of his reign to be 'a blood-stained and tyrannical butcher.' Fierce enough words, but inappropriate to an Annalist of the Teutonic English who had recreated brutality in the midst of Celtic civilization; and, in their frequent aggressions, had pitilessly heaped the



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

valleys of the Britons and of south Pictland with slain, and caused the streams to run blood. What happened when Eadbert and his Angles met Angus and his army has been dropped out of history. The sequel shows that it was not Angus and his Picts who suffered or were driven back, but Eadbert and his Angles. From one of the fragments of real history woven into the *Legends of S. Andrew*, it is seen that on this expedition Angus camped at an ancient Roman camp called 'Kartinan'\* (*Caer Tinan*), near the mouth of the Northumbrian Tyne, and at some period in his operations 'wintered' in the Merse, Berwickshire, where, of course, food would be abundant. Angus's army had the blood of the ancient Brigantes in them, because it was into Angus's territory that this great Celtic people had retired when centuries before, *c.* A.D. 139, Lollius Urbicus had driven them out of the very country where Angus encamped. It was something that, *c.* A.D. 740, Angus could plant his triumphant flag on a former camp of the enemies of his people; and also in the realm of the later Teutonic invaders who, unlike the Romans, possessed no culture to offer as a consolation for conquest.

Eadbert, king of Northumbria, when he went forth against the Picts suddenly found himself between the hammer and the anvil. Defeated by

\* The *Legend* in the Colbertine MS. In the amplified *Legend* of the Harleian MS. this is explained as 'ad ostium fluminis Tyne.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

Angus and the Pictish army somewhere between Forth and Tyne, he could not fall back on his own kingdom because it had been overrun by his Saxon neighbours in the interval; and there Ethelbald and his army waited to annihilate him. Judging from what followed, he made terms with Angus, and entered into alliance with him that both might join up their forces and march to crush Ethelbald.\* It was just as important to Angus to get rid of an aggressive Saxon, like Ethelbald on his southern frontier, as an aggressive Angle like Eadbert. Again we are not told what happened when the armies of Angus and Ethelbald met; but these leaders also came to terms and operated together; because the continuator of Bede states that in the year A.D. 750—ten years after Eadbert, king of Northumbria, had brought Angus into the field against him—‘Cuthred, king of the West Saxons, rose up against Ethelbald *and Angus*’; so that Angus must have lent his name and troops to the Mercian king.

What reasons Angus had for helping the Mercian king are not apparent now; but he had good reasons for accepting an alliance with Eadbert in A.D. 740, after he had defeated him. Alpin the half-Pict was hovering about the west looking

\* The scribe in the Harleian MS. *Legend of S. Andrew* calls him ‘Athelstan,’ in error. The earlier Colbertine MS. of the *Legend* states that Angus marched against the British nations inhabiting the south-eastern part of the island. This is quite right.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

for his opportunity. It was in the year after Angus had defeated Eadbert that he gave Dalriada its decisive 'smiting.' After this, Alpin and his force of Scots invaded and subdued part of Galloway which was then in Eadbert's kingdom. The subsequent events show that Alpin must have had some encouragement and perhaps assistance from Taudar Mac Bilé, king of the Strath-Clyde Britons. It was against the tradition of the Britons and Picts that they should take the field against one another; and, moreover, this king of the clan Bilé was probably related to Angus. He was certainly related to part of the royal stock in Angus's kingdom. Alpin's subjugation of part of Galloway, and his association with the king of the Britons, menaced the power of Angus and obliterated all Pictish ties. Consequently in A.D. 750 Angus and the Pictish army, with whom Eadbert was associated, met the Britons under Taudar on the field of 'Catoc'\* or *Maes-y-dawc*.† The battle ended in victory for Angus and some spoil to Eadbert. Tolarg the brother of Angus fell in the action. What happened to Alpin and Galloway we are again not told; but Bede's continuator states significantly that the 'plain of Kyle' in Ayrshire was added to Eadbert's kingdom. Taudar died A.D. 752. One not very trustworthy

\* Spelling in *Annals of Ulster* is 'Catohic' (genitive). Reeves gives 'Cato.'

† In the *Annales Cambriae* called *Mocetauc*. 'Maes' means field.



## THE PICTISH NATION

source reports that Angus took Taudar's submission at the castle of Dunbarton after the latter's defeat.\* We are left to infer that the death of Alpin, as noted, followed closely on this battle of *Maes-y-dawc*.

It is to be regretted, in spite of the 'English Claims,' that the Scotie fabricators and editors did not allow Alpin's fate in relation to this defeat to remain in the originals, on which the Annalists drew, and also the exact date of his tragic death. It is equally to be regretted that they have not told us whether Alpin's Scots maintained their hold on Galloway, or whether Eadbert's garrison was established in Kyle to keep them and the Britons apart. These essential details would have fully established the account which is given by Giraldus and others, that the Scotie forces which supported Kenneth MacAlpin when he acceded to the Pictish sovereignty in the ninth century came 'out of Galloway.' If they so came, they were the descendants of Alpin's clansmen; because Galloway had not been peopled by Scots until Alpin seized it.

The undisturbed continuity at this time of one Galloway institution strongly suggests that although the effects of Alpin's occupation may have been felt throughout Galloway, the Scotie colony which resulted became restricted to the Rhynns

\* The original authority is said to be an English or Britonic MS., but if so I have not been able to trace it.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

and the districts on the Ayrshire border.\* The institution that was unaffected by Alpin and his Scots was the Anglo-Roman diocesan bishopric set up A.D. *c.* 730 under Pechthelm at *Candida Casa*, the mother-Church of the Britons and Picts. In Alpin's time this bishop was no longer the simple member or president of a Celtic *muinntir*, but was monarchic and diocesan. Manifestly if Alpin had disorganized all Galloway for any length of time he would have disorganized the bishopric,† especially as the bishop was a Teuton, Frithwald, with little sympathy for Alpin or any of his race. But, as Bede's continuator shows, the bishopric was not disorganized, because he states that Frithwald was ordained‡ A.D. 735, and he died in his chair at *Candida Casa* A.D. 764. The bishop who succeeded him was not a Gaidheal or Scot but Pechtwine,§ whose name speaks for itself.

\* This is also indicated by the death of Alpin at Loch Ryan.

† The succession of Anglo-Roman bishops over this period were—Pechthelm, 730–735; Frithwald, 735–764; Pechtwine, 764–776. Richard of Hexham erred in suggesting that Acca came into this succession.

‡ By Archbishop Nothelm.

§ Or 'Pictuine,' which means Friend of Picts. Cf. *Historia Regum*, S. of D. pp. 22, 28.



## THE PICTISH NATION

BY ENGLISH INSPIRATION ANGUS ALSO TAKES A  
HAND IN THE VENERATION OF SAINTS AND  
RELICS; AND MAKES WAY FOR S. ANDREW TO  
BE PATRON AND PROTECTOR OF PICTLAND

In deference to the association of S. Andrew with modern Scotland, and to the new romanizing movement which began in Pictland under Angus, with the prestige of S. Andrew's name; it may be permissible to turn from the historical memoranda of the *Annals* to the scrap of valid history on which the *Legend of S. Andrew* is founded, because there is a fragment of history in the midst of the grotesque fables of the three versions of the *Legend*.

It has been noted that in his first English campaign Angus Mac Fergus the Pictish sovereign encamped with his army at *Caer-Tinan* near the Newcastle end of Hadrian's Wall. This camp was also close to the Roman monastery at Jarrow and Wearmouth, formerly ruled by Ceolfrid, from whence the Roman Catholic influence had been exerted on Nechtan that brought him into trouble with many of his Pictish subjects, Angus among the rest. Angus's hostility to Nechtan and S. Peter would be well known to the united brethren of Jarrow and Wearmouth. Angus's camp was also near Hexham ('Hagustald') where there was a Cathedral-Church which had been dedicated not long before to the 'bles-



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

sed Apostle Andrew with manifold decorations and wonderful craftsmanship.' Its dismissed bishop, Acca, was a fanatic about relics, especially relics of the Martyrs and Apostles; and as he had travelled extensively in Europe with Wilfrid he had gathered a considerable stock of the alleged sacred remains, and had built altars for them in the side chapels which he arranged within this Cathedral of S. Andrew.\* Now Acca had learned great veneration for S. Andrew from Wilfrid† who was the ambitious and aggressive Anglian prelate who had once gone to Rome, and before the uninformed hierarchy there, with characteristic audacity, had confirmed his subscription to Roman doctrine in the name, among others, 'of the Picts.' Sometime before Angus's expedition, in 731, Acca had been driven from his episcopal chair. Bede's continuator does not say why; although he certainly knew. Like other bishops, in like plight, Acca was probably residing among the monks of Jarrow and Wearmouth, *c.* A.D. 740, when Angus was in the vicinity. This monastery was in the diocese of St. Andrews of Hexham, and 'S. Andrew' was in the atmosphere of the whole district. These proselytizing monks had caught Nechtan in the net of S. Peter; but the

\* See Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xx. This Church was built between 672 and 678.

† Wilfrid believed that he got his persuasive eloquence through intercession to S. Andrew. He had gone over to Rome after being a pupil of the Scotie clerics at Lindisfarne.

## THE PICTISH NATION

same instrument had failed with the Pictish people; and, especially, with Angus. Why should they not try the net of S. Andrew upon Angus, seeing that they had such a tempting opportunity? The 'real' relics of an actual Apostle might appeal to the reverent spirits of the Celts of Pictland; although relics were not yet venerated there.

As Angus walked in broad daylight with his seven chiefs\* in his camp at Caer-Tinan,† amid surroundings suffused with S. Andrew, a divine light‡ shone round them, and the king heard a 'heavenly voice' calling 'Angus, Angus, give heed, I am Andrew the Apostle of Christ come to defend thee and to take thee into my care. Behold the sign of the Cross§ elevated in the skies, preceding thee against thine enemies;|| and take care to dedicate a tenth of thine inheritance to God Almighty and his Apostle S. Andrew.' Such is the oldest version of the tale that can

\* Evidently representative of the seven provinces of Pictland.

† Of the three versions of the *Legend* which we possess two are composite documents, and different accounts of the same incidents have been thrown together without any attempt to reconcile them. In one account the vision appeared at Caer-Tinan (near Newcastle), and in another in the Merse.

‡ The details here are borrowed from the *Acts of the Apostles*.

§ Cf. Constantine's Vision.

|| Who were Angus's enemies at that moment? Not the Angles or the Saxons, because he had come to terms with them; but Alpin and the Gaidheals or Scots. He did march against them in the following year, 741, and gave them their final 'smiting.' When the Scots, therefore, took over 'S. Andrew' in the ninth century, they took over the saint who is alleged to have led in their greatest punishment as a nation.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

now be got. The closing exhortation is in the true Roman ecclesiastical style; and if it formed part of the original exhortation to Angus, it would not be irreverent to suggest that it was originally framed, and, it may be, uttered, by one of the zealous proselytizers of Ceolfrid's monastery on Tyne who had already tried to secure the conformity of the Church of the Picts to Rome.

Whatever experience of Angus on Tyneside is hidden under this part of the *Legend*, it is historically true that with the approval of certain members of Angus's family a new romanizing effort began in Pictland. The Scottish translation of a still older *Chronicle* is relating an actual event in the entry, 'The zeire of God sewyn hundir lxi ye relikis of Sanct Androw ye Apostle com in Scotland.'\* A.D. 761 was the year in which Angus I. the Sovereign of the Picts died. The relics were in all probability brought from St. Andrews, Hexham. The legend of their removal from Patras is doubtless an echo of the story given by the credulous Acca to the worshippers on Tyneside. On the arrival of the relics in Pictland they found a resting-place near the *Regles* or mother-Church founded by S. Cainnech of Achadh-Bo at *Cind Righ Monaidh* in Fife. In due course, after A.D. 761, a new Church was built, and dedicated to S. Andrew the Apostle. From

\* From internal evidence the earlier part of this *Chronicle* was transcribed about 1530.



## THE PICTISH NATION

that time *Cind Righ Monaidh*\* became the city of S. Andrew; and as 'St. Andrews' it is still known. The *muinntir* attached to the *Regles* of S. Cainnech, which in Angus's time was under the presidency of the Ab Tuatalan, was apparently ignored by the Roman pioneers, or allowed to lead a separate existence; because at a much later time it is found represented by dissenting *Céle Dé*† who cling to some of the ancient property of the Church of the Picts.

### LEADING CELTIC CLERGY AND THEIR KNOWN ACTIVITIES IN THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS IN THE TIME OF ANGUS

One striking feature of the Celtic *Chronicles* is that though the originals were compiled by clerics, these clerics have comparatively little to say about the activities of the great religious communities. Sometimes there is nothing more than the recorded death of some leading Ab to indicate to the world that some ancient community continued the work for which it had been organized.

\* The *Latin Chronicle* which was the original source of Sibbald's transcript was falsified in the interests of the priority of Dunkeld, and to obscure the exploits of Angus I. It therefore ascribed the founding of 'Kilremont' to Angus II. It ought to be noted that it was not 'Kilremont' that had been founded, but *St. Andrews*. 'Kilremont' was already old.

† It was into the monastery of the *Céle Dé* of *Cind Righ Monaidh* (according to *S. Berchan*) that Constantine, second of the name who ruled the Scots, retired in his old age A.D. 940. His retreat was really the result of his defeat by Athelstan at Brunanburg A.D. 937. The *Pictish Chronicle* says, 'feeble with age, he took to himself the "*bachul*" (staff), and served the Lord.'

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

The outstanding Pictish clerics during part of the reign of Angus I. Mac Fergus were S. Ronan, Ab of the Pictish *muinntir* of *Cinn-Garadh* (Kinghamth), Bute; and Tuatalan, Ab of *Cind Righ Monaidh* (St. Andrews).

In A.D. 729, the year that Angus took up the sovereignty of the Picts, Egbert the English zealot died. His later proselytizing activities were carried on among the Gaidheals or Scots; and consequently outside the Pictish Church. For thirteen of his latter years he devoted himself in Iona to secure conformity to Rome, and succeeded in creating a Celto-Catholic and a Roman Catholic party in the island. In a sentence which, in view of the work of S. Columba, every Scot must regard as audacious, Bede states that by Egbert's thirteen years' work in Iona he '*consecrated the island to Christ*, as it were, by a new ray of the grace of fellowship and *peace* in the Church.' Bede regards as a remarkable dispensation of Divine Providence that Egbert ceased from his labours after he had celebrated the Paschal feast on the Roman date, which he had striven so hard to introduce, on this occasion 24th day of April 729.\*

During the first eight years of Angus's sovereignty, Failbhe Mac Guaire presided over the distant Pictish *muinntir* established by S. Maelrubha at Abercrossan in the west of Ross, main-

\* Cf. Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. v. cap. xxii.

## THE PICTISH NATION

taining a ministry to the numerous Churches founded by S. Maelrubha in Banff, Moray, Ross, Sutherland, and the Hebrides. Failbhe and twenty-two of his sailors were drowned in the deep sea in A.D. 737, very likely during a voyage to the outer islands where some of S. Maelrubha's Churches had been planted.

During Angus's reign the *muinntir* at Fearn of Edderton in Ross, founded by S. Ninian, and visited by S. Finbar while he was attached to *Candida Casa*, was still active. Its Ab, 'Reoddaidhe' ('Reodatius'), died in A.D. 762,\* one year after the end of Angus's reign. Part of the memorial cross† of Reodatius was recently recovered from the garden wall of Tarbat manse in the Fearn district, and not far from New Fearn,‡ the site chosen for the monastery after the community had been reorganized by Roman clerics from *Candida Casa* c.A.D. 1223-7.§ The translation of the uncial inscription on the cross of Reodatius is, 'In the name of Jesus Christ: a cross of Christ: in memory of Reodatius: may he rest (in Christ).'

\* *Four Masters* give 758. The Irish Annalists thought that Reodatius was Ab of Ferns in Ireland; but, as his memorial cross shows, this is another of their frequent blunders in crediting clerics of Pictish *muinntirs* to Irish communities of similar name.

† 'No. 10' of the Tarbat Stones. Conveniently described by Romilly Allen in *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. Some of his particulars concerning the reading of the stone are inaccurate.

‡ Whither the romanized community was transported about 1238. Fearn remained a daughter-house of *Candida Casa* until the Reformation.

§ For a full account of Fearn, the inscribed cross, and other details, see the author's *S. Ninian, Apostle of the Britons and Picts*, pp. 86-103.



## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

Farther south S. Curitan, and the romanized community, intruded by Nechtan at Rosemarkie, continued their efforts to popularize S. Peter and Roman usage. S. Curitan lived\* through most or all of Angus's reign.

On the west the native Church of the Picts possessed, besides Abercrossan, the still active community of Eigg. Nine years before Angus's death, Cumine of the family of Becce, 'religiosus' of Eigg, died A.D. 751. The designation 'religiosus' deserves to be noted at this date. It is differentiated from '*ancorite*.' The anchoret was a solitary; the 'religiosus' might, as in this instance, live in a community. The 'religiosus' was a rigorist in doctrine and discipline. His appearance in the Pictish Church is contemporaneous with the Romanist proselytizers who exalted uniformity above personal sanctity.

In the east of Pictland, at Turriff in Aberdeenshire, S. Comgan presided over his Pictish community during part of Angus's reign. In A.D. 734 Kentigerna, S. Comgan's sister, died at her retreat in Loch Lomond while her son S. Fillan was still labouring in the neighbourhood of Paisley.

For eighteen years during Angus's reign Tuatalan presided over the Pictish community founded by S. Cainnech at *Cind Righ Monaidh*

\* The year of his death is not recorded; but it is stated that he taught among the Picts 'sixty years.'

## THE PICTISH NATION

(St. Andrews). Tuatalan died A.D. 747. This community must have grown to be one of the most influential in Pictland as, indeed, the traces of its ramifications on the east coast of Pictland indicate; and this doubtless explains why the Roman agents who aimed at exalting S. Andrew and popularizing Roman usage decided to establish themselves there shortly before Angus's death. If they had captured the Pictish *muinntir* at *Cind Righ Monaidh* on their arrival, or immediately after, their success in romanizing Pictland might have been speedier and more acceptable than S. Curitan's efforts. At *Cind Righ Monaidh*, however, as at Rosemarkie, and as at Iona among the Scots, the Roman mission created two parties. The Pictish Celto-Catholics took up an attitude of opposition and adhered to their property; while the Roman Catholics, favoured by the family\* of Angus, pushed ahead and tried to assert themselves above the native Church. The Ab of the mother-Church† of *Cind Righ Monaidh* in Tuatalan's time was the venerable Seannal Ua Taidhg who ruled his *muinntir* at Achadh-Bo forty-three years, and died there

\* According to the possible scrap of history in one of the versions of the *Legend of S. Andrew*, where the Roman mission goes to one of Angus's seats at Forteviot and receives favours from 'Owen, Nectan, and Finguine,' sons of Angus, and from Finchem, queen of Angus I. Mac Fergus. This version of the *Legend* ascribes the work of Angus I. to Angus II.

† *Cind Righ Monaidh* was not founded from Achadh-Bo; but Achadh-Bo superseded the *Regles* of *Cind Righ Monaidh* as S. Cainnech's chief community and centre of supply.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

on the festival of S. Comgall the Great, 10th May  
A.D. 782.

An interesting and informing figure during the early part of Angus's reign is S. Ronan,\* Ab of *Cinn-Garadh* (Kingarth), Bute. This Iro-Pictish community, founded from Bangor, in this island of the Britons, A.D. 558-578, had been under S. Ronan's care before Angus became sovereign of Pictland; but the saint was contemporary with Angus, after he had assumed the supreme power, for eight years. Bute was in the kingdom of the Strath-Clyde Britons, and Bilé Mac Eilpin and Taudar, son of the former, were the kings who reigned at Dunbarton in S. Ronan's time. S. Ronan died at Kingarth A.D. 737.

S. Ronan did not restrict his ministry to the Britons and the Picts. He was enabled by the events of his time to take a most unusual step, and to carry his ministry into Iona among the Gaidheals or Scots. There were two reasons for this. Egbert's romanizing propaganda had split the community of the mother-Church of the Scots at Iona into two bodies. Cilline Droicteach, 'Ab' of Iona, A.D. 726-752, who held the appoint-

\* As has been stated already, S. Ronan is not to be confused, as by Skene and others, with 'Ronan the Scot' and romanizer who already in 664, seventy-three years before S. Ronan's death, was a man of ripe ecclesiastical experience with residence in Italy and Gaul behind him.

'Ronan the Scot' (Irishman) championed Roman usage in Northumbria against Finan, bishop at Lindisfarne, and the other Gaidheals or Scots from Iona. Finan resisted this innovator with much spirit, Bede calls it bad temper. See *H.E.G.A.* lib. iii. cap. xxv.



## THE PICTISH NATION

ment according to the rule which restricted the succession to members of S. Columba's clan, adopted the Roman cult of relics, and ruled over the group which had conformed to Rome. On the other hand, Fedhlimidh,\* 'Ab' of Iona, A.D. 722-759, an outsider, ruled the group which had refused to conform to Rome. These evidently looked for support to the Iro-Pictish community at Kingarth among the Britons. Consequently S. Ronan, president of an Iro-Pictish community among the Britons, was able to extend his ministry to the very gates of the chief Church of the Gaidheals or Scots. S. Ronan's Church-foundations are found not only at Kingarth over which he presided, and at '*Kilmoronoc*' in the Brito-Pictish territory of Lennox; but at '*Kilmoronog*' on Loch Etive, in the very heart of Dalriada; and, most remarkable of all, at *Tempul Ronoc* or *Ronain*† in Iona, the site of which was occupied by the old parish Church of Iona. The landing place of S. Ronan, near by, is still known as Port Ronain. Few people to-day realize that the base of the present Christian work in Iona is not the

\* He was 'Ab' of Iona during part of the time that Faelcu was 'Ab,' and during all the time of Cillene Fada and Cilline Droicteach, and part of the time of Slebhine. These were 'Abs' of the group which had conformed to Rome. Fedhlimidh died in 759 at the age of eighty-seven. Dr. Reeves with absence of his usual candour calls Fedhlimidh 'coadjutor Abbot.' Skene was historically correct when he wrote, 'Egbert did not see entire conformity (at Iona) during his life; and the *schism* was in full vigour up to the day of his death.'

† Ruinous in 1796.

## ANGUS I MAC FERGUS

site occupied by S. Columba and his *muinntir*; but the site occupied by S. Ronan the president of an Iro-Pictish community established in Bute from Bangor. The work of S. Ronan and his fellow-workers in Dalriada was, of course, facilitated by the reopening of this kingdom to the Picts through the extension of the power of Angus Mac Fergus. It was in A.D. 736, the year before S. Ronan's death, that Angus and the Pictish army entered Dun-Add, the capital of Dalriada, as conquerors.

S. Ronan's contemporary in the parent community at Bangor was Fidhbhadach, Ab, who died A.D. 762. During his rule Bangor suffered through an accidental outbreak of fire. At this time, so far as the *Annals* show, Bangor still remained aloof from the cult of relics and other Roman innovations.

Across the Irish sea from Bangor, *Candida Casa* had now firmly adapted itself to Roman ways. Before S. Ronan's death, Frithwald had become bishop in A.D. 735, and he ministered to the Angles and the Picts of Galloway until A.D. 764.

With the transportation, about the close of Angus's reign in A.D. 761, of the alleged relics of S. Andrew to *Cind Righ Monaidh*, the Roman cult of relics began in Pictland among those Celts who had conformed. About A.D. 697 relics had been venerated by the romanized Celts in various

## THE PICTISH NATION

parts of southern Ireland. In A.D. 727 the cult of relics was practised by the romanized group of the Gaidhealic or Scotie clerics of Iona. The spurious sanctity through alleged relics of the saints was a poor substitute for the real sanctity, that had emanated from the personal holiness of the ministers, which had formerly hallowed the Churches.



THE PROGRESS OF UNION,  
BY ABSORPTION, BETWEEN  
THE PICTS AND SCOTS. THE  
EFFECT OF THE COMING OF  
THE VIKINGS, AND ALSO OF  
KENNETH MAC ALPIN  
CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE realms of Pictland and Dalriada were first united after A.D. 741\* when Angus I. Mac Fergus had subjugated the Gaidheals or Scots. The union aimed at was union by absorption. Dalriada now took a place among the federated petty kingdoms of Pictland; and, after its subjugation, was ruled by the petty kings whom Angus set over the Scots, from his own family. These Pictish rulers naturally became members of the college of Pictish chiefs, and so eligible for the supreme power in Pictland. This is the reason that, after Angus's death, some of these Pictish chiefs who ruled Dalriada are found acceding to the sovereignty of Pictland.

As noticed, Angus had left a remnant of Scots in Cantyre, responsible to him, under Aed† Mac Eachaidh 'high-chief.' As also noticed, Aed and the Mac Eachaidh family had, after Angus's death, attempted to assert their own, and the in-

\* The year of Angus's last campaign against the Scots, and the date of the '*Percussio Dalraitii*' by Angus.

† Brother of Alpin the Half-Pict ejected (1) from the sovereignty of Pictland, (2) from the throne of Dalriada by Angus I. Mac Fergus.

## THE PICTISH NATION

dependence of southern Dalriada. It was out of this remnant, or from their fellow-clansmen forced over to the Galloway coast, that Kenneth Mac Alpin emerged when he acceded to the supreme power in Pictland in A.D. 842. Of Pictish descent on the female side, which furnished his claims to the Pictish throne, Kenneth was on the male side, and by education and sympathy, a Gaidheal or Scot. His rise resulted in the displacing of Angus's Pictish dynasty and clan; but his accession confirmed and continued the Union of the realms, with this difference, that the ruling caste, although partly of Pictish descent, and claiming power on account of that descent, was violently Gaidhealic or Scotie in sympathies, and worked for the dominance of the Gaidheals or Scots in the State and in the Church. Just as Angus and his family had been annoyed by a Scotie remnant who refused them complete recognition; so Kenneth Mac Alpin and his family were, in turn, annoyed by a section of the Picts, in the localities undisturbed by the Vikings, who did not recognize either their claims or their position. It was not until c. 889, after the expulsion of the joint-sovereigns of Pictland—Eochaidh Run, a Brito-Gaidheal son of Kenneth's daughter, and Giric or Grig, a Pict of Fortrenn—by Donald II. Mac Constantine, who took the title 'king of Alba,' that the people of the two realms acquiesced, more or less contentedly, in the inevitable union. The sovereign's

## UNION BY ABSORPTION

change of title marks not only a change on the part of the two peoples, and a desire to live at peace; but it marks a change in outlook on the part of the ruling caste who no longer regarded the ruler as the sovereign-chief of the chiefs of federated clans; but as the king of a people united in spite of tribal divisions. The change in the sovereign's title, and his assumption of direct authority over the people as *his* subjects were followed by a change in the method of providing the sovereign's successor. The Celtic principle of *electing* the king's successor was preserved by Donald II.; but the successor was neither preferred from the sons of royal females, as among the Picts, nor elected from the deceased king's own sons, as among the later Gaidheals or Scots; he was selected from the sons of the deceased king's predecessor and he might, or might not be the eldest.\* The benefits of this method of arranging the royal succession were that the king always knew his successor, the people were relieved, as under the Pictish system, from the dread of a minority and a regency; and, from the point of view of the Gaidhealic or Scotie section of the subjects, a continuance of the Scotie line of kings was assured. Apparently, owing to the intrusion of Giric or Grig the Pict, about A.D. 878,

\* A reference to the list of 'the kings of Alban,' as they were now called, given at the end of this chapter will show how this method worked out in practice.



## THE PICTISH NATION

the ruling caste, with its Scotie sympathies, devised this new arrangement to exclude any member of the ancient royal clans of Pictland from the throne of the united realms.

Angus I. Mac Fergus had designed to keep the succession to the supreme power in Pictland in his own family; and he was succeeded by his brother, Brude\* of the clan Fergus; but on Brude's death the Picts reverted to their own peculiar method of election which, however, did not exclude Angus's family from their chance of election to the supreme power. The following table of Pictish sovereigns, with its parallel list of the 'kings' of Dalriada, is designed to show both the succession of the Pictish sovereigns, and the occasions on which the Pictish petty kings of Dalriada were elected to the supreme power in Pictland, between the reigns of Angus Mac Fergus and Kenneth Mac Alpin. It will also be possible from this list to perceive at a glance the inter-relations of the Picts with the subjugated Gaidheals or Scots.

\* Brude, Angus's son, had died before this time during the campaigns in Dalriada.

[TABLE

CONTEMPORARY RULERS OF DALRIADA FROM THE CONQUEST OF THE SCOTS BY THE PICTS UNDER ANGUS I. MAC FERGUS TO THE ACCESSION OF KENNETH MAC ALPIN.  
(*Flann* and the *Duan Albanach* confirmed by the *Irish Annals*.)

SOVEREIGNS OF PICTLAND FROM ANGUS I. MAC FERGUS TO THE UNION OF THE REALMS OF PICTLAND AND DALRIADA UNDER KENNETH MAC ALPIN.  
(*PICTISH CHRONICLE*.)

<p>A.D. 735-741; the Scots were conquered by ANGUS MAC FERGUS, the capital and most of Dalriada north of Cantyre occupied by the Picts:</p> <p>AED MAC EACHADH, brother of ALPIN the half-Pict, rules in Cantyre with the diminished power of a 'high-chief.'</p> <p>After Angus's death Aed tried to revive the kingdom of Dalriada and took the field against Ciniod Mac Wredech the Pictish Sovereign in 768. Aed died in 778.</p> <p>FERGUS, brother of Aed, continued to claim independence, but died in 781. On his death, DOMNALL MAC CONSTANTINE, a Pict of the clan Fergus, Angus's clan, became sole ruler of all Dalriada. He died c. 785 after a reign of twenty-four years (<i>Du. Alb.</i>), which means that he had ruled all the northern part of Dalriada from the death of Angus Mac Fergus.</p> <p>CONNALL CAEIM AND CONALL MAC TAI DG became joint-rulers of Dalriada. The first ruled two years. MAC TAI DG reigned four years over Dalriada. He assumed the sovereignty of Pictland for a short time, but was opposed and banished by his successor, CONSTANTINE I. MAC FERGUS, who also ruled FORTRENN and became sovereign of Pictland. He was succeeded by</p> <p>ANGUS II. MAC FERGUS, who also ruled Fortrenn and became sovereign of Pictland. He was succeeded by AED MAC BOANTA of the same race as his predecessors.</p> <p>AED, and the Pictish sovereign Ewen or Eoganan, and Bran, brother of the latter, sons of Angus II., fell in Fortrenn defending it against the Viking invaders A.D. 820.</p> <p>For some reason not stated EWEN (UVEN) or EOGANAN the Pictish sovereign became ruler of Dalriada after Aed Mac Boanta had ruled for 'four' years.</p> <p>During the Viking devastations in Pictland, KENNETH MAC ALPIN became ruler of Dalriada.</p>	<p>ANGUS I. MAC FERGUS, KING OF FORTRENN, REIGNED AS SOVEREIGN OF PICTLAND, c. A.D. 759-761.</p> <p>BRUDE MAC FERGUS " " " " " " A.D. 761-763.</p> <p>CINIOD MAC WREDECH (KENNETH MAC FEREDACH) " " " " " " A.D. 763-775.</p> <p>ELPIN MAC WROID (ALPIN MAC FEROID) DREST (DREST) MAC TALORGEN* TALORGAN MAC ANGUS " " " " " " A.D. 775-780. until c. A.D. 783. until c. A.D. 785.</p> <p>'CANAU MAC T—† (CONALL MAC TAI DG). A chief in Dalriada, who claimed both crowns and was opposed by Constantine.</p> <p>CONSTANTINE I. MAC FERGUS, KING OF FORTRENN, KING OF DALRIADA; { Defeated by Constantine, dethroned and banished after war, A.D. 789-790.</p> <p>ANGUS II. MAC FERGUS, KING OF FORTRENN, KING OF DALRIADA, { ALL until his death in A.D. 800. DREST MAC CONSTANTINE AND TALORGAN MAC WROTHIL { A.D. 800-834.</p> <p>'UVEN' MAC ANGUS II. (also spelled OWEN, EOGAN AND EOGANAN), { REIGNED AS JOINT SOVEREIGNS OF PICTLAND until c. A.D. 836-7.</p> <p>WRAD (FERAT) MAC BARCOIT, AND JOINTLY WITH BRUDE for one year until A.D. 842. { c. A.D. 839 to c. 841.</p>
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\* According to the *Annals of Ulster*, Dubhtolarg, at Dunottar.

† There is a misspelling in the MS. of the *Pictish Chronicle*.

KENNETH MAC ALPIN, A CHIEF OF DALRIADA WITH PICTISH BLOOD IN HIS VEINS, IN A.D. 842, seized Fortrenn, established himself at Forteviot, ruled over Dalriada and such parts of southern Pictland as the Vikings did not control, claimed the sovereignty of Pictland, acceded, and reigned until A.D. 858, and after that date the sovereigns of the Picts, with the exception of Giric or Grig, continued in Kenneth's line. In A.D. 900 they are called kings of 'Alban' and in 1034 kings of Scots.



# THE PICTISH NATION

KENNETH MAC ALPIN

With the foregoing parallel list before us it is now possible to clear up the mysteries connected with Kenneth Mac Alpin, his alleged conquest of Pictland, and the alleged 'extermination' of the Pictish people. After all, there are really no mysteries; but much falsification and garbling of ancient documents by Latin Churchmen, to support the usurpation of ecclesiastical positions and property, in the Pictish Church, by the Gaidhealic or Scotie clerics who had conformed to the Roman Church; and, at a later time, to support the pretensions of the Scots against the 'English Claims' which were ecclesiastical as well as political.

There is still extant in a manuscript dating earlier than A.D. 1372 an ungarbled genealogy,\* belonging to a much earlier period, which in giving the pedigree of Constantine IV. Mac Cuillen reveals clearly who Kenneth Mac Alpin was. He was 'son of Alpin, son of Eachaidh, son of Aed Fin,' '*ardfhlaith*,' 'high chief' of the Scots, after their conquest by Angus, sovereign of Pictland. This Aed Finn is also known as 'Mac Eachaidh' to distinguish him from another chief, and to mark his membership of the family of the eldest Eochaidh. Aed was thus a younger brother of Alpin the half-Pict who set up a Scotie kingdom in part of Gallo-

\* There are three versions: (1) *Book of Ballymote*; (2) *Book of Lecain*, and (3) *MS. H. 2.7.*, Trinity College, Dublin. The last is considered the best transcript.



## UNION BY ABSORPTION

way after he had been dethroned and driven out successively from Pictland, and from Dalriada by Angus I. Mac Fergus, the Pictish sovereign. Aed is the same who with diminished power and title, along with his brother Fergus, held on precariously to Cantyre, from which they doubtless kept in touch with the exiled Alpin in Galloway or his men, keeping alive their claims to be kings of the Scots of Dalriada; although, throughout both their lives, Dalriada was ruled from Lorn to Knapdale by Domnall Mac Constantine, lieutenant-governor there, and relation to Angus the Pictish conqueror. Kenneth Mac Alpin was therefore the great-grandson of Aed Finn Mac Eachaidh, and the great-grand-nephew of Alpin, the half-Pict, ejected sovereign of Pictland, and ejected king of Dalriada. Keeping in mind the respective peculiarities of succession in Dalriada and Pictland, it is evident that Kenneth Mac Alpin grounded his claims to the throne of *Dalriada* on the following facts: (1) on his father's side he was a member of the royal Gaidhealic or Scotie clan Gabhran which had furnished most of the Dalriad kings; (2) his ancestor Eochaidh\* had been king of Dalriada, and also the latter's son Alpin Mac Eachaidh; and Kenneth's great-grandfather Aed, and his great-grand-uncle Fergus had both been claimants to the Dalriad crown.

With regard to the sovereignty of *Pictland*,

\* In the Genitive *Eachaidh*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Kenneth could ground his claims on the following facts: (1) on the female side, the side that usually determined the eligibility of the candidate, he was descended from the royal house of Fortrenn; (2) his great-grand-uncle, Alpin Mac Eachaidh, had actually been sovereign of Pictland, until his ejection by Angus I. Mac Fergus, which gave the family of Mac Eachaidh rights of their own that they had persistently tried to assert. Over against these claims and rights was the fact that Kenneth Mac Alpin's sympathies were Gaidhealic or Scotie; and, like his great-grand-uncle, he sought to intrude the Scots into Pictland at the expense of the native Picts.

The Latin fabulists, the Roman Catholic garblers of Scottish History, and the transcribers and continuators of some of the early Celtic documents have vied with one another in loading the life of Kenneth Mac Alpin with every variety of myth. They have placed him years before his time; they represent him as a mighty conqueror; they tell a story which implies the extermination of the whole Pictish people; they exalt him as the king who made religion, by which is meant the Roman Catholic Church, possible in Pictland.

The exact truth is neither so grand nor so heroic. About A.D. 834 the pagan Teutonic Vikings, who had already gained a footing in the northern islands of Pictland, began to descend into the heart of Pictland from their settlements,

440

## UNION BY ABSORPTION

and also to swarm in from across the North Sea. The Picts once more in their history began a long fight for home, and existence, such as aforetime they had fought against the Romans, and against the Teutonic Angles. The horrors associated with the savagery of the Scandinavian invaders staggered the thoughts, and paralysed the pens even of the descendants of the kindred Angles. But the Picts steadily set their faces to the tidal inrush of men maddened with blood-lust. They were defending the Christian religion, and Celtic civilization, as well as home and life. It was at this moment that one of their Christian fellow-Celts, instead of joining up with them, took advantage of the preoccupation of the Picts to rise in rebellion against Angus II. Mac Fergus, Pictish king of Dalriada and sovereign of Pictland. According to the chronicler of Huntingdon, who had access to authorities now lost, this rebel was Alpin the father of Kenneth. He succeeded in defeating a body of the Picts with considerable slaughter on Easter day A.D. 834, the year in which the *Irish Annals* record the death of Angus II. He tried to follow up this success; but in August of the same year he came into touch with the main army of the Picts, and was defeated, captured, and beheaded.

In A.D. 839 the pagan Vikings had entered Fortrenn (the kingdom of Earn), the principal division of Pictland. Then began the life-and-



## THE PICTISH NATION

death struggle for Celtic freedom in face of Teutonic savagery. The pagans won their first great triumph. Ewen Mac Angus II., Pictish king of Dalriada and sovereign of the Picts, Bran his brother, Aed Mac Boanta, a former king of Dalriada, and 'numberless others' were left dead upon the field. It was the Flodden of the Picts; but they continued to resist stoutly, although bereft of their most experienced leaders. In A.D. 841, at this critical time, when the national Pictish armies were making their undismayed stand defending their native shores, Kenneth Mac Alpin, 'the Scot,' attacked the Picts '*in the rear*' and defeated them. The narrative continues, 'so the king of Scots obtained the monarchy of the whole of Alba, which is now called Scotland.' It came to that in the time of Kenneth's descendants, but the chronicler was anticipating. What Kenneth actually gained by his treachery was the Pictish kingdom of Fortrenn. The other provinces of Pictland were being devastated by the Vikings, and although Kenneth assumed the title 'king of the Picts,' the sovereignty was for the time being nominal. The hands that wrote history under the title of the *Prophecy of S. Berchan* were not Pictish. They laud Kenneth as the 'raven-feeder' who 'disordered battles'; and even praise him for his second great act of treachery at 'Scone of the noble shields,' where he, having inveigled the surviving Pictish leaders to a conference, and during

442

## UNION BY ABSORPTION

the time that they were his guests, 'plunged them in the pitted earth, sown with deadly blades'; on which, while the Pictish nobles writhed, Kenneth Mac Alpin and his Gaidheals or Scots subjected them to cowardly massacre. The old writer is careful to emphasize the resulting 'plunder,' which means that the bodies were stripped of their ornaments and clothing. But the utmost that even this Scotie chronicler claims for Kenneth Mac Alpin is that

'He was the *first* king of the men of Erin in Alba *Who possessed (land) in the East* (Pictland).'

This is rather a disconcerting avowal for the modern historians who have asserted that *Gaidhealic* or *Scotic* power and culture were 'ancient' influences within the realm of the Picts; and the writer in *S. Berchan's Prophecy* is fully supported, outside the writings of the fabulists. The massacre of the Pictish nobles at Scone by Kenneth is the foundation of the story, in the Latin continuators and fabulists, that the Picts were 'exterminated.' The betrayal of the Celtic cause by Kenneth, in face of the Teutonic peril, and the treachery at 'Scone of the noble shields,' indicate that there is a very ancient tradition behind the inborn belief of the East-Coast man that the Celt of the West-Coast is treacherous and untrustworthy, a belief that had practical results as late as A.D. 1745.

It is one of the curiosities of history that no

## THE PICTISH NATION

people have lamented longer or more bitterly than the Scots, both of Dalriada and Ireland, the savagery and tyranny of the Teutonic elements in Britain; yet no people did more than the Scots of Alba to help Teutonic ascendancy in Britain. The earlier Scots of Dalriada, as has been noticed, were ever eager and ready to strike at the rear of the armies of the Picts and Britons when they were fighting for their freedom, their homes, and their Church, against the Teutonic Angles; and when the Teutonic Vikings, in this later period, surged in on the coasts of Pictland, it was the swords of Kenneth Mac Alpin's Scots '*in the rear*' of the Pictish armies that made victory easy to the Vikings, and made many of their island and coastal colonies possible.

When Kenneth Mac Alpin by right of his Pictish blood, and by the massacre of candidates of purer Pictish origin, seated himself on the throne of Pictland, only Fortrenn and Mearns and Dalriada were comparatively free of the Viking invaders; and that did not continue. Kenneth, on his accession, adhered to the title 'sovereign of the Picts'; and this was borne by his successors until the end of the ninth century, when Donald\* Mac Constantine took the title '*Ri Albain*,' which meant that Pictland and Dalriada had become united, *without challenge*, under one monarch; although this is not indicated by the incorrect

\* Died A.D. 900.



## UNION BY ABSORPTION

translation of this title as 'king of *Scots*,' which soon became current among the Latin writers.

Kenneth Mac Alpin and his family aimed at keeping the succession to the Pictish throne in the direct male line of Kenneth, although this was a contravention of Pictish law. Nothing better indicates the surviving political power of the Picts than the fact that for a long time Kenneth's family were obstructed in their efforts. At the close of the short reign of Kenneth's second son, Aedh, an attempt was made to revive the Pictish system of succession in bringing to the throne Eochaidh Mac Run, son of Kenneth's daughter by a king of the Britons, with whom was associated as joint ruler Giric or Grig, son of Dungal. The real power was in the hands of Giric, who was a Pict. In a little over ten years both were expelled from power; and Donald, the son of Kenneth's elder son, was placed on the throne.

Although the Union of the Kingdoms of the Picts and Scots was continued by the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpin, there was still no Union of the Churches. That Union came gradually and later.

The following list of rulers of Pictland is given for reference in connection with events after Kenneth's time. Where the title 'Rex Pictorum' ceases, and that of '*Ri Albain*' begins, is marked. Dates are mostly from the *Annals of Ulster*. The Latin lists are frequently untrustworthy.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE UNITED REALMS OF THE PICTS & SCOTS FROM KENNETH MAC ALPIN.

NAME.	DURATION OF REIGN.	TITLE.
Kenneth III. Mac Alpin.	Acceded 842, died 858	'Rex Pictorum.'
Donald I. Mac Alpin, his brother	Acceded 858, died 862	"
Constantine II. Mac Kenneth	Acceded c. 862, died 876	"
Aedh Mac Kenneth	Acceded 876, slain 878	"
Giric or Grig, son of Dungal. A Pict of Fortrenn. Died at Dun(d) Earn at East End of Loch Earn	Joint Kings, expelled from power c. 889	"
Eochaith Mac Run, son of Kenneth's daughter and the king of the Britons	Acceded c. 889, died 900	"
Donald II. Mac Constantine		'Ri Albain.'
Constantine III. Mac Aedh. Allied with the Vikings. Defeated at Brunanburg in 937 by Athelstan. Resigned the throne c. 943. Retired to the monastery at St. Andrews	Acceded 900, died 952	"
Maelcolm I. Mac Donald. When Eadmund subdued the Britons, c. 946, he ceded their territory to Maelcolm.	Acceded c. 943, slain 954	"
'Illuib' * (Ilduib) Mac Constantine. He recovered Edinburgh from the Angles	Acceded 954, died at St. Andrews c. 962	"
Dubh Mac Maelcolm, slain by the 'Scots themselves'	Acceded c. 962, slain 967	"
Cuillen Mac 'Ilduib', slain in battle by the Britons.	Acceded 967, slain 971	"
Kenneth IV. Mac Maelcolm, 'slain by treachery,' near Fettercairn	Acceded 971, slain 995	"
Constantine IV. Mac Cuillen, slain at the mouth of the Perthshire Almond by Kenneth V.	Acceded 995, slain 997	"
Kenneth V. Mac Duibh, slain in civil war. (Finnloech Mac Ruadri 'Ri Albain' claims, reigns, slain 1020)	Acceded c. 997, slain 1005	"
Maelcolm II. Mac Kenneth. (In his time the territory between Tweed and Forth was recovered permanently from the Angles)	Recognized King 1005, died November 1034	"
Duncan Mac Crinan, slain by Macbeth, son of Finnloech the claimant above mentioned	Acceded 1034, slain August 1040	"
Macbeth Mac Finnloech, defeated and slain at Lumphanan by Malcolm Mac Duncan, 'Ceannmor,' in 1057	Seized the throne 1040, slain Aug. 1057	"

\* By the error of a Latin copyist this name has been transmitted by the Latin scribes as 'Indulf.'  
The correct name is Ilduib, according to the *Ballymole* and *Lecan* MSS.



THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS:  
THEY DISORGANIZE EX-  
TENSIVELY THE PICTISH  
SOVEREIGNTY AND PICTISH  
CHURCH: THEY DESTROY  
CULTURE AND REVIVE  
PRIMEVAL SAVAGERY IN  
MANY PARTS OF PICTLAND  
CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

It does not come within the limits of this work to give a complete account of the Viking invasions of Alba; because these continued after the Pictish kingdom and Church had come under the dominance of the Gaidheals or Scots, who furnished the rulers and teachers; but it is necessary to note the success of the invaders, and the effect of the invasions on the political and ecclesiastical organizations of Pictland.

Teutonic raiders, Frisians and others, had appeared on the coasts of Pictland very early. Octha and Ebussa, son and nephew of Hengist respectively, 'laid waste the Orkneys, and took possession of much land even to the Pictish boundary beyond the Frisian Sea,'\* in the fifth century. The regions indicated are the north-eastern coast of Pictland and the district inland from the northern shore of the Firth of Forth.

\* *Nennius.*



## THE PICTISH NATION

In the seventh century S. Donnan the Great was martyred by Vikings who came to Eigg on the west coast. In the eighth century the inrush of the Vikings in force began to be felt all over Pictland. These Vikings were pagans and savages of the most unrestrained and pitiless type. They were composed of Finn-Gall or Norwegians, and of Dubh-Gall or Danes. The latter were a mixed breed, with a Hunnish strain in them; but both were possessed by the Teutonic blood-lust, in even greater intensity than the Angles who had preceded them. Man for man, they were no match as soldiers for the agile and nimble-witted Celts—Picts, Britons, or Scots; but in a mountainous and loch-broken country like Pictland the Scandinavians had the advantage of speedy means of communication by well-sailed ships, and their strategy was to select a district, concentrate on it in overwhelming numbers before the defenders could be assembled, bear down the defence by sheer mass, and strike terror by unrestrained plunder, burning, and carnage. They spared no fighting man, massacred the old men and boys, seized the grown women, and made slaves and worse of the female children.\* By A.D. 794† they had overrun 'all the islands (on the coasts) of Britain.' On every island which was suitable to their purposes, as in the Orkneys,

\* Cf. the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris.

† *Annals of Ulster*.

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

Lewis, Isle of Man, May, or the Farnes they established colonies, depots, and bases for organizing attacks on the mainlands of Britain and Ireland. In the north of Pictland, somewhat later, they established settlements along the valley-roads which communicated between the North Sea and the Atlantic; because they found it more economical in men to march them across country than to risk overladen troopships in the treacherous Pictland Firth, or in the strong-running narrows of the Orkneys. From the rape of the Pictish and Scotie women and the women of the Britons, and the enslavement of their daughters, arose a mixed breed that the later writers inaccurately call 'Gall-Gaël,'\* because in the west of northern Britain, and in parts of Ireland those that were Gaidhealic-blooded predominated. Certain notes in a fragment† of a copy of the lost *Book of Mac Egan* reveal the savagery to which the passionate Celts reverted in imitation of their Teutonic and half-breed foes. Chivalry had been ousted by the wild-beast ferocity of the Teuton. The Christian Celts following their pagan enemies took to mutilating the slain and collecting the heads of the fallen. In repelling a landing of Gall-Gaidheal, in A.D. 852, a certain Irish chief called Niall, ally of Aedh king of Ailech, collected and carried off the

\* Another spelling is 'Gall-Goidhel.'

† Transcribed by Mac Firbis.

## THE PICTISH NATION

heads of the Gall-Gaidheal left slain upon the beach; and, most serious of all, the original writer, apparently a cleric, conscience-pricked by memories of the Christian chivalry of the Celts, excuses this horror by the remark that the Celts were 'justified,' because these Gall-Gaidheal whose bodies had been outraged 'were wont to act like *Lochlanns*' (Norsemen). The same source enables us to realize how the Celtic women had been brutalized by their Teutonic captors when they could bring up an offspring of whom the following is written. Referring to a Celtic champion, Maelsechlan, who led an expedition into Munster, in A.D. 858, to punish certain Gall-Gaidheal who had settled there, the annalist indicates that no quest of territory brought Mael-sechlan to Munster, but 'rightly he came to wipe out the Gall-Gaidheal whom he slew there.' 'These,' the annalist continues, 'were regarded as Norsemen (that is, not to be treated with the consideration due to Celtic soldiers); for they had been fostered by the Teutons, and had adopted their customs; and as a people they had renounced their baptism' (reverted to paganism). Moreover, although the Teutonic Vikings 'were bad to the Churches, these Gall-Gaidheal were worse by far in whatever part of Erin they happened to be.'

It is necessary to write one word of caution here. The late Celtic terms '*Gall-Gaidhealaibh*,'  
450



## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

'*Lochlannaibh*,' and the shorter '*Gallaibh*' have been strangely misinterpreted mostly by early Latin and English writers; but sometimes by modern historians. '*Lochlann*,' generally means Norway; but '*Lochlannaibh*' usually refers to the men of a Scandinavian colony intruded on the British coast. It was used of no particular colony; but of any colony that happened to be under consideration. '*Gall-Gaidhealaibh*,' '*Gallaibh*,' and their variants, do not refer always, or often, to the later inhabitants of Galloway, although they have been so translated. The events in connection with which these names appear occur sometimes far from Galloway, in the south and west of Ireland, in the west of Scottish Dalriada, or in the centre and north of Pictland. Both the *Lochlanns* (pure Vikings) and the *Gall-Gaidheal* (the half-breeds) were steadily assailed and raided, and, in some instances, almost annihilated by the Celts; but whenever one district became too uncomfortable for them, the survivors departed in their ever-present ships to fasten on new territories. Newcomers too were arriving periodically and organizing colonies in places undisturbed by the early Galls. Consequently all those terms can only be localized by the context. '*Gallaibh*' is still in current use, but is restricted to the men of the modern county of Caithness, who do not regard it as a compliment.

The following notes of events in the eighth

## THE PICTISH NATION

and ninth centuries show where and how the *Finn-Galls*, the *Dubh-Galls* and all the Teutonic hordes of pagan Vikings, along with the half-breed Gall-Gaidheals, operated, in what is now Scotland, to destroy the ripening Christian civilization of Pictland; and how, through their upheaval of the political and military organizations of Pictland and their destruction of the organization of the Church of the Picts, the Scots and the Roman Church, which had won control over the Picts, were left free, gradually, as the Vikings were localized in definite areas or absorbed, to reorganize the State, the soldiery, and the Church on national instead of tribal lines. If it had been within the scope of this work, it would have been possible also to show that as the Roman Church allied itself with the savage Teutonic Franks, and with the equally savage Angles and Saxons, to force its usages and superstitions on the Celts of the Continent and England; so, in course of time, this same Church raised a wondrous affection for the Teutonic elements that survived in what is now Scotland; and used them to extend its power, and to enforce all its usages and government upon the descendants of the Picts and Scots, a policy which provoked a Celtic spirit of independence more unyielding than the similar 'Gallican' spirit in France.

The Viking terror extended gradually. It came first to the coasts of the Pictish mainland by

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

way of small bases in the Shetlands and Orkneys. The hordes had collected for their dash across the North Sea on the coasts of Denmark and Norway. Their places of origin were much farther east. They were the tail and residue of the Hunno-Teutonic savages that surged into western Europe when the many-named barbarian multitudes set out on New Year's Day A.D. 400 to substitute the culture of the Neolithic period for the Christian culture that had been slowly transforming the old pagan civilization of Imperial Rome. The North Sea had held up part of these pagans for generations. It forced them to become Vikings. They were so designated, because they made themselves acquainted with every *wick*, inlet, and harbour in Britain; but they were absolutely at home on the open sea, they were better sailor-men than any others of their time who used the sea, and they had learned more shipcraft than the Romans and Celts had deemed possible. When the Celts discovered these 'Gall,' or strangers, making themselves familiar with their anchorages and harbours, and scouting their territories, and found that they were unscrupulous fighters, they hired them for work that their own Christian soldiers refused; and when they had no use for their services, apparently ignored them, instead of increasing their own fleet and strengthening their land-forces.



## THE PICTISH NATION

### ACTS OF THE VIKINGS NOTED IN THE OLD MANUSCRIPTS

In April A.D. 617,\* at Eigg in the Western Isles, Vikings, stated to have been hired by a female Celtic ruler, martyred S. Donnan the Great and all his community.

In A.D. 722 at '*Air Gharadh*' in the valley of the Naver ('*Nawarn*'), in what is now Sutherland, S. Maelrubha of Abercrossan was martyred by Vikings and his body thrown 'into the under-wood.' His Church, near his grave in Strath-Naver, became a '*Skail*,' or hall, where the Vikings emptied their horns of strong liquor, and hoched to their god Wōtan; and the place is '*Skail*' to this day.

About the same date in the eighth century the Vikings began to appear in strength, and with violence, in the Shetlands and Orkneys; and the '*papas*,' or Brito-Pictish clerics began to retreat, or waited for coveted martyrdom. Those who fled southward buried the bells and other furniture—items of which have been resurrected since—but they carried with them, when they could, the precious manuscripts of the Gospels, and other works which belonged to the *muinntirs*.

Shortly after A.D. 776 the new Anglo-Roman bishopric established at *Candida Casa*, the ancient

\* The dates in the rest of this chapter are taken mostly from the *Irish Annals*.

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

mother-Church of the Picts, became disorganized owing to the confusion introduced by the Vikings, and was discontinued for a period.

In A.D. 793 the community at the old Scotie foundation of Lindisfarne was harried by the Vikings; and, according to Simeon of Durham, the north of what is now England was wasted from sea to sea and the people of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria subjected to cruelties that provoked dismay.

In the following year, A.D. 794, 'all the islands of Britain' were devastated by the Vikings; and the plundering of '*Hy Columcille*' (Iona) is specially mentioned.

About this time, Mac Oigi had prudently accepted promotion from Abercrossan to Bangor, where he died Ab in A.D. 802.

In A.D. 806 the Vikings burned Iona and butchered forty-eight clerics.

In A.D. 822 the great Iro-Pictish community of Bangor, which had helped to foster the Church of the Picts of Alba, was attacked and the settlement sacked. The Church was desecrated, and the bones of S. Comgall the Great, the founder, 'were scattered from their shrine,' which is the first intimation that, at length, this important religious centre of the Picts had begun to conform to Roman usage; and that, against previous Celtic ideas, the brethren had disinterred the bones of their famous founder, and had enshrined



## THE PICTISH NATION

them for veneration.

In A.D. 823, while Flann-Abhra was Ab, the Vikings attacked the clerical community of Maghbile, one of the oldest fostering communities of the Picts; and, in devastating S. Finbar's foundation, they burned the old oak-built oratories. On this occasion they did not go unpunished, because, shortly after, the Irish Picts defeated them; and four years later, in A.D. 827, Leathlobhair Mac Loingseach, at the head of the forces of the old Pictish kingdom of Ulster, received the Vikings on the coast, and drove them to their ships with much loss.

In A.D. 825 the Vikings again visited Iona, and Blathmac\* Mac Flann paid with his life for hiding the reliquary of S. Columba, coveted for its mountings of precious metal. Diarmat who succeeded Blathmac as Ab did not risk settling on Iona. He took the reliquary with its relics of S. Columba to Alba in A.D. 829, when Angus II. Mac Fergus was sovereign of Pictland and supreme ruler over Dalriada. Whether the Pictish authorities declined to allow the veneration of the great Scotie saint to be set up in territory under their jurisdiction is not told; but Diarmat two years after, in A.D. 831, fled with the relics of S. Columba to Ireland, and deposited them in one of the Columban houses there. Even Irish retreats were not

\* A metrical *Life* of Blathmac was written by Walafrid Strabo, who died A.D. 849.



## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

quite safe; because in A.D. 836 the Vikings defeated the guardians of certain Columban houses, the southern Nialls, at the battle of *Inbher*; and the slaughter of the Nialls was such 'as had never before been heard.' The Vikings then took *Ath-Chiath* and laid the foundation of their kingdom of Dublin, and from this base began to menace all Britain.\*

In A.D. 838 the Churches and lands of the Picts in Ulster were wasted anew by Vikings, and there was no Ab resident in this decade at Bangor.

In A.D. 839 the Vikings appeared with dire results in the centre of Pictland. They were met by the men of Fortrenn; but in the battle the sovereign, Ewen Mac Angus II., Bran his brother, Aed Mac Boanta, who had been Pictish ruler of Dalriada, and others 'almost innumerable' were left dead on the field. This battle was a crushing blow for the Picts of Fortrenn. It was followed by the heroic efforts to revive the Pictish power in Fortrenn which Kenneth Mac Alpin rendered unavailing by betraying his fellow-Celts.

In A.D. 856 the brood that had sprung from the unions between the Vikings and their Celtic women-captives begin to appear as 'Gall-Goidhel.' They moved about, organized under their own leaders, in force. They had no principle; and

\* The British Admiralty were aware before 1914 that the present German Emperor had commented appreciatively on this historical fact.

## THE PICTISH NATION

were out for gain. Sometimes, owing to local ties, they aided the native Celts; but more frequently they joined up with the Vikings.

In A.D. 856-7 Munster and other parts of Ireland were seethed in blood owing to the aggressions of the Vikings and Gall-Gaidheal.

In A.D. 865 there was an expulsion of Britons from Strath-Clyde by '*Saxanacaibh*,' by which apparently Vikings not Saxons are meant.

In A.D. 866 Olaf the Fair, Viking king of Dublin, assisted by the Vikings\* of Erin and Alba, laid waste the whole of '*Cruitintuait*,' that is the country of the Picts. It was the son of this Olaf, Thorstein the Red, who, according to the *Landnamabok*, conquered Caithness (including Sutherland), Ross, and more than half of Alba, while Haldane subdued the north of what is now England.

In A.D. 869-71 Olaf turned his attention once more to Alba. Inguar and Hubba attacked England. By butchery and burning, they 'tried to depopulate England.'

In A.D. 870 Olaf and Ivar with their Viking forces attacked the Britons of Strath-Clyde. They captured the capital, Dunbarton, cut the water supply of the Castle garrison, and put them to the sword after a four months' siege, and then they destroyed the Castle itself. In A.D. 871, with a fleet of 200 keels, they made the Clyde a base

\* '*Gallaibh*.'

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

for the general harrying of Britain; and returned in that year to the Viking headquarters at Dublin with a host of captives, 'Angles, Britons, and Picts.' *There is a significant absence from this enumeration, of Gaidheals or Scots.* The explanation is to be found in one of the copyist's fragments of the Mac Egan manuscript, itself a copy of an ancient authority. Its acquaintance with details of events is evident from the extended account of how Olaf reduced the garrison of Dunbarton Castle.

Under A.D. 869 there is this entry—'*Fortrenn* was plundered and ravaged by the *Lochlannaibh* (Norse Vikings), and they carried off many hostages with them *as pledges for tribute, and they were paid tribute for a long time after.*' These Norse Vikings were under the leadership of Olaf the Fair. *Fortrenn* was at this time ruled by Kenneth Mac Alpin's son Constantine, known as Constantine II. Mac Kenneth. Therefore, just as his father Kenneth had won the Pictish kingdom of Fortrenn by aid of the Viking hordes; Constantine was in A.D. 869 holding on to it by paying tribute to Olaf, the Viking king of Dublin; and not only so, but the Gaidheals or Scots continued to pay tribute to the Norse Vikings 'for a long time after.' The writer makes it clear that Olaf took hostages as security for his tribute; but another annalist describes the hostages from Fortrenn as 'Pictorum'; so that Constantine de-



## THE PICTISH NATION

ceived his over-lord, and betrayed his subjects by giving hostages from the Pictish section of his people who, as the original holders, would possess the most valuable property in Fortrenn. Again, just as Kenneth had been prepared to betray the Celtic cause for power, so we find that the 'son of Kenneth' was ready to betray his fellow-Celts, the Britons, to buy Olaf's favour; because when, after the departure of Olaf and his ships laden with plunder to Ireland, Artgha, king of the Britons, began to reassert his authority he was opposed by Constantine II. Mac Kenneth and slain, in A.D. 872.

In A.D. 873 Ivar, who had become over-lord of the Norse Vikings of Ireland and Britain, died. The affection of the garbling editors of the later Roman Catholic period for the Teutonic section of the British population is strikingly illustrated by the Latin chronicler who, not content with 'vitam finivit,' substituted concerning this blood-stained, pagan pirate, 'in Christo quievit.'

In A.D. 875 the Dubh-Galls or Danish Vikings appeared in Pictland, and the Picts were defeated, and many slain.

In the same year Austin the son of Olaf the Fair was slain by Gaidheals or Scots; and in view of the previous references to their dependence and tribute to the Norsemen, the narrator adds significantly, 'by treachery.'

In A.D. 878 the 'shrine of Columcille and all

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

his relics' were moved once more to Ireland to be safe from the Vikings (Gallaibh).

C. A.D. 888 a pagan kingdom ruled by Vikings was set up in the once Christian and Pictish islands of Orkney and Shetland. This was the first effort to organize and consolidate the Norse kingdom of the Isles. In A.D. 904 the Picts of Fortrenn, under the leadership of Constantine III. Mac Aedh, defeated the Vikings, somewhere in Fortrenn, with great slaughter, and among the dead was their leader Ivar of the race of Ivar.

About A.D. 918\* a mixed host of Vikings, who had been driven out of Ireland, resolved to transplant themselves in what is now northern England and southern Scotland. They were resisted by Constantine III. Mac Aedh, 'king of Alba,' and Elfrith, king of the Angles. The Viking leaders were Ranald, chief of the *Dubh Galls* (Danish Vikings); and the jarls Ottir and Gragabai. The main forces met in battle in A.D. 918. 'By what sinful influence I know not,' writes Simeon of Durham, 'the heathen Ranald was victorious, putting Constantine to flight, routing the army of the Scots, and killing Elfrith with all the best of the Angles.' The annalist in the *Annals of Ulster* describes exactly what happened. The Vikings divided themselves into four battalions. The first was under Godfrey of the race of Ivar, the second was under Ottir and Gragabai, the third under

\* Simeon of Durham indicates the date as 915.



## THE PICTISH NATION

certain young commanders, and the fourth went into ambush under Ranald himself. The Scots broke the first three battalions and 'there was great slaughter of the Danes round Ottir and Gragabai'; then Ranald sprang from his hiding-place at the head of his force, took the Scots in the rear, and drove their king and the mormaors from the field in headlong flight.

The result of this battle was that all the country from the Pictland Firth to the Humber threatened to become a Scandinavian kingdom. Constantine III., 'king of Alba,' now followed the example of his Scotie predecessors. He allied himself with the Vikings. He gave his daughter in marriage to Olaf Cuaran son of Sitriuc, Ranald's brother and successor in the leadership of the Vikings. He took steps to help these Danish Vikings to retain their hold of England against the opposition of Athelstan the Saxon king, for which he was punished by a humiliating invasion of Alba in which a land army operated with a fleet, and made havoc as far as Angus.

About A.D. 937 Olaf Cuaran the Dane and Constantine III., his father-in-law, appeared in the Humber with a battle-fleet and transports numbering 615 ships. Across England from the north-west, co-operating with them, marched Olaf son of Godfrey, Viking king of Dublin, with an army composed of Danes, and half-breeds from the conquered territories of the Britons. In A.D. 937

462



## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

Athelstan and his army met the combined forces at Brunanburg and inflicted on them decisive defeat. Constantine III., Olaf Cuaran, and Olaf of Dublin fled to their ships; but the field was piled with dead, and Constantine left his son there.

He had no cause to boast,  
That grey-haired warrior,  
That old deceiver.  
He had no cause to exult  
In the clash of swords.  
Here were his kindred bands  
Of friends o'erthrown;  
And his son he left  
On the bloody field,  
Torn with sword-thrusts,  
Young in battle.

These are stinging words from a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; but Constantine III. deserved them. He had immolated his daughter to the pagan Olaf. He, a professedly Christian king, had been prepared to sacrifice Christianity to paganism. He had subordinated the interests of all the Picts, whose crown his caste had usurped; to save the kingdom of the Picts of Fortrenn to the dynasty of Alpin, the clan Mac Eachaidh, and their following of Scots. It is hard to comprehend how this monarch who ignored every moral and Christian sanction was reckoned as Christian.\* Under the Roman usage, to which these Scots had conformed, the high ideals of Christian-

\* Some time later he resigned the crown and entered a religious community.

## THE PICTISH NATION

ity which the Pictish Church had maintained were being displaced by formal and insincere professions.

It is beyond the scope of this work to follow the Viking ravages, to trace the ultimate settlements of the Scandinavians in Pictland and the islands; or to deal with the gradual, partial absorption of the Vikings by the Celts. Enough has been written to show how the Vikings shattered the political and ecclesiastical organizations of the Picts, how they destroyed Celtic civilization, how they burned and desolated the centres of religion and culture within the Pictish sovereignty, and how they cut off the Pictish clergy from such homes of learning as Bangor of the Irish Picts. The repeated burning of the monastic settlements, and the unceasing martyrdom of the Pictish clergy involved the loss of many of the originals of the earliest Celtic records, and the destruction of those copies of sacred and other books on which the Picts, like other Celts, lavished the Celtic penman's art. If it had not been for the revelations of such libraries as Bobbio and St. Gall; and the *Lives* of such men as SS. Comgall, Moluag, Columbanus, and Gall, the world would have forgotten that the Picts had been a cultured people.

The Scots resident on the Dalriad coast and islands, especially the Scotie clerics, also suffered grievously at the hands of the Vikings. Their



## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

leaders, however, and their mobile army had better fortune. With that uncanny foresight of the Scots, which seemed to be quickened in their darkest days, Kenneth Mac Alpin perceived the chance of saving the remnant of his own people when the Pictish rulers of Dalriada had been stricken down or paralysed by the oncoming Viking swarms. By helping the royal Pictish army to its fate at the hands of the Vikings, *c.* A.D. 839-841, he was able to remove the headquarters of the Scots into Fortrenn, so long the Promised Land to the Gaidheal; and, because of its mountainous and inland character, so comparatively sheltered from Viking inroads, during the rule of Kenneth and his brother. The Scots had thus peace to establish themselves in the new kingdom. Insinuating in speech, tireless, though often unscrupulous, in diplomacy; the Scots frequently succeeded by their statecraft where they had failed by the sword. On the strength of almost forgotten claims their leader, Kenneth, with their army at his back, negotiated himself into the government of leaderless Fortrenn. Once in control of the government, these Gaidheals or Scots hedged in the succession to the Crown, so that only a Scot of the ruling caste could reach the sceptre, and then they proceeded to fill the State and the Church with Gaidhealic or Scotie nominees; so that their law, learning, language, and ecclesiastical usages might gradu-



## THE PICTISH NATION

ally be imposed on the whole Pictish people, except where the Picts had been almost swamped by the Vikings, as in Shetland, the Orkneys, or in Caithness. The entries in the *Book of Deer*, and copied fragments of old formal grants or re-grants of property, still indicate how the State and the ecclesiastical machinery were all gradually directed towards obliterating all trace of the ancient Pictish sovereignty, or the ancient rights of the original Pictish chiefs and sub-chiefs. Some of the campaigns of the Scotie kings of the Alpin dynasty against local chiefs are plainly instances of the king asserting himself, by force of arms, against Pictish chiefs who refused to be dispossessed of their power or territory. The best-known example is the attempt, in A.D. 995, on the part of Kenneth IV. Mac Maelcoluim to make his claims to sovereignty over all Pictland effective. This effort brought him into conflict with Findlé Cunchar who ruled the old Pictish petty kingdom of Angus; and Kenneth paid for his interference with his life. Nevertheless, by negotiation or by direct resort to arms, the Scotie statesmen and ecclesiastics gradually pushed themselves into control over most of Pictland, and laid the foundations of the Scotie State and Church, except where Scandinavian power refused either to be controlled or absorbed. Yet, though the State, and the official Church, and the court language, in the period of the Alpin dynasty

466

## THE SCANDINAVIAN VIKINGS

asty, were Scotie, the great majority of the population were Pictish, except in places like Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, and Lewis, where the migration of Scandinavian women, in course of time, almost obliterated all traces of Pictish blood.

No historical note is more eloquent of the thoroughness with which paganism superseded Christianity wherever the Scandinavian Vikings had settled than this: 'c. A.D. 1000, the Orkneys converted to Christianity.' The annalist means that the pagan Scandinavians who had settled there and the mixed breed which had sprung from their occupancy were 'converted.' After all, the fact is suppressed that it was only a 'conversion' by order of the civil ruler, and it is not stated that the earlier representatives of these converts had wiped out the Pictish Christians and missionary organizations which had made the Orkneys one of the most interesting of the Celtic missionary bases.

## AN ANTICIPATION OF THE DEVICES BY WHICH KENNETH MAC ALPIN AND HIS SUC- CESSORS PENETRATED THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS WITH ROMAN AND SCOTIC INFLU- ENCES CHAPTER NINETEEN

AFTER Kenneth Mac Alpin had acceded to the throne of Fortrenn and had claimed the sovereignty of the Picts, he restricted membership of his court to Scotie chiefs, and kept command of the soldiery and control of politics in Scotie hands, a policy which the kings of his dynasty jealously pursued. This, however, was not enough for the maintenance of his power; it was also necessary to penetrate the Church of the Picts with Scotie influence. In the train of Kenneth there had come into Pictland many of the clergy of his own people, men of Gaidhealic or Scotie origin with fervid Scotie sympathies. Many ways were taken to work these clerics into, or over the Church of the Picts. Kenneth himself began by setting up new ecclesiastical centres, manned entirely by Scotie ecclesiastics to whom the recognition and support of the king was given. Again, when a vacancy occurred in the headship of a Pictish *muinntir*, no effort was spared in attempting to negotiate the appointment of a Scotie instead of a Pictish Ab. Yet again, much zeal was spent



## ROMAN & SCOTIC INFLUENCES

in extending the Scotie ministry wherever a section of Scots might penetrate among the Pictish population. To a small extent a way was open even for Scotie ministers in districts that were purely Pictish. There were places like Rosemarkie and St. Andrews where, as a result of Nechtan's attempt to popularize S. Peter in the one instance, and Angus's attempt to popularize S. Andrew in the other, parties of Picts had conformed to Rome. To these the Scotie clerics could join themselves, not, of course, as Scots but as Roman Churchmen. Such quiet penetration of the Church of the Picts was slow; but it was effectual. Time was on the side of the Scots, if they could show patience, rarely one of their virtues; although they often made up for the want of it by refusing to be defeated, and by persistency. Doubtless, however, Kenneth meant to profit by Nechtan's experiences, and realized that violent handling of an ancient institution would mean tumult, and, perhaps, resistance that would break his new-found power. And, besides, the Vikings were doing the violent work, and thus helping Kenneth. What a people are to be to-morrow is determined by their education to-day. The Vikings were taking pains to deprive the Picts of all education. They were burning Bangor, Maghbile, Kingarth, Lismore, Abercrossan, besides most of the east-coast religious and educational centres, on which the Picts and

## THE PICTISH NATION

their Church had depended. These brave Pictish clerics who had lived for their Churches and schools, betrayed by hope that the Viking terror would pass, frequently proceeded to reconstruct, before the ashes of their sanctuaries had cooled after the first fires; but the pagans returned and burned again, and the heroic reconstructors were fortunate when they escaped being caught and thrown into the fires. Some grew old and weak in the work of reconstruction and elected to be burned at their posts. Younger ministers fled across the sea to Bobbio, or St. Gall, or to other establishments of their own missionaries and scholars. Whether they went to Heaven or to the Continent of Europe, their departure meant that the Picts were left without the only men who cared, and who were able to keep before them the spiritual and intellectual achievements of their race in past days, and who cared and were able to unfold ideals for the future. These men carried in their souls and in their records, the tradition of Pictish progress above the brute-stage of human development; and that tradition was made glorious by the memory of lives of imperishable devotion to God and humanity. The young Pict might grow up in the days to be; but he would grow up unblessed by the hands of the saints of his race, without a vision of the Soul of the Picts, which had elected to go to and fro on the earth rather than to suffer the polluting touch

## ROMAN & SCOTIC INFLUENCES

of the Teutonic beast, or the formal courtship of the materialistic Scot whose eyes were fascinated by her dowry. The Vikings spared neither the agents nor the sources of Pictish education for the Pictish people.

Although the Vikings also destroyed the chief educational and ecclesiastical institution of the Scots, at Iona, the Scots were compensated, through their political position, by gradually absorbing the few Pictish ecclesiastical centres in the South that the Vikings failed to ruin. Besides, the Scots had conformed to Rome; and were rewarded with access to every Roman training-school in the West. Thus, as educated Pictish teachers and ministers died out, Roman-trained Scotic clerics increased; and, with every political advantage on their side, pressed their services upon the Picts who had either to reject them, which was not always wise in view of the force behind, or to accept them, which was not always pleasant to a proud and patriotic people. Rejection left the rejectors entirely dependent on St. Andrews, Abernethy, Brechin, Deer, Turriff, and certain other Pictish ecclesiastical centres on the east coast which succeeded, in impaired efficiency, in surviving the Vikings; but these places were sometimes cut off from one another, and sometimes from the world, by blockading wedges of Viking colonists. Moreover, part of the Pictish clergy of Fife had conformed to Rome;



## THE PICTISH NATION

and these were no help to those fellow-countrymen who refused to follow their examples. Naturally the advances of the Scotie clerics provoked dissent among the Picts. Like all Celtic dissent it was stubbornly maintained. By the necessities of human fellowship the Scotie clerics speedily overcame this dissent in Fife, Perth, and Angus; but round the outlying centres, like Turriff, Fearn of Ross, Dornoch, and various other places less known, the Scotie clergy did not gain a secure footing among the Picts, or their kindred of mixed blood, until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

One law of the Picts, however, threatened for a time to block the efforts of Kenneth Mac Alpin and his successors to Scoticize the Church of the Picts. It was a law of the Pictish Church, as of the old unconformed Scotie Church, that the successor to the Ab of a Pictish *muinntir* should be a member of the family or clan of the Ab who had first organized the community; or if the *muinntir* was the daughter-community of a greater house, the Ab required to be taken from the parent-community, or, failing, from the leaderless community, but with the parent-community's consent. Sometimes the parent-community was outside the Pictish realm, as in the instances of Bangor of Ulster, and Kingarth of the Britons. Obviously if the Pictish *muinntirs* continued to conform to Pictish law in filling up the vacant

## ROMAN & SCOTIC INFLUENCES

chairs of deceased Abs, Pict would succeed Pict; and the Scoticizing designs of Kenneth and his dynasty would be obstructed or defeated, so far as the most important positions were concerned. Therefore the Scots legalized a scheme which was not more nor less than a simoniacal bribe; and this scheme is found in course of time operating throughout all Pictland. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the presidency of a Pictish *muinntir*, the successor, according to Pictish law, from the founder's clan, or from the parent-community, was allowed to take up the title of Ab and the control of the landed property of the *muinntir*; but he received permission, and evidently encouragement, to engage a Scotic vicar to dispense the sacraments, to control the teaching, and to direct all the spiritual work of the community. This legalized fraud, and robbery of the *muinntirs*, for whom the Abs held all lands in trust, was grievously detrimental to the honour, efficiency, and spiritual life of many of the Pictish ecclesiastical families. It led to the rise of the lay abbot who, in course of time, forgot his obligations to the *muinntir*; and, sometimes, his payments to his Scotic vicar. The titular *muinntir*-chiefs grew to be secular lairds, began to found families, and some of them, in course of time, became powerful 'Scottish' barons. It has been stated that the secular clan-chiefs, who were fighting-lords and not land-lords, first showed

## THE PICTISH NATION

the way to robbing the clansmen of their land; but centuries before the secular chiefs were independent enough of their clansmen to attempt this breach of trust, some of the *muinntir*-chiefs had successfully accomplished it, with the aid of the Scotie kings and the Roman clergy. This cunning Scotie scheme for the strengthening of the Scotie kings and the Roman Church was as successful as the authors could have expected. It operated, in course of time, over all Pictland, and its effects can be traced from Kinghorn-on-Forth to Abercrossan in West Ross. If in some instances the proselytizing success and impatience of the Scotie vicars brought grief to their royal patrons, in other instances it gave unconcealed joy. At the Pictish 'college' of Brechin Kenneth IV. Mac Maelcoluim was tempted to make a premature display of this Scoticizing policy by planting a Roman Church staffed with Scotie clerics, although he was superseding the Pictish clergy in their own ancient petty kingdom of Angus, and was endowing aliens at the expense of the natives; but he paid for his zeal with his life at the hands of Findlé Cunchar the chief of Angus, and the court had no reason to bless the Scotie vicars at Brechin. An instance, later, but more favourable to the Scotie rulers, is furnished by the O'Beollans. These became secular lairds in West Ross, through possessing the lands of S. Maelrubha's community at Abercrossan and district.



## ROMAN & SCOTIC INFLUENCES

They devoted themselves so whole-heartedly to the Scotie kings that on several occasions they saved the Scotie power, and established the Roman Church securely in Ross, their descendants becoming Earls of Ross.

One other innovation was legalized by the Scotie kings in Pictland to advance the power of the Roman Church, which had adopted them, and to cripple and denationalize the ancient Church of the Picts. They took this final step towards conforming to Rome by setting up monarchic and diocesan bishops in Pictland. They had never dared to take this step in their home-kingdom of Dalriada, although it is clear that by Egbert's inspiration it had been considered. It indicates that the Scotie dynasty used their new position in Pictland to shake themselves free of the inconvenient control of their own Scotie clansmen. The setting up of Scotie clergy as Roman monarchic and diocesan bishops meant the beginning of an episcopal State Church in Pictland, the beginning of a Roman hierarchy in Pictland composed of alien clergy, and it also meant that these Scotie episcopal officials, co-operating with the State, would claim and insist upon control of the Scotie vicars acting for the simoniacal abbots, and would claim and assert authority over the minority of Pictish clergy who had the care of those who had conformed to Rome through the missions which had sought to popularize the

## THE PICTISH NATION

veneration of S. Peter and S. Andrew.

In legalizing the monarchic and diocesan bishop of the Roman type, Kenneth Mac Alpin not only introduced an innovation into the Church of the Picts, but he also introduced an innovation into the organization of his own Church, the Church of the Scots. It was this act which marked Kenneth's final renunciation of the ancient system of ecclesiastical government favoured by all the Celto-Catholics. It meant that he had broken with Iona, and that he no longer recognized the supremacy of the Columban Ab of Iona over the organized religious communities of the Scotie Church, including the numerous bishops who were simple members of the *muinntirs* with special duties connected with ordination, but in their ecclesiastical life and work wholly under the jurisdiction of the local Ab under whose presidency they served.

It cannot, therefore, be too clearly set forth that it was Kenneth who, in spite of his Scotie sympathies, turned his back on the ancient system of government within his own Church; and turned his back on the system of Church government practised formerly by all the Celts, substituting for it the episcopal system of the Roman Church with its prelates who claimed to legislate for the Churches of the kingdom, and actually did legislate, along with the king, in name of the foreign Bishop of Rome.

KENNETH MAC ALPIN'S  
EFFORT TO SET UP ROMAN  
MONARCHIC AND DIOCESAN  
EPISCOPACY IN PICTLAND.  
THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE  
SOLE BISHOP OF 'FORTRENN'  
TO ABERNETHY. KING  
GIRIC'S GIFT OF 'LIBERTY'  
TO THE ROMANIZED SCOTIC  
CHURCH IN PICTLAND. ITS  
EFFECT ON THE ANCIENT  
CHURCH OF THE PICTS  
CHAPTER TWENTY

WITH the contents of the preceding chapter in mind it is easy to understand the recorded ecclesiastical events which originated in the reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin, and to comprehend the very natural ecclesiastical developments which followed, in the reigns of his successors.

In A.D. 849,\* owing to the Vikings, Innrech-tach, Ab of Iona, fled to Ireland with the relics of S. Columba. The year 849 was the seventh year of Kenneth Mac Alpin's reign as king of Fortrenn and titular sovereign of the Picts. This was the second, perhaps the third, flight of an Ab of Iona. On this occasion it is clear that the

\* This date is from the *Annals of Ulster*.



## THE PICTISH NATION

government of the Scotie Church was being conducted not from Iona, but from one of the Columban monasteries in Ireland. Kenneth Mac Alpin forthwith took advantage of this flight, and vacant chair\* at Iona, the mother-Church of the Scots, to erect a new mother-Church which, he evidently hoped, would be regarded as the chief ecclesiastical centre of his new kingdom by both Picts and Scots. He planned his effort with great tact; and tried to please both nationalities. The continuator of the *Pictish Chronicle* states that Kenneth in the seventh year of his reign, that is, in A.D. 849, the year that Innrechtach left Iona derelict, transported to the Church which he had constructed the relics of Columcille. These relics now become suspiciously abundant; but their transportation to a new Church indicates that it was to be regarded as a mother-Church, because, at this period of Celtic history, relics were deposited only in Churches at governing centres. The continuator does not name the locality of this new Church; but it is stated in a Saxon document† that it was '*in loco Duncahan juxta flumen Tau*'—Dunkeld is meant.

In choosing Dunkeld, Kenneth fixed on a centre accessible both to the Scots of Dalriada and to the Picts of Fortrenn. This centre had al-

\* Ceallach mac Ailella, Ab of Kildare and titular Ab of Iona, who died A.D. 865, was not able to take up his duties in Iona, owing to the Vikings, and died 'in the country of the Picts.'

† *Thesaurus* (Hickes), vii. 117.

## LIBERTY TO ROMAN AGENTS

ready Scotie ecclesiastical memories, because it was near the site of the old intruded Scotie *muinntir* known as '*Muinntir Kailli an Find*,' from which, among other places, Nechtan's subjects had evicted the Scotie clerics. The Scots would be pleased to recover their lost Church. But Dunkeld was also the site of a noted Church which had been built by Constantine\* I. Mac Fergus, sovereign of the Picts, and doubtless Kenneth hoped that the recollection of this fact would attract his Pictish subjects to the new centre.

Kenneth intended his new Church to be a Cathedral; because he was setting up the *first* Roman monarchic and diocesan bishop that had ever been legally set up either in Pictland or in Dalriada. But he acted very warily, and compromised between the Roman and Celtic systems of ecclesiastical government by appointing as first Roman monarchic bishop an Ab of the Celtic Church. The Celts had been used to leading clerics who were bishops as well as Abs; but none of these had ever administered dioceses, and if an Ab-bishop had been monarchic in the rule of his *muinntir*, it was because he was the Ab, and not because he was a bishop.

Tuathal Mac Artguso was appointed by Kenneth to the new Church; and his diocese was the

\* The authority is the '*Chronicle of Lochleven*' quoted in the *Scala-cronica*.

## THE PICTISH NATION

whole of Kenneth's new kingdom of 'Fortrenn,' which at this time included Dalriada. Tuathal died in A.D. 865, seven years after Kenneth; and it is of some interest to reproduce the entry of his death: '*Tuathal Mac Artguso primus Episcopus Fortrenn, Abbas Duin Caillen dormivit.*' With their strange love of inappropriate ecclesiastical titles, and with equally strange perversity in interpretation, the modern Scottish Episcopalians have taken the word 'primus' from this entry, have treated it as a title instead of a numeral, have interpreted it as *first* in dignity instead of first in line, and have applied it to the elected life-president of their college of bishops.

Kenneth's attempt to make Dunkeld the seat of the Roman monarchic and diocesan bishop of Fortrenn failed; because when the annalist enters the death of Tuathal's successor, in A.D. 873, he designates him 'Princeps\* Duin-Caillden.' 'Princeps' in this, as in other instances, means the President or Ab of a Celtic *muinntir*.

Where the next Roman monarchic bishop of Fortrenn was set up would not have been known, if it had not been for information preserved by Bower† from some source now lost. He states that, at the time when there was but *one* bishop in 'Scotia,' there were three (successive) appoint-

\* 873—Flaithbertach Mac Murcertaigh, Princeps Duin-Caillden obiit (*An. Ulst.*).

† *Scotichronicon*, iv. 12, and Bower's addition.



## LIBERTY TO ROMAN AGENTS

ments of bishops at Abernethy, which at that time was for awhile 'the principal royal and episcopal seat of the whole kingdom of the Picts.' The time when there was 'one bishop for Scotia,' and when it was possible for that one bishop and two of his successors to have their seat at Abernethy, was immediately after the breakdown of Kenneth's effort to set up the episcopal chair of Fortrenn at Dunkeld. Bower's statement is verified to this extent that it is now known that 'the palace' of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in which he resided and died, was at Forteviot, close to Abernethy. A note preserved in the composite Chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Lochleven* gives support to Bower. Dealing with Gartnaidh Mac Domneth, sovereign of Pictland, the original hand wrote: 'He built the Church of Abernethy two hundred and twenty-five years and eleven months before the Church of Dunkeld was built by king Constantine, sovereign of the Picts.' Now, however innocent that note may look in the thirteenth-century chronicle which preserves it, its insertion carries us back to a time when Abernethy was insisting on its rights, as one of the oldest Pictish ecclesiastical centres, to take precedence of Dunkeld. The Church of Abernethy in Kenneth's time was the successor of that royal Chapel which Gartnaidh, the patron of S. Cainnech of *Cind Righ Monaidh* (St. Andrews) founded. It is therefore not stretching the evidence that has

## THE PICTISH NATION

survived to conclude that the opposition of the Pictish clergy of Abernethy prevented Dunkeld from becoming the seat of the first Roman bishop of Fortrenn. The Pictish Church was still strong enough in the reigns of Kenneth's nearer successors to keep the romanized Scotie clergy from getting their own way in arranging ecclesiastical affairs within Pictland, which accounts for the next event.

As has been stated, *c.* A.D. 878, after the short reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin's second son Aedh, an attempt was made to revive the Pictish system of succession. As a compromise two kings ruled jointly, one was Eochaidh, son of Kenneth's daughter, and the other was Giric, a Pict, who resided at the old stronghold of the Pictish kings of Fortrenn at Dun(d)Earn. Eochaidh was a mere figure-head to appease the Scotie population, the real power was in the hands of Giric.

While Giric was ruling, the romanized Scotie clergy became restive and apprehensive. They had apparently not recovered from the failure of the Dunkeld episcopal scheme; and the transference of episcopal power to the ancient Pictish Church at Abernethy. They were also finding it difficult to surmount the laws and usages of the ancient Church of the Picts, which have been indicated in the previous chapter. This much can be gathered from their representations to Giric, the Pictish sovereign. Through Gray's transcript of

482

## LIBERTY TO ROMAN AGENTS

a twelfth-century manuscript *Chronicle* the following important information concerning Giric is preserved: '*This is he who first gave "liberty" to the Scotie Church which until then had been under servitude according to the law and custom of the Picts.*' Incidentally, the name '*Ecclesia Scotiana*' occurs for the first time.

This note has been a surprise revelation to certain historians; at least, they have affected difficulty in understanding why the Scotie Church required 'liberty' in Pictland. It required liberty, because at this time it was an alien Church; and this note records only a very natural development. The Church of the Scots was alien to the Picts, because it had become Roman instead of Celto-Catholic. It was also alien because it was manned by Scots, and because its organization was used by the Scots to extend Scotie power and influence. Almost every step that the Scotie Church took in Pictland carried it into contact, and often into conflict, with the ministers and the organization of the ancient Celtic Church of the Picts, the native Church. The Picts had no idea of allowing their Church to be readily absorbed; and, indeed, were much more willing to absorb the incomers. What more natural, than that the romanizing Scotie clerics should take alarm, and become apprehensive at what they considered Pictish prejudice and legal obstacles; and should set up a grievance in true Scotie fashion,



## THE PICTISH NATION

and declare themselves 'enslaved' by the Pictish law and usage, because they could not force their own particular ecclesiastical methods on their fellow-subjects.

Giric had a pressing motive for making a concession to these agitating Scotie clerics. He was a ruler of considerable power and apparently wished to add to his triumphs. It had been no mean feat to break through the family line of Kenneth and to reach the throne, even although he had to submit to a nominal colleague belonging to Kenneth's family. Giric had also won fame in Ireland as a soldier; and had wrested territory from the Angles. He undoubtedly wished to be in name, as well as in fact, sole ruler of Fortrenn. Therefore he was willing to buy the support of the Scotie clergy by allowing them to push their plans for proselytizing and absorbing the Picts, agreeably to the canon law of the Roman Church; but unhampered by the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Picts. Coming from a ruler of Pictish origin, Giric's concession could not be challenged by the Picts in the same way that it would have been challenged if it had come from a ruler of Scotie origin.

What the old chronicler, from his point of view, calls Giric's 'gift of liberty to the Scotie Church' was, therefore, a legislative act of the first magnitude, and opened the way for the transformation of the ecclesiastical and national life of

## LIBERTY TO ROMAN AGENTS

Pictland. The Celtic Church of the Picts had never been formally established by the State; although it had grown up with the growth of the State, and had been honoured and considered by the State as the Church of the Picts. If the Vikings had never come with their ravages; it is doubtful if that relationship could have been seriously disturbed. The Pictish clergy would then have been able to hold their own.

Kenneth Mac Alpin's efforts to advance the Roman Scotie Church had been acts of royal partiality, in the interests of his dynasty and the Scotie section of his subjects. Giric's 'gift of freedom' to this Church was, on the other hand, a formal legislative act by a Pictish sovereign legalizing and establishing it in a privileged position, and giving to it the freedom of the whole realm of Pictland. The act said nothing about abolishing the ancient Church of the Picts; but it automatically forced that Church into an attitude of dissent in self-defence. It was a mortal blow at the continuance of the already crippled Church of the Picts as a national Church. All that the aggressive Roman Scotie Church required to do in its own interests was to hold firmly by the privileges conceded by Giric, work them for all they were worth, backed by those Scotie kings and their courts who were to follow Giric; and it was only a question of time when the Scotie clergy would secure ascendancy throughout all Pictland.



## THE PICTISH NATION

The Church of the Picts, with its organization greatly shattered by the Vikings, and cut off from its former sources of training and culture, was too weakened to stand out indefinitely against the Scotie Church, with all the resources and organization of the Roman Church behind it.

It is not told what effect Giric's 'gift of liberty' to the Scotie Church produced upon the Picts; but it is significant that, shortly afterwards, he and his nominal colleague were expelled\* from the throne; and Donald II. Mac Constantine, another king of the line of Kenneth, was called to reign; and he was the first to rule as 'king of Alban'—a title which was maintained, and which ignored the two peoples, Picts and Scots. Donald had evidently made up his mind to treat the two nations as one people; and his Pictish subjects had evidently decided that it was better to submit to another king of Kenneth's line than to continue under a king of their own blood who had betrayed their ancient Church to Rome and to the Scots.

\* *S. Berchan* indicates that Giric or Grig was slain by his fellow-Picts of Fortrenn.



CONSTANTINE III MAC AEDH  
AND CELLACH THE BISHOP  
OF ALBA MOCK THE PICTISH  
CHURCHMEN WITH A  
PROMISE OF RELIGIOUS  
EQUALITY WHICH IMPLIED  
CONFORMITY TO THE  
CHURCH OF ROME  
CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THAT the Roman Scotie Churchmen, exulting in Giric's 'gift of liberty,' and supported by the Scotie kings, had at once begun to assert themselves as the representatives of the only Church that, in their eyes, counted in the kingdom of 'Alban,' is evident from the chief ecclesiastical event of the reign of the second king after Giric. The Picts and Scots were now, in fact as well as in name, politically united; and their national divergences were to be considered as forgotten in the interests of 'Alban.' But the Pictish Churchmen clearly felt that the Scotie Churchmen had outmanœuvred them, and had gained a position and privileges in the kingdom, through Giric's gift, which had affected their status before the people, and was laying disability upon them in carrying on their work. It was now the Pictish Churchmen who announced a grievance and began to agitate. How far the agitation reached, or how great it

## THE PICTISH NATION

was, has not been disclosed; but it caused Constantine III. Mac Aedh, the second monarch to bear the title 'king of Alban,' to summon an Ecclesiastical Council, the only national Ecclesiastical Council since the time of Nechtan Derelei. The minutes of Constantine's Council have not been preserved; but the continuator of the *Pictish Chronicle* sums up what was decided. Constantine ascended the throne c. A.D. 900. The continuator states, 'In the sixth year of Constantine, on the Hill of Faith near the royal city of Scone, Constantine the king and Cellach the bishop solemnly vowed to protect the laws and discipline of the Faith, and the rights of the Churches\* and of the Gospel, *equally with the Scots.*' Cellach, who figures as legislating along with the king, was first Roman monarchic and diocesan bishop at St. Andrews; and is regarded as the first to bear the title 'epscop Albain,' that is, bishop of Alba. Some have made difficulty over the phrase in the above summary 'equally with the Scots.' The phrase is certainly part of an elliptic sentence; but if it be remembered that the passage in which it occurs is from the *Pictish Chronicle*, dealing with the history and the interests of the Picts; it is obvious that Constantine and Cellach were pledging themselves to treat the Picts 'equally with the Scots' in all religious and ecclesiastical legislation;

\* The plural refers to the ancient Church of the Picts and the new Church of the Scots.



## ‘ RELIGIOUS EQUALITY ’

or, in other words, to act impartially in all that concerned the religious interests of the people.

It is apparent that the Council of Scone was a final despairing effort on the part of the Pictish Churchmen to put an end to the special favours and privileges which the Scotie kings, along with Giric, had bestowed on the Scotie Churchmen. The Pictish clergy gained nothing from the Council. ‘Equally with the Scots’ was a phrase that sounded impartial and consoling; but Cellach the Roman bishop could not treat the unconformed Pictish clergy ‘equally with the Scots’ who had conformed to Rome, because the Roman Church refused to recognize the Pictish Church, and in practice excommunicated it. The only Picts who could benefit from the Council’s promise were the Picts who had conformed. In practical effect, the Council’s decision meant that the Pictish Churchmen would be treated equally with the Scotie Churchmen, if they put themselves into the attitude of the Scotie Churchmen, that is, submitted to Rome and adopted Roman usages and Roman discipline. Even if the Roman Scotie Churchmen could have relaxed the discipline of their own Church so far as to tolerate the unconformed Picts, and to bear with their discipline, usages, and organization; the civil power, which the Scots controlled, showed no tendencies that way. In a State where the rulers were selected for their Scotie sympathies, and where the executive



## THE PICTISH NATION

was fully charged with Scotie sentiment; the favouring of the interests of the Scotie Churchmen and the Scotie Church was inevitable, Scotie human nature being what it was. As the years passed this is clearly demonstrated. The practical worthlessness of the vows which Constantine and Cellach made at Scone is seen before the end of the century in which they were made, in the treatment of the Pictish Church and the Pictish people by Kenneth IV. Mac Maelcoluim, king of Alba. This monarch, fired by zeal to Scoticize the Church and people of the province of Angus, which had formerly been a petty kingdom of the Picts containing a venerable, active, and highly organized part of the ancient Pictish Church, carried war into this part of his kingdom of Alba and fought his own subjects. As has been noted, his Scotie zeal cost him his life. But he had succeeded in dedicating 'to the Lord, the great city of Brechin,' as the continuator of the *Pictish Chronicle* puts it. The continuator of the *Pictish Chronicle* suppresses the fact that in order to bestow this great Pictish ecclesiastical city on the Lord, he had required to steal it from the Pictish Church. The Pictish 'college' and clergy of Brechin had evidently refused to conform, or had been too slow in conforming to Rome, and the Picts of Angus had been looking coldly on the uniforming passion of the Scotie kings; therefore, by force of arms, Kenneth gave their ecclesiasti-

490

## ‘ RELIGIOUS EQUALITY ’

cal heritage to Rome, and intruded a detachment of Scotie clergy who set up a new Church which in course of time was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The native Picts who stood aloof from the new establishment were ministered to by a remnant of Pictish clergy who succeeded somehow in holding on to a fragment of the old lands of the *muinntir* or ‘college’ of Brechin.

The Council of Scone, with its mocking promise to the Picts of religious equality, on condition of conformity to the romanized Scotie Church, serves to emphasize how completely the Pictish Church had been deprived of power to influence the State, or to extort an acknowledgment of its rights. Such was the effect of Giric’s concession to the alien Church and its continued monopoly of royal and State favour. The Picts were still in a majority, even within the realm of Fortrenn, and still adhered to their native Church; but they had no way of making their strength felt in that age when force was the deciding factor; because their leaders did not occupy the seats of the mighty, and the Scotie ruling caste kept control of the army and the law.

After the Council of Scone the Scots showed that they had decided that there was no future for the Church of the Picts, apart from absorption into the romanized Church of the Scots; because they changed the designation of the sole monarchic bishop, then at St. Andrews, from ‘bishop



## THE PICTISH NATION

of Fortrenn' into 'bishop of Alban,' making the new episcopal title parallel with the new royal title 'king of Alban'; and indicating that as the Picts and Scots had become politically united, so the Scots expected the two Churches to become one.

Therefore, when king Constantine and Cel-lach offered the Pictish Church equality with conformity; they sentenced the ancient Church of the Picts to death—to a lingering death. The brain died slowly, within the century that saw the Council of Scone; but the extremities died more slowly still, and there, life continued to palpitate for almost two more centuries. Isolated Celts change with difficulty. Those Picts who had conformed became absorbed into the Roman Scotie Church and their national identity became lost in the name of the dominant caste, 'Scots of Alban.' Those who did not conform, and those who conformed only partially by accepting the ministry of the romanized Scotie clerics, while clinging to the property of the ancient Church of the Picts, continued to figure in the history of the Scots for a long time after the tenth century. The successors of those who did not conform at first, survive in history among the much misunderstood '*Cele Dé*,' although they did not originate the *Cele De*. The successors of those who conformed only partially, survived as the dishonoured, and, it must be added of some, degenerate lay abbots



## ‘ RELIGIOUS EQUALITY ’

whose names are most widely preserved as witnesses to charter signatures, or as creatures of the Scotie kings and the episcopal supplanters of the Picts.

This Constantine, who dismissed the Pictish Churchmen at the Council of Scone with his promise of sham protection, was the same who afterwards intrigued to betray Christianity and Celtic civilization to the Viking savages; in order that he might keep the Scotie throne and maintain the Scotie power. It was he also who left his allies, the Angles of Northumbria, in their helplessness, to the ferocity of the barbarians; he who bought a new alliance with the Vikings by his baptized christian daughter; he who, before Athelstan, at Brunanburg, was defeated, dishonoured, and discredited; he who, compelled to resign the Scotie crown, sought retreat from the wrath of the men of Alba, but found it not in the Scotie branch of the Roman Church, which had withdrawn countenance from him because of the rage of the brethren of the Anglo-Saxon clergy. At last, in pity such as he himself had never shown, Constantine was received, aged, broken, clad in poor raiment, leaning on a pilgrim-staff, by the *Cele De* of St. Andrews, who, at the time, represented the ancient Pictish *muinntir*, organized at *Cind Righ Monaidh* centuries before by S. Cainnech. That the Roman Scotie Church should have fostered for the greater part of his life this

## THE PICTISH NATION

royal anarchist who spurned every religious and moral law that safeguarded righteousness and the foundations of civilization, is a grave exposure both of the formality of the profession required from its baptized members, and of its own indifference to the morals of the time.

In a fragment of *Annals* there is a glimpse of what the Roman Scotie christian considered religion at this date. S. Columba receives divine honours, and his name is joined to the name of God in Scotie intercessions. The Divine powers are tribal. The second and third Persons in the Trinity are not named. The patrons, S. Peter, or S. Andrew, are not invoked, although the occasion is a battle in Fortrenn. There is decided veneration for the relics of S. Columba. Merit is bought by acceptance of the rites of the Church, and obedience to the clergy. Nothing is said about the prayers of the Picts of Fortrenn, who were fighting alongside the Scots at the time. It is the Scots with the aid of their tribal deities and tribal relics who win the battle. Religion has been degraded into a superstition. But the extract speaks for itself.

‘About the same time,’ *c.* A.D. 909, when the same Constantine was king, ‘the men of Fortrenn’ (Picts) fought against Norse Vikings (‘*Lochlan-naigh*’).

‘Valiantly also in this battle did the men of “Alban” (Scots) fight; because Columcille was

## ‘ RELIGIOUS EQUALITY ’

assisting them, for they had fervently invoked his help, seeing that he had been *their* apostle, and that through him they had received the Faith. On a former occasion when Ivar Conung (Viking) was a young man he came to plunder “Alban” with three large divisions. What the men of “Alban” (Scots), both laity and clergy, did was to remain fasting and praying, until dawn, to God and to Columcille. They cried aloud to the Lord, and gave much alms of food, and clothing, to the Churches and to the poor; and they received the body of the Lord from the hands of the priests, making promise to do whatever good the clergy might order, and they were to have as their standard in the van of every battle the *bachall* of Columcille, for which reason it is called “*Cathbuaidh*.” This was a befitting name for it, because they have often attained victory through it, as they did at this time when they put their trust in Columcille. The battle was fought fiercely and strenuously. The “*Albanaigh*” (Scots) gained victory and triumph.\*

\* Transcribed by Mac Firbis from the *Book of Mac Egan*.



# CORRECTIVE OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE *CELE DE* (‘CULDEES’) OF PICTLAND OF ALBA

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE British people are even now hardly emancipated from the historical errors of Hector Boece and those who followed him; consequently, many do not understand that the *Cele De* were not the Celtic Church, but merely represented a feature of its activity. It is correct, however, that the earlier *Cele De*, singly and organized, were left to represent the teaching, and to maintain the worship of the Celtic Churches of Alba and Ireland, in many districts, after the main organizations of these Churches had been smashed by the Vikings. In the time of Kenneth Mac Alpin and his earlier successors the attitude of the *Cele De* of Pictland towards the favoured and aggressive Roman Scotie Church was an attitude of dissent and opposition. Very nobly did these *Cele De*, at the utmost personal risk in many places, keep alive not only the law and testimony of the Celtic Churches, but the very essentials of the Christian religion itself. There was one period in the history of St. Andrews, and of several other places in Alba and Ireland, when Christian prayer and worship would have died out, and when the essentials of the Christian religion itself would have

496

## THE *CELE DE* OF ALBA

been forgotten, if it had not been for the faithful and undismayed *Cele De*.\*

A full history of the *Cele De* belongs properly to a history of the Church of the Scots of Alba; because the work of the *Cele De* was brought most fully into the light, and their organizations were most widely developed during the period in which the romanized Church of the Scots was slowly and warily striving to absorb the Church of the Picts. Nevertheless, as the majority of the *Cele De* of Pictland, after the coming of the Vikings, represented the men who wished to preserve and to continue the Church of the Picts, they, so long as that effort continued, belong to the history of the Pictish Church. Many of them were the straggled Pictish clergy or their successors who, living singly or in groups apart from the ordinary *muinntirs*, in secluded and inaccessible retreats, had succeeded in evading both the murdering Viking pagans, and the Roman Churchmen, with their rage for absorbing everything ecclesiastical that moved outside themselves.

Throughout their middle and closing period in Pictland, the *Cele De* had two sets of steady assailants. The first were the pagan Vikings who, where they could, disputed their access to the burned or disorganized centres of the Pictish Church. The second were the zealots of the

\* Cf. one of the historical passages in the larger *Legend of S. Andrew*. See *Chronicles, Picts and Scots*, p. 190.

## THE PICTISH NATION

Church of Rome who from their places of power among the Scots could not tolerate the, to them, irresponsible *Cele De* who refused to be brought under Roman discipline and organization. The original *Cele De* had been saved from the first Vikings by their isolation in poverty, in caves, wooded glens, and *diserts*; their successors could always preserve themselves from fresh Viking hostility by flight to the same inaccessible retreats until the hate of their persecutors spent itself. The persistent aggression of the Roman clergy, on the other hand, required to be baffled by organization; and the organization of the *Cele De*, in Pictland at least, grew stronger as the Roman Church became more powerful and aggressive. When, at the close of their period, the *Cele De* were being gradually absorbed into the organization of the Church of Rome, as regular canons; it was accomplished by negotiation between the prelates and the *Cele De*, and was facilitated by the fact that through the lapse of time the *Cele De* had degenerated, and old differences had become forgotten or regarded as not worth emphasizing.

Attempts have been made to explain the *Cele De* by the monastic institutions of the Church of Rome; but these are anachronistic so far as Pictland is concerned. Besides, although there was contrast, there was no similarity between the institutions of the Church of Rome and the

498



## THE *CELE DE* OF ALBA

organized *Cele De*. Rome's organizations grew out of her determination to secure submission, mechanical order, and discipline, while the organization of the *Cele De* developed from a determination to defend themselves against external restriction, and the limitation of that freedom of individual action so dear to the Celtic spirit. The Roman monk entered his order to limit his personal freedom; the Celtic cleric originally became a *Cele De*, in order to attain the utmost freedom compatible with the service of God.

Another anachronism perpetrated by early Roman Catholic writers, which has misled many modern writers, was to carry back the name '*Cele De*' beyond the period when it arose, and apply it to sections of the Celtic Church to which it did not correctly belong. Thus Joceline, writing of the members of S. Kentigern's *muinntir* at Glasgow as living in separate *casulae*, adds, 'Therefore these solitary clerics were called in common speech "*Calledei*."'\* The *Cele De* originally were solitaires, but at a later stage in their history many of them lived in groups; however, the point is that the name '*Cele De*' was not current in S. Kentigern's time to mark off the solitaires as a distinct class within the Celtic Church; and, moreover, Joceline has misapplied the name, because S. Kentigern's 'family' were not solitaires, but

\* *V.S.K.* (Joceline) cap. xx.

## THE PICTISH NATION

members of a community. They certainly lived in separate *casulae*, as did the members of all the Celtic *muinntirs*, thus preserving even in a communal life much of that personal freedom of which the Celt was ever jealous. The solitary, on the other hand, always left the vicinity of his *muinntir* and the direct control of his Ab, and chose his retreat in the wilds.

The *Chartulary of St. Andrews* contains, in a summary of early grants, a reference to the earliest organized group of *Cele De* in Pictland. 'Brude Mac Dergart, who is said by old tradition to have been the *last* of the kings of the Picts, gives the island of Lochlevine to the omnipotent God and S. Servanus, and to the Keledei hermits dwelling there who are serving and shall serve God in that island.' Macbeth Mac Finnloech, too, in spite of his reputation in literature, was a generous king, and it is interesting to find him favouring the successors of the Pictish clergy. He and Gruoch, his queen, gave 'Kyrkenes' to these same 'Keledei.' Later on, according to the summary, 'Macbeth gives "Bolgyne" to God and S. Servanus of Lochlevyne and to the hermits there serving God.'\*

Macbeth was killed at Lumphanan, A.D. 1057; and Brude, the last of the kings of the regular Pictish line, whose name closes the original list of kings in the *Pictish Chronicle*, reigned A.D. 841—

\* *Registrum P. S. Andreae*, pp. 113-118.



## THE *CELE DE* OF ALBA

842. It is necessary to make this note to show, what will be obvious to many, that the words 'to God and S. Servanus' are merely the usual formula of the drawer of a deed where the name of the *founder* of the Church concerned is joined with the name of God. Certain writers render it necessary, but one feels almost foolish in having to point out that the formula does not mean that S. Servanus was living either in the reign of Brude (841-842), or in the reign of Macbeth (1040-1057).

These Pictish clerics, according to another account, had come from Culross, the chief *muinntir* founded by S. Servanus, to Lochleven. The date of their migration was in, or just before, the year A.D. 841. What apparently happened was that when, in A.D. 839, the Vikings devastated the Pictish kingdom of Fortrenn, defeating the Pictish army, slaying the king and many other leaders, the Pictish clergy found Culross on the exposed bank of the Forth untenable; and those who survived fled, to collect again at Lochleven, where, in A.D. 841-2, Brude established them in a comparatively safe and unobtrusive retreat on one of the islands, and there they and their successors came to be known as the '*Cele De* of Lochleven.'

It is evident that the Scotie fabulist who constructed the grotesque *Life* of the unhistorical S. Servanus, making him a dependent of the Scotie



## THE PICTISH NATION

Adamnan, abbot of Iona, not to mention 'son of a king of Canaan, and priest of Alexandria,' was acquainted with the original information summarized later in the *Chartulary of St. Andrews*; because he perverts the friendship of king Brude for these *Cele De* into hostility, which is overcome by a stock miracle. Ignorant, probably, of the real causes which drove these *Cele De* to Lochleven, he makes them go thither with the S. Servanus of his imagination, who is represented as receiving the island retreat from Adamnan of Iona, who, he professes, was dwelling at that time by this Loch. No Gaidheal or Scot, ecclesiastic or layman, held any position of authority or ownership in this part of Pictland at the period concerned.

This impudent piece of fiction falls to be classed along with the '*Myth*' of *Deer*, and the efforts of the Roman monks of Fearn, against the testimony of their own records, to substitute Bar-Fhian of Cork for S. Finbar of Maghbile; and, obviously, was framed for a similar purpose, namely, to justify the Roman usurpation of property belonging to the Pictish Church. Manifestly the Lochleven fabulist concocted the biography of the unhistorical Servanus and the story of his dependence on Adamnan at some date after the death of Macbeth in A.D. 1057, to give a semblance of legality to the Scotie clergy of the Church of Rome when they took possession of the property

502

## THE *CELE DE* OF ALBA

of the *Cele De* of Lochleven, in enjoyment of which they are afterwards found.

Yet, the late Dr. Skene adopted this fabulist's fictions concerning S. Servanus and S. Adamnan; and in face of the testimony of the *Pictish Chronicle*, which he himself edited and published, ignored the clear meaning of the words of the St. Andrews charter summary, 'Brude, who is said by old tradition to have been the last of the kings of the Picts.' It ought to have been apparent that this did not mean the last sovereign of the Picts, but the king, last of the regular Pictish line, who reigned over the Picts. Such, indeed, Brude was; whether he was 'Mac Dergart' or not, cannot be verified from the oldest *Pictish Chronicle*, as he is entered simply as 'Brude,' at the end of the list of the regular Pictish sovereigns, thus confirming the St. Andrews charter reference. Skene, however, boldly suggested that this Brude might be taken as Brude Derelei, who was reigning during the last eight years of Adamnan's life; because he thereby would gain some apparent credence for the fabulist, and also support for his own blundering conclusions concerning the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots.

Attempts have, further, been made to explain the *Cele De* of Pictland by the '*Colidei*' of England, and the '*Deicolae*' of the continent of Europe. There is here a similarity of name, but a considerable etymological difference. It is not improb-



## THE PICTISH NATION

able that the *Deicolae* of the Continent were the successors of the isolated ascetic clergy who multiplied out of the Celtic Church of Gaul; and although it is true that the same religious tendencies in human nature produced the *Deicolae* and the *Cele De*, the former do not explain the latter; because the *Deicolae* set up closer relations with the Roman Church than the *Cele De*, while the *Cele De*, owing to the peculiar ecclesiastical situation in Pictland, and their feeling that they were called upon to preserve the traditions of the Church of the Picts, to which they mostly belonged, developed along lines of their own. There were marked differences even between *Cele De* and *Cele De*. Although the *Cele De* of Ireland maintained fellowship of a sort with the *Cele De* of Pictland, the former had characteristics in life and work which do not appear in the latter.



HOW THE *CELE DE* ADAPTED  
THEMSELVES IN ORDER TO  
CONTINUE THE CHURCH OF  
THE PICTS IN ALBA, AND  
FAILED. THEIR GRADUAL  
ABSORPTION INTO THE  
CHURCH OF ROME

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

FORTUNATELY there is no longer need to fear the wrath of modern Celtic etymologists when offering to explain the name '*Cele De*.' The first part of the name used to provoke bitter disputes; the second part is simply the genitive of the Celtic *Dia*, the word for God. '*Cele*' originally meant one who had devoted himself to attendance, service, or companionship to another. Cuchullin, the hero of the Celts of the West, who was the henchman and friend of Conchobar, is made to call himself '*Cele Conchobair*.' There is, however, a decisive gloss in a *Commentary on the Psalter* which was removed from the library of the Pictish foundation at Bobbio to the Ambrosian Collection at Milan, a work credited to S. Columbanus himself. Discussing the Latin phrase '*cuius dei iste est*,' the commentator states that '*iste illius est*' is equivalent to '*iste ad illum pertinet*'; and the later added Celtic gloss is, '*Amal asmberar is Céle De in fer hísin*,' that is, As the saying goes,

## THE PICTISH NATION

this man is *Cele De*. Thus a *Cele De* was one who devoted himself to attendance, service, or companionship with God—God's man.

The name first appears in Pictland about A.D. 841, and was applied to those Pictish clergy who had fled from Culross and secluded themselves in the island of Lochleven, if we can trust that the author of the summary of early grants in the *Chartulary of St. Andrews* is not throwing back the name. At anyrate, the name '*Cele De*' cannot be traced back beyond the end of the eighth century among other Celts. But, although that be the date of the name, the type of cleric so designated had existed in the Celtic Church from the beginning. The life of the *Cele De* had always been an ideal of the Celtic clergy. Few of the early Celtic clergy could devote themselves to that life; because the missionary demands on the Celtic Church were so great that the clergy were always called back from a life of comparative seclusion and freedom to the communal life of the *muinntirs*, and to the maintenance of the Christian ministry among the people. The secluded life in the wilds where the cleric was alone with his pen, his writing material, his manuscripts of the Psalter and of the Gospels, free for prayer, meditation, and works of self-denial, appealed to the mystical, brooding, romantic Celt, and placed him where he loved to be, near to the very soul of Nature, amid her mountains and waters, her

506



## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

forests and wind-swept moors, her wild creatures and freedom, and far from men with their jealousies, competitions, and strifes. All the great Christian leaders of the Celts from S. Martin to S. Comgan possessed retreats in which they periodically isolated themselves, and they encouraged the members of their communities to follow their examples. S. Martin had his cave, S. Ninian had his cave, the historical S. Servanus had his *disert*, S. Kentigern had his retreat in the forest, S. Cainnech had his retreat on an island, the Pictish clergy of Old Munros and of Moray had their *diserts*, S. Donnan had his isolated cell, away from his *muinntir* and shut off from men, except for a narrow footway by two rivers and a loch; and there are numberless other examples. But these men, owing to the needs of their communities and the needs of their congregation, always returned from their retreats to take their share of the general work of the Church.

It was different about the middle of the eighth century when the numbers of the Celtic clergy had greatly multiplied, and when many could be spared to take their own way. The cleric who preferred the life of a solitary, giving himself to prayer, study of the Scriptures, and works of instruction and benevolence to those who might visit his retreat, was encouraged and even admired. He remained subject to the Ab of the *muinntir* in which he had been trained and ordained,



## THE PICTISH NATION

wherever he might wander; but as most of the *Cele De* wandered to remote places, sometimes even to foreign lands, the control was nominal. One of the best-known examples of a *Cele De* in practice, although he did not bear the name, because apparently in his time it had not come into vogue, was Drostan of the Oak-cell, whose retreat was in Glen-Esk 'in the height of Brechin,' who died A.D. 719. The sacrifices and sanctity of these solitaries brought them esteem and fame about this period; and the *Annals* give to some of them as much notice as to the Abs of *muinntirs*. At *Cinn Garadh* (Kingarth) a certain Teimnen died in A.D. 732. The name *Cele De* had not, even then, become current in Pictland; because the Latin annalist calls him 'clericus religiosus.' In the Church of the Gaidheals or Scots at Iona, in A.D. 752 Cilline Droicteach the Ab died. There was this peculiarity about him that he lived the life of a *Cele De*, and dwelt away from the *muinntir*; but even to him the name '*Cele De*' is not applied and he is called '*ancorite*.' Sometime between the death of Teimnen in A.D. 732, and the settlement of the Pictish clerics at Lochleven in A.D. 841, the designation '*Cele De*' obtained currency in Pictland.

The precise date at which the *Cele De* of Pictland began to forsake an absolutely solitary life, and to organize themselves in small groups, is not known; but it was between A.D. 794 and A.D. 839, 508

## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

when the Vikings were making repeated inroads into Pictland, and when they had begun the systematic destruction of the settlements of the great *muinntirs* of the Pictish Church, and the slaughter or scattering of the members.

The folly, apart from the anachronism, of trying to explain the early *Cele De* by the brethren of the Roman monastic orders becomes more apparent the more that the *Cele De* of this period are understood. The Roman monks were sometimes men of keen intellectual ability with deep spiritual fervour who believed that righteousness could be promoted by the extension of ecclesiastical machinery and the organization of all, in submission to the Church; sometimes they were pessimists, shrunken human weaklings who saw no opportunity for a holy life away from the seclusion and enforced rule of the cloister; sometimes they were sated voluptuaries who sought peace in penitence, out of sight of the men and women whom they had wronged and outraged. Those early *Cele De*, on the other hand, though also men of intellectual strength, possessed sensitive Celtic souls which at times seemed ablaze with Divine fire that flamed up in ecstasies of prayer, exhortation, or self-denying toil for others, which impressed the people near them, and attracted the onlookers while they wondered. The *Cele De* possessed no affection for ecclesiastical organization or machinery. He was God's man, and

## THE PICTISH NATION

needed no earthly master to whip him up. To know the will of God was meat and drink; to do it was life. The appetites were subordinated to the longings of the soul, and the *Cele De* had disciplined their bodies to endure the severest hardships. They possessed no personal property, except the clothes they wore, a scanty store of food, and the area of ground covered by their hut or cave. They lived on the simplest fare, and often procured and prepared it. No woman was permitted near their dwellings. They had not fled from mankind with the selfish motive of winning their own personal salvation; but to testify, in their open examples, to the blessedness of the simple, righteous, divinely guided life. As they asked no man's gifts; they courted no man's favour. The penitents, or those who aspired to do well, always found among them an *anamcaraidh*\* or soul-friend. They were always ready to teach those who were attracted to their retreats. Sometimes when deeply stirred by some message in the soul, they sallied forth among men, voices from the wilderness, and having uttered their burning words, disappeared as dramatically as they had come. They loved, out of their scanty store and abundant sympathy, to minister to the poor; and in certain cases this tenderness won for them special names of endearment by which the people commemorated them.

\* This duty was embodied in the rule of Maelruain.



## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

In all this the *Cele De* stood for the type of life lived and demanded by the great Celto-Catholic Abs, S. Ninian, S. Comgall, S. Kentigern, and S. Moluag, and all the clergy whom they had trained. Thus far the *Cele De* were the conservatives in the Pictish Church. In another aspect they were dissenters and protesters; because their fidelity to the ideals of apostolic Christianity, their demand for personal righteousness, and their self-denying lives were open censures of the lay successors of the Abs of the Celtic *muinntirs* who, taking advantage of the political and ecclesiastical confusion of the period, held on to the property of the *muinntirs* for their own benefit without maintaining an adequate Christian ministry in their districts. The lives of these *Cele De* were also a protest against the innovating Roman clergy who sought to substitute the merits of the saints for personal righteousness, the sacramental seals of the Church for the tokens of a practical faith, and churchmen who hankered after temporal power and influence and endowments in place of ministers who lived and laboured in apostolic simplicity and poverty.

Even as late as the time of queen Margaret, as her biographer tells, there were *Cele De* in the kingdom of Alba worthy of the Pictish Church with its apostolic virtues. 'They lived in various places,' writes the author of the biography,\* 'in

\* *V.S. Margaritae*, c. ix.

## THE PICTISH NATION

the flesh but not according to the flesh, inhabiting separate cells, practising great self-denial; and, even on earth, lived the life of angels. In her regard for them the queen did her best to love and venerate Christ; she frequently visited them and conversed with them, commending herself to their prayers; and although she could not induce them to accept any material gifts from her, she earnestly besought them to give to her some opportunity for works of charity or mercy. Whatever they desired she devoutly fulfilled, either in recovering the poor from their poverty, or in relieving the afflicted from the miseries that oppressed them. As the religious devotion of the people brought many from all parts to the Church\* of St. Andrews, she constructed dwellings on both sides of the Firth of Forth, in order that the pilgrims and the poor might find refreshment and lodgings on their way *thither*; and she also provided free ferry-boats.'

Two glimpses of the gentle Saxon lady who became 'queen of Alban,' and her relations with

\* Namely, the Church that represented the ancient Pictish Church. According to the historical allusions in the larger *Legend of S. Andrew* there were two Churches in St. Andrews at this time—the Church that represented the old foundation of S. Cainnech at *Cind Righ Monaidh*; and the Roman Church dedicated to S. Andrew.

At this time the Church of S. Andrew was not the popular Church; because we learn that there was no provision for service there except when the king and bishop visited the city.

The Church that represented the old native Church was at this time served by thirteen *Cele De*. Many of the 'pilgrims' referred to would be visiting *Cele De*.

## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

the Celtic clergy, are given by her biographer. One in which she wrangles with them at a conference, over practices which differed from the usages of the Church of Rome at that time, as, for instance, where the Celtic Churchmen, following the Lord's example, kept a continuous forty days' fast at Lent, where they adhered to Saturday as the Sabbath of rest and to the Sunday as a Christian festival, and where they blessed and set apart the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, but refrained from general communion out of dread that they might eat and drink unworthily. The other glimpse of the queen is the one already noticed, where with ready honesty she bears testimony, and manifests sincere respect for the clean, honourable, and holy lives led by the *Cele De* who held to the early practices of their ancient Church, in spite of the threats and blandishments of a time so corrupt that even Margaret's son Ethelred had been made in his boyhood lay Ab of Dunkeld, in order that he might enjoy the benefit of the endowments that Kenneth Mac Alpin had tried to wrest for the Roman bishopric that failed. The early Roman Catholic writers have done much to discredit the early *Cele De* by their references to 'barbarous rites,' giving the impression that paganism had somehow mingled with Pictish Christianity; whereas it was not the rites that were 'barbarous' but their celebration in the native Celtic speech, which was 'bar-



## THE PICTISH NATION

barous' only to those who affected the Latin tongue, or who held the belief that culture and religion were inseparable from Latin. Margaret was much nobler than the clergy of the Church of Rome to which she belonged; because, although she was fully aware that the Celtic Churchmen disregarded the forms of the Roman Church of her time, she recognized, nevertheless, that they adhered to what was greater, the essentials of Christian belief and practice; and, if she had only known, to many of the observances of the Apostolic and Catholic Church which Rome had abolished or forgotten.

The decline of the *Cele De* and their final failure to continue the Church of the Picts is a story that belongs to the period of the rise of the romanized Scotie Church, into which the *Cele De* were gradually but completely absorbed at length. Apart from the paganizing influences of the Vikings, and the difficulty of keeping alive special national or ecclesiastical differences in the face of their continued menace; two influences operated to deteriorate the tone and quality of the *Cele De*. One influence was from among themselves, and began after they had begun to group and to organize themselves for protection. Their new position made it necessary to accept and to hold property; and, sometimes, to put themselves under the stronger lay chiefs who became protectors and patrons. The care of this world and

## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

the deceitfulness of riches choked their spiritual life, and they became unfruitful. They married, to preserve a succession to the ministry and to the benefices, because, the Pictish clans in many instances having been broken up by the Vikings, or by the influx of the Scots, it became impossible otherwise to observe the old Pictish law of keeping the succession to an ecclesiastical position within the founder's clan. The *Cele De*, however, it ought to be told, were not forgetful of their original rigorist observances; and barred themselves from associating with their wives during their periods of duty at the Church. The *Cele De* of St. Andrews whom queen Margaret esteemed so highly were married men.

The second influence that operated to deteriorate the *Cele De* was the steady, unrelenting pressure and undermining influence, over a long period, of the clergy of the Church of Rome. How they operated is seen in the attempt of Fothad I.\* Mac Bran, Roman bishop of 'Alban' from about A.D. 943 until his expulsion about A.D. 954. He drew Ronan, the head of the *Cele De* of Lochleven, into an agreement† whereby Fothad engaged himself to find food and clothing for the *Cele De*, on condition that they conveyed the

\* He died A.D. 963.

† The agreement was apparently cancelled by the expulsion of Fothad from his bishopric; because after this event the *Cele De* were still firmly established in possession of the island, and were blessed with additions to their property.

## THE PICTISH NATION

large island on Lochleven, where they lived, to him. Although this effort failed through the ejection of Fothad from power, it was manifestly an attempt to gain control of one of the most popular centres of the *Cele De*. About one hundred and fifty years later, the bishop of 'Alban' at St. Andrews did at last assert an undisguised claim to control the whole *Cele De* of Alba.\* It is not said how or why, but this claim was supported by a royal warrant. There was no agreement with the *Cele De*; and so far as certain groups of *Cele De* were concerned the bishop's claim was ignored. But the appearance of the royal warrant or royal charter was ominous for the *Cele De*. It became, in course of time, an unscrupulous instrument in the hands of the Roman Church for the transference of the property of the *Cele De* to the Roman monastic orders, and for the absorption of the *Cele De* themselves into the Roman Church as Canons-regular.

As late as the thirteenth century, according to the list at the end of the *Chronicle* of Henry of Silgrave, the *Cele De* continued to hold out, with more or less independence, in the following provinces, or ecclesiastical centres of the ancient Church of the Picts—

St. Andrews;  
Dunkeld;

\* When Turgot, prior of Durham, queen Margaret's director, became bishop in A.D. 1107. *Councils*, Haddan and Stubbs, p. 178.



## ABSORPTION OF THE *CELE DE*

Brechin;

Ross;

Dunblane;

Caithness (at Dornoch in Sutherland);

and in the following district, and ecclesiastical centre of the original Church of the Scots—

Argyll;

The island of Iona.

As showing the gulf that still separated the Pictish clergy from the clergy of the Gaidheals or Scots, as late as A.D. 1055, Tighernac has preserved an unusually candid memorandum. In entering the death of Maelduin at that year, he describes him as Maelduin Mac Gillaodran, bishop of 'Alban,' and *the giver of orders to the Gaidheal from (among) the clergy*. The inference is clear that the Pictish clergy did not receive their orders from this sole diocesan bishop of the romanized Church of the Scots in Alba. Nevertheless, that the orders of the Pictish clergy, even in this distracted period, were considered regular is also clear; because at the Council in which queen Margaret and her clergy were on one side, and the *Cele De* on the other, no aspersion was cast upon the orders of the clergy of the *Cele De*. As the earlier *Cele De* had among their number Abs, bishops of the Celtic type, and presbyters,\* it is apparent that the two

\* In 966 Finghin, a *Cele De*, and a bishop of the monastic type, was titular Ab of Iona.

## THE PICTISH NATION

latter grades persisted until the end; but when the *Cele De* began to organize themselves in groups, a new official arose, corresponding to the Ab of the great *muinntirs* of earlier and more peaceful times, and his title, which appears both in Ireland and Alba, was '*Cenn na Cele De*,' Head of the *Cele De*. The creation of this chief official completed the organized opposition of the *Cele De* to the inroads of the Roman Church, and he was expected to defeat the efforts of the mon-archic bishop of 'Alban' to usurp control over the *Cele De* anywhere in Alba.

## THE SPIRITUAL AND ETHICAL VALUE OF THE CHURCH OF THE PICTS TO CHRISTENDOM CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THERE is an opinion current among certain historians that the spiritual and ethical contributions of the nation and Church of the Picts to mankind and Christendom were completely effaced in the devastating inundations of pagan Viking savagery, or in the octopus-like absorptions of the Church of Rome. It is true that the *organized* nation and the *organized* Church were broken up or absorbed; but the Soul of the Pictish people and the ideals in State and in Church, for which it had striven, survived; they were indestructible and immortal. Israel ceased to be a kingdom on earth, but its revelation of the Kingdom of God continued, and attracted the affection of the enlightened world; the artists of Greece were succeeded by a race of traders, but the intelligent world saved the Greek ideals of beauty from being vulgarized, and the soul of the Greece that was, still educates the aesthetic faculties of men; the sceptre of imperial Rome passed into the hands of the barbarians, but the spirit of Roman law and order still dominates the organized life of Europe; so, in similar manner, after the Pictish sovereignty ended, the people of northern Britain continued to cherish the Pictish passion for freedom; and after the Church of the



## THE PICTISH NATION

Picts ceased, there still lingered about the ruins of her walls remembrance of her noble ethics, her devotion to education, her faith in preaching emphasized by example, and her missionary genius which enabled her to colonize without lust of territory or quest for mines or markets, but solely for the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth. When, from time to time, a cry arises for a free Church, instead of a Church enslaved to power and money and the ideals of the trader, or for a Church which will demand personal Christlikeness in the individual member, instead of the formal seal of some ecclesiastical authority bestowed or continued without regard to the quality of the member's life; or for a Church which will be a brotherhood of men and women, loving one another as Christ loved, instead of a Church which is a mechanical concourse of groups operated by fear and friction; then is heard the voice of the soul of the British Celt craving to be re-embodied; in order to live and to act amid modern activities, as once it lived and acted in the Brito-Pictish Church.

Certain historians who have not gone beyond the period of the Mac Alpin and Ceanmor dynasties, when the Scotie Church had become romanized and was assiduously engaged in efforts to romanize the survivals of the Church of the Picts in Pictland, have declared that they can find no difference, in essentials, between the

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

Celto-Catholic Church as represented in Pictland and the Church of Rome. To give plausibility to their attitude they, for example, refer to the jotted rubric in the *Book of Deer* in which the elements of the Lord's Supper are called 'the sacrifice'; without pointing out that this jotting was entered by a late Scotie hand after Deer had come under the control of the romanized Scots in the twelfth century. Again they quote from the recast or garbled *Lives* of the Brito-Pictish or Iro-Pictish Church leaders, written even later in the Roman period than the memorandum of the *Book of Deer*, where the terminology of the Roman Church is used of these men's utterances and actions, without pointing out that these *Lives*, as Professor Zimmer justly wrote,\* had been deliberately falsified in the interests of the Church of Rome, and that only by critical re-editing and elimination, in the light of the known usages of the Celtic Church, can a comparatively accurate estimate be formed of the nature of the contents of the original documents which these literary fabulists mishandled. Even the Bollandists have denounced this bygone abuse of literary ability.

The easiest reply to those who state that

\* 'The spirit of *deliberate* falsification in the interests of the Church only appears in the Irish Church after her union with that of Rome.'

'Through the following centuries (after the eighth) deliberate forgeries are to be found by the side of harmless inventions by imaginative minds.' (Zimmer, *Early Celtic Church*, pp. 117-18.)

## THE PICTISH NATION

there was no difference in essentials between the Celto-Catholic Church and the Church of Rome, is to draw attention to the bitter opposition\* which the Roman Church had to overcome, and the long centuries which she had to wait through, before she finally absorbed the Church of the Picts. It was not sameness but difference that prevented union.

The full truth is that the Church of the Picts from her foundation by S. Ninian, in the early part of the fifth century, until Nechtan the sovereign intruded his small detachment of Roman clergy into Pictland, in the early part of the eighth century, and even until king Giric or Grig threw Pictland open to the agents of the Roman Church towards the end of the ninth century, differed completely from the Church of Rome in government, in ideals, in *ethos*, and in spirit.†

The Church of the Picts, until the Viking period, was the continuation and extension of a colony from the monastic section of the Western Church in Gaul, organized by S. Martin of Poitiers and Tours, while Gaul was still Celtic. S.

\* The Scotie continuator who added the kings of the Alpin dynasty to the original list of Pictish sovereigns in the *Pictish Chronicle* accounts for the misfortunes of the Picts by stating, '*quia illi non solum Domini missam ac preceptum spreverunt; sed et in jure equitatis aliis equi parari noluerunt*' (*Pictish Chronicle*).

† See note above. Not only did the Pictish clergy refuse to give the romanized clergy of the Scots a foothold alongside themselves: but they rejected their celebration of the Sacraments, and their teaching, and discipline.



## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

Martin's *muinntirs* represented an organized protest and revolt against the corruption, inefficiency, and lax morals of the bishops and clergy in many of the Gaulish cities; but these *muinntirs* did not represent a schism. The city-dwelling bishops, however, had no control over S. Martin's religious clans, not even when these were settled quite near to the cities where the bishops presided over those who were afterwards called the 'secular' clergy. The *muinntirs* possessed, within themselves, bishops of their own whose work was simply to bestow orders, to take part in administering the sacraments; and in all their work to submit to the president of the *muinntir*, who might or might not be a bishop himself. Several generations passed away before the Western city bishops gained a control over the *muinntirs*; and the sort of conflict that arose can be studied in the case of Lerins.

When S. Ninian left Gaul for Britain, to found the Christian Church in that island, S. Martin's *muinntirs* had not been brought under external episcopal control, and they had no thought of such subjection. That is how it came about that S. Ninian founded and organized the Church of the Britons and Picts by little religious clans which were free of external episcopal jurisdiction, and which required no episcopal offices except those that could be supplied by brethren of the community who were ordained bishops of the Celtic

## THE PICTISH NATION

type. An accident helped to perpetuate this form of ecclesiastical organization in Britain. Not long after S. Ninian had begun to organize the new Church, Britain was cut off from Gaul and its Church for over a century and a half by the migrations of the barbarians. Thus S. Martin's and S. Ninian's type of organization was established and extended into Brito-Pictish life, without interference from non-monastic bishops, because there were none.

That the members of the Church of the Picts regarded this type of ecclesiastical organization as apostolic; and that they were determined to preserve it from the interference of non-monastic bishops, when they, at length, came upon the scene, is shown in the attitude of S. Columbanus in the sixth century, after he had left Bangor of the Irish Picts and had settled in Gaul. He not only resisted the efforts of the bishops of Gaul, who by that time had become violently monarchic, to intrude their authority within his *muinntir*; but, writing to the Bishop of Rome as his equal, he challenged even his growing pretensions to universal ecclesiastical power.

Those who have been brought up to monarchical and diocesan episcopacy, and who believe that it is inseparable from the organization of the Christian Church, looking back on Pictish leaders like S. Columbanus, consider that these men were either eccentric or mad. On the contrary, they

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

were striving to assert a highly intelligent and most important principle, namely, that the Church of Christ could be preserved in Apostolic form and organization, and yet be accommodated to the social and communal clan-organizations of the freedom-loving Picts with their Celtic belief in democratic power. The Church of Rome, working on the barbarians, after they had settled, organized itself on the model of the Imperial Roman government; but substituted ecclesiastical designations for the old civil titles, claiming, as an afterthought, that the whole arrangement of monarchic and diocesan officials, with their usurpation of temporal power, was divine. The Church of the Picts, on the other hand, like the Churches of the other Celts, organized itself on the model of the college of Twelve Disciples under an acknowledged leader, and, as it grew, fitted its colleges into the clan-system of the Irish Picts and the Picts of Alba. The Pictish Churchmen abjured temporal power, and wealth, and show. They could claim for their organization that it adhered not only in form but also in spirit to the Apostolic example. They could claim that it suited the life and genius of a democratic people who hated absolute rule and who were always ready to exert popular control. Just as the civil clan-chiefs, and even the sovereign of Pictland, were theoretically, and generally actually elected; so the Abs or chiefs of the religious clans



## THE PICTISH NATION

or colleges, although they might be in the line of the founder, were also subject to the approval of the members of the colleges, and even the members of the civil clan. The interests of the people were fully guarded in the Pictish Church. The Church of the Picts, therefore, stands in history as a branch of the Church of Christ which, adhering to the simple life and simple organization and government of the earliest Apostolic Church, fitted itself into the national life of a free people who delighted to exercise a control in their own government and education.

The motives and aims of the Church of the Picts were also Apostolic. Over unknown seas and into unknown regions with persistent daring, invincible courage, and unfaltering faithfulness, the Pictish ministers obeyed their Lord's command to preach His Gospel to every creature; and in all their efforts they sought first and only the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. Such other things as they considered needful were restricted to the simplest wants of the body and mind. The Roman clergy do not bear comparison with them, although they make a striking contrast. On the one hand, there is the Roman Churchman with the imitated pomp and trappings of temporal power, whose aim is the aggrandizement of his Church, content with a formal acceptance of a formal Christianity, particular about conformity to his system and com-

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

plete submission to his authority, intolerant of all unmarked by the Church's brand, and ready, where he has the power, to call in the aid of the sword of the military to cut down all opponents. On the other hand, there is the Pictish Churchman modelled by S. Ninian, S. Comgall, S. Kentigern, or S. Columbanus, clad in hooded cloak of brown-coloured wool, helped along by a plain *bachall* of thorn or hazel, carrying a wallet with a few pieces of bread, and a manuscript of the Gospel rolled in a waterproof casing of hide, demanding a clean, honest, just, and merciful life as the first condition of admission into the number of Christ's flock, and as an earnest of intention to receive and apply the law of Christ as revealed in His Gospel. Let any one read the authentic details of the lives of humble, but continuous and effective service spent, that the seed of the Word should be liberally sown, by Pictish ministers like S. Columbanus, S. Cainnech, and S. Comgall, or Brito-Picts like S. Kentigern, and S. Ninian; and let him compare these details with the remarkably honest description which Venerable Bede gives of S. Aidan of Lindisfarne, a Scot of the unconformed Celtic Church; and he will realize that Bede, although he did not know it, was describing the type of minister which was characteristic of the whole Celtic Church of S. Aidan's time. 'His zeal for peace and charity,' writes Bede; 'his continence and humility; his spirit



## THE PICTISH NATION

triumphant over bad-temper and greed, and contemptuous towards pride and vain-glory; his industry alike in living and in teaching the divine commandments; his diligence in reading and in vigils; his authority appropriate to his sacred office in reproving the proud and powerful; and, at the same time, his sympathetic ability to put new life into the poor or to defend them from their oppressors—in short, to summarize all that we learned from those who knew him, he took pains to omit none of those things which he found in the writings of the apostles and prophets, but to the utmost of his power endeavoured to perform them all.\* Bede knew that this candid but unexaggerated testimony would be unpalatable to his own less noble brethren of the Church of Rome, who hated the unconformed Celts; and he knew that the praise of S. Aidan meant, by contrast, severe censure of many of them; so he excused himself, in a way that enhanced the tribute, by stating that he would neither praise nor blame S. Aidan but simply give the facts as a faithful historian should.†

This arresting picture, with its ample detail, of the Celtic type of Christian minister helps us to understand the similar but more general pictures of the clergy of the Church of the Picts; and helps to reveal the spirit and quality of the ministers

\* Bede, *H.E.G.A.* lib. iii. cap. 17.

† *Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 25.



## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

taught, trained, and fashioned into this likeness at *Candida Casa*, Bangor of the Irish Picts, Glasgow of the Britons, and their daughter-colleges. To some it might seem that these Celtic ministers were foredoomed to uselessness, by the apostolic reality of their Christ-like lives and teaching, in a world which has popularized the accommodating Christian agent, the eased law of God, the diluted Gospel, and the compromised conscience. On the contrary, their far-stretched missions show how successful they were. Until the pagan Teutons came, men hardly ever thought of hurting them even when they were impelled to resist them. The Church of the Picts possessed fewer martyrs than any Christian Church. The moral majesty of S. Columbanus, from the Pictish college of Bangor, carried him safely beyond Frankish antagonism and Roman ecclesiastical hate. Bede's testimony, in the face of his hostile fellow-Churchmen, to the practical power of S. Aidan's life, shows that the Celtic ministers attracted the homage of all generous minds; and the hundreds upon hundreds of Celts who thronged to Bangor and kindred houses for teaching, prove that the Pictish ministers had won the hearts and consciences of the Celtic nations. These men could preach the Gospel with the unmatched eloquence of the Celt; but they did more, they lived the Gospel; and, without doubt, their lives were more convincing than their words, and won the people.

## THE PICTISH NATION

The Church of the Picts, therefore, for herself and the other branches of the unconformed Celtic Church, testifies out of history that an educated ministry on the Apostolic model, crowned with honour and success, is no enthusiast's dream; but has already been a proved and tested way of manning the Church. These ministers, of Apostolic type, were beset with similar temptations to those of to-day, to compromise with power, with position, and with wealth; but they resisted them with scorn, in the interests of the Kingdom of God.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the wonder and romance of the missions and missionaries of the Church of the Picts. The Pictish Church produced the most brilliant missionaries of any Church in the West; and left their names and examples, for all time, as warnings against a self-centred or exclusive Church. These missionaries possessed the secret of effective mission work. Their converts were Christians, not institutionalists. They dealt soul with soul until the reason and affection of the convert were won; and, once won, these converts were taught that a Christ-like life is a bigger and more essential mark of a Christian than a place in an official Church, or the formal rites by which they had been sealed. There is no parallel within the Pictish Church to the mass conversions recognized by the Church of Rome, where men and women steeped in pagan-

530

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

ism were herded together and labelled with the Roman Church's label, as, for example, when the pagan Viking invaders of the Orkneys were converted in mass, *c.* A.D. 1000, at the order of their Scandinavian chief, and the event entered in history as 'the conversion of the Orkneys to Christianity.' The Picts were saved from such travesties of Christianity by the high moral standard which they taught to be an essential of the Christian life.

The Pictish Church laid no emphasis on philosophical or theological dogmas, because her ministers required to combat no heresies. S. Columbanus shows that he was acquainted with much that had been written to explain the Faith; but when he requires to appeal to authority it is to the teaching of Christ and his Apostles, or to the example of S. Comgall and the other fathers of his Church. On examining what is known about the teaching of the fathers of the Pictish Church, it is evident that they too based both doctrine and practice on the Holy Scriptures as final authority. It was to the Scriptures that the Britons forced S. Augustine. It was by the Scriptures that the wily Wilfrid confounded the unconformed Scots. It was to the Scriptures that Margaret and her Roman advisers were compelled to go for their authority at the Council of St. Andrews. Probably not before or since, outside the Apostolic Church, was more emphasis



## THE PICTISH NATION

laid on the authority of Holy Scripture by any Church than was laid by the Pictish and other branches of the Celto-Catholic Church. And the parts of the Scriptures on which most emphasis was laid were the Gospels and the Psalms. The Gospels appealed to the Celts because they contained in an Example of dazzling moral excellence the Revelation of the love and mercy of God; and the Psalms appealed to them because they were themselves poets and musicians by nature, and loved the divine song as an exercise of cheer amid the isolation of the mountains, the awe of the wastes, and the sadness and sorrow of suffering men and women. If there was one article of Faith in which the Pictish Churchmen exulted more than in another, it was in enthusiastic belief in the Resurrection from the grave and from the state of the dead. They contemplated their resurrection with impatient hope, and even the place where they expected it to occur. They spoke of a minister's final charge as the 'place of his resurrection,' and S. Cainnech of Achadh-Bo would have probably spent his life at St. Andrews, but for his dream 'in Britain' that Achadh-Bo would be the 'place of his resurrection.' Their whole-hearted belief in the resurrection required no further declaration of the essentials of the Faith; because it implied all. And, indeed, the Roman Churchmen with all their critical and sophistic subtlety never charged

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

the Picts, or for that matter any British section of the Celtic Church, with lacking any of the essentials of the Apostolic Faith; although they did find fault with the manner in which they administered the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; their adherence to the old reckoning of the Paschal Feast, and their resistance to monarchic episcopacy.

If the Pictish Churchmen had ever been gathered in Council to devise a Confession of Faith for their people, it is probable that they would have formulated a standard ethical rather than theological; that was the whole trend of their practice. Awed by the sense of the power and presence of the eternal God, attracted beyond the description of words by the historical Christ, conscious of the effect of the Holy Spirit, they were yet too reverent, although naturally speculative, to attempt to describe the Eternal Unity, or to explain the relations of the Holy Trinity. They accepted the teaching of the Gospels, and apparently found no difficulties. At anyrate, these are not apparent in the utterances or actions of such teachers as S. Cainnech, S. Columbanus, or S. Comgall. Pelagius was a Celt, but it was among foreigners, not at home, that he was lured from mystical peace and native reverence.

The Pict, living in the golden age of clan-life under a chief who was expected to act as father



## THE PICTISH NATION

and provider, as well as leader to his clan, put a very real and practical interpretation on the Gospel revelation of the Fatherhood of God. Again, the Pict living in social clan-life, where every neighbour was his brother or sister, possessed a natural appreciation of the Gospel revelation of the Brotherhood of Man. Indeed, he had discovered this doctrine of the Gospel before the Gospel had discovered him. By the very organization of Pictish life, as well as by the divine teaching and the warmth of a generous nature, the Pictish Church was specially fitted to take up and to emphasize, as no other Church outside the Celto-Catholic Church has emphasized, the moral obligations rather than the theological assents of the professing Christian. Zimmer stated a striking fact about the Celtic Churchmen when he wrote: 'The Celt emphasizes a Christianity pervading life and deeds, while with the Roman Catholic the observance of a formal Christianity is the chief and foremost aim, as Aldhelm so frankly proclaims. The life of the representatives of the Celtic Church, at the beginning of the seventh century, comes nearer the picture that we draw for ourselves of the Apostolic era than the Christianity displayed by their rivals, the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church.'\*

Apart from the difference in government between the Church of the Picts and the Church of

\* *Early Celtic Church*, p. 130.



## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

Rome, there were some significant differences in the celebration of the two sacraments, and in worship generally. Infant baptism was, for a time, unknown; and, later, was apparently neither frequent nor usual in the Church of the Picts. The garbling of the ancient *Lives*, by later Roman Catholic editors, prevents a definite statement on the matter; but although there are instances of infants, foundlings and others, being brought to the Pictish *muinntirs* to be brought up and educated, because they had been dedicated to God, there is no indication that infants generally were baptized. In certain cases, the historical S. Patrick among the number, men whom the later Roman Catholic editors represent to have been baptized in infancy were baptized in maturer years. The Church of the Picts was logically compelled by its insistence on morality and character, and by its long career as a missionary Church, to demand a reasoned and personal acceptance of the obligations of the Christian life from its members. When S. Augustine offered to tolerate many of the practices of the clergy of the Britons, if among other things they would conform to formal Roman practice in the administration of Baptism, he was striving to eliminate some more essential difference, from the Celtic point of view, than a mere detail of the Sacrament.

Again, to those who know the modern Celt it is interesting to observe that although the

## THE PICTISH NATION

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the Pictish Churches on the Festival of the Resurrection, queen Margaret and her Roman Catholic counsellors challenge the Pictish clergy of the *Cele De* period to explain why there was no general participation in the Sacrament. According to the Roman Catholic authority they offered the excuse, 'As we feel that we are sinners, we are afraid to partake of that Sacrament, lest we eat and drink judgment to ourselves.' This attitude indicates first the imperative nature of the moral standard of life which the Pictish Church required from the professing Christian, and secondly that in the eyes of the *Cele De*, Baptism alone constituted a man or woman a member of the body of the Christian Church.

Again, in the Pictish Church, although they honoured their great and good men and marked their anniversaries, there was no invocation of saints, and no belief in the sanctifying or protecting power of their bones or relics, until the period when the Roman clergy entered Pictland and began gradually to romanize the people. The veneration of relics began first, in Alba, at Iona, the mother-Church of the Scots, after Adamnan the abbot had conformed to Rome; and afterwards, in Pictland, when Angus I. Mac Fergus countenanced the effort to popularize S. Andrew throughout Alba. The cultus of relics became rapidly general in Ireland and Iona in the eighth



## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

century; but it took much longer to find acceptance throughout Pictland.

The adoration of the mother of Christ with divine honours was an innovation in Pictland by the later Roman clergy; and, indeed, so was the veneration of every saint in the early Roman Kalendar, except S. Martin of Tours, whose connection with the Celtic Church had caused him to be honoured and referred to, but only as an example and as a source of authority. The difficulty which the Roman Clergy found in popularizing the saints of the Roman Kalendar in Pictland is seen in the list of saints honoured at Dunkeld in the early Roman period; and, so far as the Scots are concerned, in the recorded persistency with which they set S. Columba above all saints and angels.

The cross was a favourite symbol among the Pictish Christians; but, most significantly, representations of the Crucifixion are not associated with their crosses. It is said that there are certain late stones in Alba with a 'Calvary' upon them; but these are much later than the date of the Church of the Picts. The crosses of the Brito-Pictish Church are found all the way from the peculiar and well-executed stone crosses of *Candida Casa* to the wonderfully elaborate 'Cross of Farr.' Here a word of caution is needed to the theorist who judges the age of stones by the principle of evolution, making the most primitive art



## THE PICTISH NATION

indicate the oldest stones. The oldest stone crosses are at *Candida Casa*; and they possess the early '*Chi Ro*'-symbol which did not become general in Pictland. These crosses are skilfully carved, because they were executed at a date when the Imperial Roman craftsman, or his pupils, and his excellent tools had not become extinct. But there are stones with the simplest incised crosses, that can be dated at least one hundred and fifty years later, in the remote northern parts of Pictland, where the outline of the cross is irregular and rude, and the space between the lines chipped roughly out on an undressed stone. Yet, again, in the same district, belonging, of course, to a later period, is the much admired and most elaborate Cross of Farr. These crosses of the Picts were erected like the Cross of Reodatus to commemorate the dead, or like one of the Iona Crosses to commemorate the favourite meditating place of a saint, or like the 'girth crosses' of Kildonnán to mark the bounds of the 'city of Refuge.' It is not lack of art or of power of execution which explains the absence of the Crucifixion from Celtic stones; but the mentality of the Picts. The Pictish mind did not advertise the Cross as associated with the Saviour's travail and suffering or with the savagery of his persecutors, but as associated with the ground which, in their work for Christ, they had won and hallowed, with the commemoration of the blessed dead, and with

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

the Church's assurance of protection and justice to fugitives from the rage and hate of men. The carved crosses of Pictland, in many instances, besides showing the Cross associated with the peculiar Celtic interlacing like the symbol of Infinity, without beginning or end, show it associated with beasts and birds of the Pictish forests and with creatures of the Pictish imagination—a combination amazing enough to modern eyes, but natural enough to a clergy, who, though they toiled among men, set their own habitations among the wild creatures that they loved.

In trying to understand or to explain the Church of the Picts with its distinct and peculiar characteristics, it is necessary to visualize the ancient pre-Christian life and religion of the Celtic people. It is futile to attempt to understand or to explain this Church of a Celtic people out of the materialistic mentality of the Teuton, or through the machine-made clergy and religion of the mediaeval Church of Rome. The Picts, like all the Celts, were an emotional, imaginative, romantic, and chivalrous people. They imparted into their practice of Christianity all the inherited vivacity of their race; and the points in the Christian faith to which they held most strongly were similar to the points to which they had attached themselves in the ancient pre-Christian religion of the Celts.

As Professor Anwyl has pointed out, the

## THE PICTISH NATION

Britons, and this term includes the Picts, reckoned Time by nights, instead of days; because, according to the ancient Celtic religion, Time began for them in the night of the underworld\* out of which they grew to Light and activity after God the Father (*Dis*) had given them life. A people thus taught were already prepared for the Hebrew revelation of God the Creator and Father, for the origin of Light, and for the rise of conscious life in a beautiful and ordered world, as told in Holy Scripture. The call of Jesus for disciples who would convert the world was peculiarly suited to the Pict who was reared to live in brotherhood and to follow a leader; and it appealed strongly to his romantic and daring nature which inclined to enterprise, and grudged no sacrifice which gave the exhilaration of adventure. In the old Celtic religion the doctrine of rebirth was taught, which accounts for the tenacity and enthusiasm with which the Picts seized the Christian teaching relating to immortality and the resurrection.

The angels of Scripture captured the Celtic imagination. This was natural to a people whose ancient religion had taught them to look for spirits on mountain and moor, in tree and forest, in well and river, in lake and sea. The attachment of the names of Pictish saints to crags and

\* Not to be equated with 'Hell' as some have done. The Celtic underworld was not a place of destruction and death.



## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

trees, and wells, river-pools and lochans in Pictland is not fully explained by the fact that they were associated with preachings and baptisms. The name of a saint often displaced the name of a supposed spirit that the Christian teachers desired to be forgotten.

The ancient Pict, like other Celts, loved his native land. The Brito-Picts who went south to occupy what is now North Wales, in the time of Cunedog, never forget the forests of Pictland; and in their songs pictured the spirits of the departed as wandering in the woods of Celyddon (Caledonia). But, apart from scraps of literature, the Pictish place-names suffice to show how carefully the Pict marked and named the features of his country. All these place-names were artistically, accurately, and often fondly bestowed. The only loveless and unlovely land known to the pre-Christian Pict was where the unblest went, behind the gates of death. His paradise was just beyond mortal sight, beyond the horizon, and it was a fair land like his own, only fairer; and youth continued, joy abounded, and beauty was universal. He exulted so sincerely in the beauty of the earth that he transferred all the delightful features of this world to heaven. So when he named the details of his environment on earth, it was with appreciation and love; and he named them as if he had been naming his favourite children. It was the prosaic Teutonic

## THE PICTISH NATION

mind, at a later time, that vulgarized the place-names of Pictland, and robbed them of their poetry and suggestiveness.

It is this love of home and country which reveals the full heroism of the Pictish Christian teachers. Much as they loved their beautiful land, they consented, under the influence of Christianity, to confessing that the Presence of God with its unfading light, its moral beauty, and dazzling sanctity, was the ideal home of man. They declared themselves pilgrims and sojourners prepared, when God called, to say 'Good-bye' with a will, to the scenes that they loved so intensely. Other Christians took the staff prescribed to the Apostles in their hands, and to them it was the symbol of settled rule on earth over a defined flock; but, on the other hand, when the Pict took up the *bachall* it was a sign that he looked elsewhere for a continuing city, and that, as he expressed it, he was *deoradh*, pilgrim, and his resting-place the Presence of God.

Nevertheless, these Pictish teachers were not rapt, abstracted, and oblivious of the land and people about them in their temporary home. By their complete self-consecration, and the high moral standard which they demanded from all who sought to ally themselves with religion and the work of God, they taught that this life should be clean and holy as a preparation for God, and that this fair world should be made fairer by the

## VALUE OF CHURCH OF PICTS

elimination of all that defiled or made a lie, as befitted the passage-way to Heaven. Though they saw a new heaven; they did not cease to labour for a new earth.

The earnestness and the zeal of these Pictish workers were sublime. Few scenes in history are more worthy of the painter's pencil than the interview between S. Columbanus and his mother, when he was about to set out for Bangor of the Irish Picts to become the pupil and disciple of S. Comgall the Great. As soon as his mother learned of his decision to go to Bangor, she knew that the tie which had kept her son at her side was on the point of breaking for ever. At the blinding prospect of her own loss she saw nothing of the gain to the Church of the Picts. Every argument that her wit could suggest, she used to dissuade him; every tenderness that her mother-love could devise, she put into action to retain him; but Columbanus kept his face towards Bangor. Finally, as he moved to take leave of his family and home, she threw herself down in the narrow doorway in a last despairing effort to block his departure with her body, but Columbanus remained resolute. No imagination can picture the strain on these two Celtic natures. Tenderly and reverently he strode over that barrier of living love, and took his way to Bangor, to receive, in time, from S. Comgall's lips the divine commission already given to S. Moluag,



## THE PICTISH NATION

S. Catan, and hundreds of other pupils of Bangor whose names have not been preserved: 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo, I am with you alway, unto the end of the world.'

# INDEX

- Ab, Abbas*, 1, 25, 77, 334  
 Abbot, rise of the lay, 473, 513  
 Aberchirder, 299  
 Abercorn, 128, 318, 328  
 Abercrossan (Applecross), 14, 302, 305, 335, 343, 392, 425, 454, 469, 474  
 Aberdeen, 53, 169, 297  
 Aberdour, Buchan, 135, 340  
 Aber-Elloth (Arbirlot), 124, 125, 338  
 Aberlour on Spey, 135  
 Abernethy, 53, 73, 125, 215, 263, 336, 344, 471, 481  
     Royal Chapel at, 228, 336, 481  
 'Abthein,' 125, 336  
 Acca, Anglo-Roman bishop of Hexham, 421  
 Achadh-Bo, 58, 236, 258, 263, 294, 337, 344, 428  
     Abs of, 337  
*Acoimetac*, 35  
 Adamnan, S., of Iona, 6, 20, 55, 225, 240, 322, 329, 350, 365, 373, 381, 387, 501, 536  
     Church foundations of, 351, 385  
 Aedh, king of Ailech, 449  
 Aedh, sovereign of Ireland, 207, 259  
 Aedhan, king of Dalriada, 60, 133, 178, 197, 205, 221, 224, 226, 256, 265, 292, 382, 386  
 Aedh Dubh, king of Uladh, 239, 241  
 Aedh Mac Kenneth, Scotie sovereign of the Picts, 446, 482  
 Aed Finn Mac Eachaidh, chief of Cantyre, 410, 433, 437  
 Aed Mac Boanta, king of Dalriada, 437, 442, 457  
 Aetius, letter to, 189  
 Agatho, Bishop of Rome, 315  
 Agricola, 211  
 Aidan, S., the Scot, of Lindisfarne, 288, 527  
 Ailbhe, S., of Emly, 119, 139, 254, 344  
 Ailred, 28, 79  
 Ainbh-cellaeh, king of Dalriada, 401  
*Air-Gharadh* (Urquhart), 454  
 Airlie, 125  
 'Aiseag Marui,' 305  
 Alba (Pictland), Albion, 1, 6, 204, 209  
 Alban (Scotic form of above), 204, 446  
*Albanaich* (Scots), 2, 495  
 Alcluyd (Dunbarton), 186, 200  
 Alcuin, 78, 103, 154  
 Aldfrid, king of the English and Scholar, 325, 368  
 Alloa, 251  
 Alpin Mac Eachaidh, the Half-Pict, sovereign of the Picts, 389, 397  
     'king' of Dalriada, 402, 404, 406, 411, 416, 418, 437, 438  
 Alpin Mac Eachaidh mic Aed Finn, claimant, 438  
     his defeat and death, 441  
 Alvah on Deveron, 135  
 Alvie, 135  
 Ambrosius Aurelianus, 19  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 11  
 Anagrates, 244  
 Anatolius, 280  
 'Ancorite,' 427, 508  
*Andat* or *Annat*, 36, 84, 252, 338, 346  
 Andrew, S., 261, 372, 420, 422; 469, 536  
 Angels of Scripture, 540  
 Angles (the English), 172, 174, 192, 214, 217, 229, 231, 275, 311, 353, 413, 452, 455  
     'conversion' of, 101  
 Angus, the *Cele De*, 296  
 Angus (Forfar), 345, 361, 364  
 Angus I. Mac Fergus, sovereign of the Picts, 13, 351, 389, 396, 400, 411, 414, 420, 433, 437, 536  
 Angus II., sovereign of the Picts and Scots, 437, 441, 456  
 Animals, 65  
 'Anmcharait,' *anamcaraidh*, soul-friend, 271, 510  
 'Antiphonary' of Bangor, 42, 242  
 Antonine, Wall of, 1, 7, 16, 171, 208

# THE PICTISH NATION

- Aondruim ('Nendruim'), 98, 130,  
     234, 283  
 Arbroath, 124  
 Architecture, 69  
*Ard-Anesbi*, naval battle of, 387  
*Ardchain*, 240  
*Ard'eryd*, campaign of, 60, 194, 246  
 Argyll, 8, 178, 385  
     *Cele De* in, 517  
 Ari Froda, 342  
 Arisaig, 304  
 Armagh, 46, 49, 53, 155, 200,  
     283  
 Armorica (Brittany), 159  
 Artbrannan, 20  
 Arthur, king of the Brito-Picts, 147,  
     191, 216, 217  
     his soldiers, 176, 192, 216  
 Assynt Novar, 377  
*Athcliath* (Dublin), 457  
 Athelstan, king of the Saxons, 462,  
     493  
 Atholl (*Ath-Fodla*), 12, 364, 367,  
     379, 380, 386  
 Auchterarder, 140, 251  
 Auchterless, 39, 269, 347  
 Augustine, S., of Canterbury, 182,  
     275, 363, 531, 535  
 Austin, the Viking, 460  
 Autiernus, 245  
*Avellanau*, the, 60, 198  
  
*Bachall*, *Bachul*, 31, 256, 527  
     of Columcille, 495  
     of S. Fillan, 122  
     of S. Moluag, 32  
 Badenoch, 365, 367  
 Badon Hill (Bowden Hill), battle  
     of, 147, 217  
 Baithene, Ab of *Magh Luinge* and  
     Iona, 239  
 Balquhiddier, 407  
 Banchoy-y, 34, 58  
 Banchory Demhanoc, 336  
     on Isla, 336  
 Ternan, 109, 336  
 Banff, 426  
 'Bangor,' *'Banagher,'* 33, 58, 125,  
     365  
 Bangor Catog, 145, 259  
     Dunod (*'Iscoed'*), 181  
     of the Britons, 34  
 Bangor on Spey, 365  
 Bangor the Great, Ulster (S. Com-  
     gall's), 1, 34, 41, 61, 230, 233,  
     267, 273, 279, 302, 310, 333,  
     337, 347, 352, 354, 373, 376,  
     394, 431, 455, 457, 469, 524,  
     529, 543  
     burning of, 234, 455  
     later Abs of, 244  
 Baptism, infant, 535  
 Barry Angus, 345  
 Bede, Mormaor of Buchan, 133  
 Bede, Venerable, 15, 80, 101, 224,  
     235, 274, 276, 312, 322, 327,  
     364, 373, 380, 387, 425, 527,  
     529  
     his continuator, 414  
 Belhelvie, 135  
 Bells, 111  
 Beneventum, 143  
 Beogna, Ab of Bangor, 245  
 Berchan, S. (Inchmaholm and Ab-  
     erfoyle), 344  
 Berct, English general, 322, 330  
 'Beregonium' (*Barr nan Gobhan*),  
     220, 236, 411  
 Bernard, S., 234, 242, 244, 376  
 Bernicia, 177, 318  
 Bertfrid, English general, 331  
 Birnay, 53  
 Birsay, 342  
 Bishops, Celtic monastic, 97, 334,  
     523  
     Roman monarchic and diocesan,  
     set up in Pictland by the Scots,  
     475  
 Blaau, S., of Dunblane, 291, 343  
     Church foundations of, 295  
 Blathmac Mac Flann of Iona, 456  
 Bobbio, 41, 243, 464, 470, 505  
 'Bolgyne,' Fife, 500  
 Bollandists and the fabulists, 521  
 Bona (Inverness), 377  
 'Books of the Picts,' 212  
 Borgue, 140  
 Borthwick, 251  
*Botha*, *Both*-, 27, 126, 298  
 Bower, Walter, 60, 480  
 Bran Mac Angus II., 437, 442, 457  
*Breccain Ard*. See under Brechin  
 Brechin, 37, 53, 73, 125, 336, 345,  
     393, 471, 474, 490, 508



# INDEX

- Brechin, *Cele De* at, 517  
 Brian, race of, 2  
*Brigantes*, 1, 7, 11, 16, 49, 415  
 Brigh or Brioc, S., of Tayside, 215  
 Brigid, S., 215  
 Brignat, 98  
 Brioc, S., the Briton, 125, 137, 166  
 'Britain,' *Prydain*, 7  
 'Britanni,' 211  
 Brité, S., of Lhanbryde, 252  
 Brité, S., of Menteith, 344  
 'Briton,' *Priten*, 7  
 Britons, 17, 49, 93, 123, 149, 152,  
     311, 337  
     of Strathclyde, 59, 100, 186, 311,  
     312, 458  
 Brochs, 71  
 Brotherhood of man, Picts and the,  
     534  
 Bruce, King Robert, 320  
 Brude Derelei, sovereign of the  
     Picts, 329, 503  
 Brude Grid or 'Cridius,' 211  
 Brude Mac Angus I., 405  
 Brude Mac Bilé, sovereign of the  
     Picts, 61, 229, 320, 329, 366,  
     389  
 Brude ('Mac Dergart'), last sove-  
     reign of regular Pictish line,  
     437, 500, 501, 503  
 Brude Mac Fergus, sovereign of  
     the Picts, 436, 437  
 Brude Mac Maelchon, sovereign  
     of the Picts, 2, 8, 20, 211, 218,  
     226, 229, 234, 265, 350, 386,  
     389  
     alleged conversion of, 223  
 Brude Mac Wid ('Foith'), sove-  
     reign of the Picts, 229, 311,  
     329  
 Brunanburg, battle of, 462, 493  
 Buchan, 19, 135, 297, 323, 340, 347  
 Buidhe, S., 32, 123, 214, 323  
 Bute, 292, 299, 343, 431  
 Cadoc, S., 137, 142, 149, 201, 259  
 'Caer Pen,' 'Chircind,' Kirkintil-  
     loch, battle of, 223, 228  
 Caer Tinan ('Kartinan'), 415, 420  
 Caer Went, 143, 151  
 Cainnech, S. (Kenneth), 8, 55, 221,  
     236, 258, 263, 291, 337, 344,  
     381, 423, 427, 481, 493, 507,  
     527, 533  
 Cairbre Righfada, 2  
 Cairell, Bishop, 349, 351, 367  
*Caislen Craebhi*, called 'Credhi,'  
     battle of, 398  
 Caithness, 'Cait,' 10, 12, 19, 52,  
     132, 136, 267, 332, 384, 458,  
     466  
     *Cele De* in, 517  
*Calatros*, 408  
 Caledonia, woods of, 541  
 Callander, 140, 408  
 Cambuslang, 144  
 Camerarius, 279  
*Camlann* (Cámelon), battle of, 175,  
     191, 217  
*Candida Casa*, 1, 18, 55, 74, 77, 98,  
     105, 163, 186, 212, 230, 233,  
     249, 264, 267, 273, 287, 289,  
     300, 329, 337, 340, 346, 349,  
     352, 353, 394, 419, 426, 431,  
     454, 529  
     crosses at, 538  
 Canisbay, 136  
 Canterbury, 317, 319, 328  
 Cantyre (*Epidium*), 8, 173, 202,  
     216, 410, 433, 437  
*Capella*, 30  
 'Caran,' S. (*Coran-dhu*), 298  
 Cāranoc, S., the Great, 108, 118,  
     337  
 'Car-Budde,' 32  
 Cardross, 138  
 Carmunnock, 144  
 Carrick, 268  
 Carron, East Ross, 306  
*Casula*, 30, 500  
 Catan, S., of Kingarth, 291, 343,  
     544  
     Church foundations of, 292  
*Cathair*, 32  
*Cathbuaidh*, the, 495  
*Cathedra*, 33  
 'Catoc' or *Maes-y-darwe*, battle of,  
     417  
 Cave retreats, 79, 507  
*Ce*, 12  
 Ceadda, Anglo-Roman bishop, 288  
 'Cele De,' 499, 505, 506  
*Cele De*, the, 496  
     decline of, 514

# THE PICTISH NATION

- Cele de* of Ireland, 504  
 opponents of, 497  
 organization of, 509  
 Queen Margaret and, 512  
 relations with the Ab, 507  
 Roman institutions and, 497, 509  
 Celestine, Pope, 113  
 Cellach, Bishop of 'Alban,' 488  
 Celtic Church, usages of, 183, 277,  
 281, 285, 315, 333, 354, 362,  
 368, 387, 513, 515  
 Celto - Catholicism of Pictish  
 Church, 353, 362, 521  
 Kenneth MacAlpin breaks away  
 from, 476  
 Celtran, sovereign of the Picts, 1217  
 Cennfaeladh, Ab of Bangor, 373,  
 395  
 Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth and  
 Jarrow, 368  
 his letter to king Nechtan, 369  
 Ceredig 'Guletic,' 108, 190, 192,  
 194, 196  
*Chi-Ro* symbol, 538  
 Church, the first National and Es-  
 tablished (in Britain), 199  
 Church-buildings, 73  
 Church of the Gaidheals or Scots,  
 intruded communities of, 350  
 Church of the Picts of Alba, Tables  
 relating to, 337  
*Cill* (Kil-), 25  
 Cillene Fada, 'Ab' of Iona, 430  
 Cilline Droicteach, 'Ab' of Iona,  
 429, 430, 508  
 'Cind righ Monaidh,' 'Cill Rig-  
 Monaidh,' St. Andrews, 260,  
 338, 344, 394, 423, 427, 481,  
 493, 512  
 Ciniath Mac Luthrenn, sovereign  
 of the Picts, 229, 329  
 Ciniod Mac Wredech, sovereign of  
 the Picts, 437  
*Cirigh*, *Chircin*, 12  
*Cladh*, a churchyard, 377  
 Clan-life of the Picts and religion,  
 534  
 Claudian, 2  
 Clinog Eid-Dun (Edinburgh), 196  
 Clonard, 26, 258, 337  
 Clova, Cloveth, 237, 336, 348  
 Clyde, 17, 146, 458
- Cnoc Coirpri* (Cophair), battle of,  
 407  
 Coleraine, 97  
 'Colidei,' the, 503  
 Coll, 260  
 'College,' 124, 135, 269, 345  
 of Brechin, 474, 490  
 Colm, S., Buchan and Caithness,  
 132, 347, 384  
 Colm (Colmoc), S., Inchmaholm,  
 122, 140, 344  
 Colman, S., bishop among the  
 Angles, 314  
 Colmonell, 268  
 Columba, S. (Columcille), 20, 55,  
 134, 208, 221, 224, 225, 256,  
 265, 350, 381, 386, 456, 494  
 Church foundations of, 385  
 Columban fable, the, 225  
 Columbanus, S., 2, 41, 244, 277,  
 333, 524, 527, 529, 533, 543  
 letters of, 280  
 Comgan, S., 3, 123, 337, 347, 354,  
 393, 427, 507  
 Church foundations of, 357  
 Comgall, S., the Great, 1, 8, 19, 41,  
 55, 132, 221, 233, 238, 241,  
 258, 259, 291, 333, 337, 340,  
 347, 455, 511, 527, 533, 543  
 Comgall Mac Domangart, king of  
 Dalriada, 204  
*Comrie*, *gomrie*, *Comraich*, 38,  
 140, 405  
 Comadh Cerr, king of Dalriada,  
 312  
 Conaill Mac Comghall, *toiseach* of  
 Dalriada, 204, 221  
 Conall Caeim, king of Dalriada,  
 437  
 Conall Mac Taidg, king of Dalri-  
 ada, sovereign of the Picts,  
 437  
 Conchobar, 505  
 Constantine, king of Devon and  
 Cornwall (c. 537), 192  
 Constantine, Saint and Prince,  
 243, 337  
 Constantine I. Mac Fergus, king  
 of Dalriada, sovereign of the  
 Picts, 437, 479, 481  
 Constantine II., Scotie sovereign  
 of the Picts, 446, 459

# INDEX

- Constantine III., king of 'Alban,'  
424, 446, 461, 463, 488, 493  
Constantine IV., king of 'Alban,'  
438, 446  
Contin, 306  
Conval, S., 337  
Conversions in mass, 101, 342, 531  
Corrimony, 377  
Council of Constance, 44  
Council of Pictish Church, under  
Nechtan, 369  
at Scone, 488, 491  
Coyl, king, 'the Old,' 148, 197  
Crafts, 65  
Creich, 407  
Critan, Ab of Bangor, 298  
Cromarty, 237, 378  
Cronan, Ab of Aondruim, 283  
Cross, Pictish use of the symbol of  
the, 538  
Crosses, 38, 167, 291, 304, 306,  
343, 426, 537  
*Cruithnii*, 1, 6, 7, 16  
*Cruitin-tuait*, 6, 458  
*Cruits*, 67  
'Cry of the Deer,' 49  
Cuchullin, 505  
Cuillen Mac Ilduib, king of  
'Alban,' 446  
*Cul Dreimhne*, battle of, 8, 58, 205,  
239, 241  
Culross, 128, 129, 337, 501, 506  
Culsalmond, 128, 252  
Cumberland, 248  
Cumbria, 175  
Cumine Ua Becce, Ab of Eigg, 343,  
393, 427  
Cunedog or Cinuit 'Guletic,' 190,  
192, 196, 202, 220, 541  
Curitan, S. (Boniface), 372, 388,  
391, 427  
Currie, 251  
Cuthbert, S., 101, 325  
Cuthred, king of the West Saxons,  
416  
Cymri, 249  
*Dabhach, davach, doch-*, 39  
Dagan, S., of *Candida Casa*, 273,  
275, 337  
*Dair, Darra*, 'Deer,' 37  
*Daire*, 73  
Dal-Araidhe, kingdom of the Irish  
Picts of, 1  
Dalarossie, 336  
Dallan Forgaill, the bard, 381  
Dalmally, 149  
Dal-Riada (Scottish), 173, 325,  
352, 381, 386, 388, 431, 444,  
475, 478  
conquest of, by the Picts, 404,  
406, 408, 411, 417, 431, 433  
kings of, 312, 402, 410  
Danes, 448, 462  
Daniel, Ab of Kingarth, 295  
Darlugdach, 215, 345  
David, S. (Dewi), of Wales, 112,  
137, 157, 162, 194  
Daviot, Aberdeenshire, 135  
Dedication of Churches, 371  
Deer, 3, 19, 37, 53, 135, 251, 346,  
354, 471  
*Book of*, 466, 521  
Legend of, 4, 134, 215, 356, 502  
Deerness, 342  
*De Excidio Britanniae*, 151  
Degsa-stane, battle of, 179  
'*Deicolae*,' the, 503  
Deira, 177, 318  
*Dekantai*, 10  
*Demetae*, 133  
Denmark, 453  
Deodric, king of the Angles, 176  
*Deoradh*, pilgrim, 542  
Derelei Clan, 367  
Derry, Black Church of, 259  
*Derteach, Deartaighe*, 37  
Deveron, the, 135, 299  
Diarmait Mac Cearbhaill, sove-  
reign of Ireland, 50, 239  
Diarmat, Ab of Iona, 456  
*Dicalydones*, 11  
Dicuil, Celtic geographer, 254,  
332, 340  
Dion Cassius, 11  
Dirilot, Church at, 384  
*Disert*, 30, 183, 507  
*Dithreach*, 31  
Domangart Mac Fergus, king of  
Dalriada, 204  
Domhnall Breac, king of Dalriada,  
312  
Domnall, Mac Constantine, Pictish  
king of Dalriada, 437, 439



# THE PICTISH NATION

- Domongart, the *Ferlegin*, 347  
 Donald I. Mac Alpin, Scotie sovereign of the Picts, 446  
 Donald II. Mac Constantine, first to take title 'king of Alban,' 434, 444, 446, 486  
 Donnán, S., the Great, 33, 39, 99, 267, 271, 347, 448, 454, 507  
     Church foundations, 268  
 Dornie, 356  
 Dornoch, 18, 131, 341, 472  
*Draco*, the, 193  
*Dravidhean*, the, 13  
 Drest Mac Talorgen, sovereign of the Picts, 437  
 Drontheim, 342  
 Drostan, S., of Deer, 3, 4, 132, 251, 340, 347  
     Church foundations of, 135  
     '*Drostan Dairthaighe*' of Angus, 37, 345, 393, 508  
 Drowning, punishment by, 406, 408  
 Drumachose, 259  
*Drum Albain*, 81, 178, 225, 256, 313, 324, 332, 382  
 Drumceatt, Convention of Gaidheals at, 207  
*Drum-derg Blathmíg*, battle of, 400  
 Drust Gurthinmóc, sovereign of the Picts, 57, 203, 216  
 Drusticc, 57, 98  
 Drust, Nechtan's successor, sovereign of the Picts, 389, 398, 402  
 Drust Mac Constantine, sovereign of the Picts, 437  
 Drust Mac Donnel, sovereign of the Picts, 229, 329  
 Drust Mac Erp, sovereign of the Picts, 210  
 Drust Mac Gyrom, sovereign of the Picts, 217  
 Drust Mac Munaith, sovereign of the Picts, 218  
 Drust Mac U' Drost, sovereign of the Picts, 217  
 Drymen, 256, 350, 380  
 Dubh-Galls, 448, 452, 460  
 Dubh Mac Maelcoluim, king of 'Alban,' 446  
 Dubhoc, S., of Brechin, 345  
 Dubhoc or Dubhi, S., of Lismore, 343
- Dublin, Viking kingdom of, 457, 459  
 Dubthac, S., of Tain, romanized Gaidheal, 53  
 Duirinish, 357  
 Dull, 350, 367, 380, 383, 385, 387  
*Dumna* (Lewis), 12  
*Dumnonii*, 192  
 Dun Add, capital of the Gaidheals or Scots, 203, 406, 411, 431  
 Dunbarton, 128, 177, 186, 195, 200, 312, 418, 458  
 Dunblane, 295, 319, 336, 344  
*Cele de at*, 517  
 Duncan Becc, 'king' of Cantyre, 386, 402  
 Duncan Mac Conaill, superseded king of Dalriada, 198, 207  
 Duncan Mac Crinan, king of 'Alban,' 446  
 Dun Ceithern, 61  
 Dun(d)Earn, 12, 407, 482. *See under* Fortrenn  
 Dungal Mac Selbac, 'king' of Dalriada, 402, 407  
 Dun-Gimhen, 258  
 Dunkeld, 11, 229, 299, 350, 481  
     attempt to transfer Mother-Church of Scots there, 478  
*Cele de at*, 516  
     Constantine's Church at, 481  
     'Liturgy' of, 122, 537  
     projected seat for Bishop of Fortrenn, 480  
*Dun Leithfinn*, 405  
 Dunmeth, Glass, 349  
 Dunnichen (Dun Nechtain), 124, 215  
     battle of, 61, 323, 324, 326;  
     political results of, 326, 370  
 Dunning, 128, 160  
 Dunod, S. (Donatus), 181, 183, 254, 275, 335  
 Dunolly, 406, 408  
 Dunottar (Dun Fother), 39, 115  
 Durness, 306  
 Dwellings, 70  
 Dyeing, 67
- Eadbald, king of Kent, 284  
 Eadbert, king of the English, 414, 415

# INDEX

- Eaglais, Eccles-*, 27, 297  
 Eanfrid, apostate king of Bernicia, 329  
 Earn, 'Erann,' 121, 122  
   kingdom of (Fortrenn), 2, 320, 361  
 Easter controversy, the, 183, 280, 315, 371, 387, 394  
 Ebussa, 447  
 'Ecclesia Scoticana,' 483  
 Edderton, Ross, 82, 269, 336  
 Edinburgh, 191, 196, 217, 312  
 Editors, Gaidhealic and Latin, 54, 438, 440, 460  
 Education, 35, 57, 92, 98, 292, 365, 469  
 Edwin, king of the English, 286  
 Egbert, Anglo-Roman zealot, 374, 387, 425, 429, 475  
 Egbert, Bishop of York, 288  
 Egfrid, king of the English, 317, 321, 326  
 Egilshay, 342  
 Eigg, island of, 267, 269, 271, 393, 427, 448, 454  
*Eilan Donnán*, Kintail, 269, 356  
 Elfred, princess, 328  
 Elfrith, king of the English, 461  
 Elpin Mac Wroid (Alpin Mac Feroid), sovereign of the Picts, 437  
 Emly (Imlach), 121, 344  
 Endeus, or Eany, S., 95, 120  
 English, the, 311, 321, 353, 378, 394, 397, 414  
   claims to conquest, 312, 326  
 'English Claims,' the, 373, 414, 418  
 Eochaidh Buidhe, king of Dalriada, 312  
 Eochaidh Mac Aed Finn, grandfather of Kenneth Mac Alpin, 438  
 Eochaidh Mac Eachaidh, 'king' of Dalriada, 402, 406, 411  
 Eochaidh Rineaval, 'king' of Dalriada, 401  
 Eochaidh Run, joint-sovereign of the Picts, 434, 446, 482  
 Eogan, 'Eugadius' or 'Euchinus' of Deer, 347  
 Eogan of Ardsratha, 97  
 Eormenburg, English queen, 325  
*Epidioi, Epidium* (Cantyre), 9  
 Episcopacy, Roman monarchic, 523  
 Episcopal State Church set up in Alba by the Scots, 475  
 Erc, race of, 2  
 Erchard, S. (M'erchard), 111, 349  
 'Etar Linndu' (Leny), 408  
 Ethelbald, king of Mercia, 414, 416  
 Ethelbert, king of Kent, 276  
 Ethelfrid, king of the English, 177, 276  
 Ethelred, lay Ab of Dunkeld, 513  
 Ethical aims of the Pictish Church, 518  
*Eun Innis* (Avium insula), 259  
 Ewen or 'Uven' Mac Angus II., sovereign of the Picts and Scots, 437, 442, 457  
 Excommunication of S. Columba, 205  
 Expulsion of the Gaidhealic or Scotie clergy by Picts, 379, 385, 387  
 Faelcu, Ab of Iona, 430  
 Failbhe Mac Guaire, 310, 343, 393, 425  
 Faith, Picts and the Christian, 533  
 Falkirk, 297  
 Farne Islands, 177, 288, 449, 455  
 Farnua (Kirkhill), 377  
 Farr, Sutherland, 306  
   Cross of, 537  
 Fearn, Edderton, 105, 269, 289, 336, 340, 426  
 Fearn (Nova Farina), 106, 289, 472  
 Fedhlimidh, 'Ab' of Iona, 430  
 Feradach Mac Selbac of Lorn, 407  
 Ferchar, king of Dalriada, 312  
 Ferchar Fada of Lorn, king of Dalriada, 365, 401, 407  
 Ferghil, S., the Geometer, 337  
 Fergus, S., of Buchan and Caithness, 132, 347  
 Fergus, S., of Carnoch, 129, 246, 337  
 Fergus, S., of Dalarossie, 336  
 Fergus Mac Eachaidh of Cantyre, 410, 437

# THE PICTISH NATION

- Fergus Mor, reputed second king of  
 Dalriada, 173, 203  
*Feth Fiadha*, the, 48  
 Fiac, or Fiag, S., 49, 114  
*Fiacha Araidhe*, 1  
 Fiacroc (Fittoc), S., of Nigg, 252  
 Fictitious grants of property, 502  
*Fidach*, 12  
 Fidhbhadach, Ab of Bangor,  
 Ulster, 431  
 Fife, *Fib*, 10, 12, 214, 236, 260, 294,  
 297, 361, 423, 471  
 Mother-Church of, 264, 361, 423,  
 427  
 Fillan or Faolan, S., '*Llafar*,' 121,  
 139, 344  
 Fillan, S., of Fife, 338, 355  
 Fillan, S., of Houston, 123, 355,  
 357, 393, 427  
 Finan, S., of Lumphanan, 252  
 Finan, S., Scotie bishop at Lindis-  
 farne, 429  
 Finbar, S., of Maghbile and Dor-  
 noch, 57, 97, 129, 234, 340,  
 355  
 Findchan the Presbyter (Tiree),  
 241, 259  
 Findgane Mac Deleroith, Pictish  
 chief, 331  
 Findomhnan, S., of Forvie, 336  
 Finghin, *Cele de*, 'Ab' of Iona, 517  
 Finian, S., of Clonard, 35, 258, 337  
 Finlé Cunthar or Cunchar, Pictish  
 chief of Angus, 466, 474  
 Finn-Gall, the, 448, 452  
 Fintan, S., 350  
 Fishing, 64, 245  
 Flaithbertach, princes of Dun-  
 keld, 480  
 Flann, S., of Antrim, 395  
 Flann-Abhra, Ab of Maghbile, 456  
 Fleet, Pictish, 401  
 Viking, 458  
 Flodden of the Picts, 442  
 Fordun, 114  
 Fordun, John of, 115  
 Forfar, Angus, 10, 214, 297, 299,  
 323  
 Forres, 306  
 Forteviot, 12, 481  
 Forth, river and firth of, 9, 11, 17,  
 190, 217, 312, 318, 327, 338
- Fortrenn, Fort Earn, Dun(d)Earn,  
 2, 12, 17, 122, 320, 323, 370,  
 378, 380, 386, 396, 407, 444,  
 457, 459, 468, 478, 494, 501  
 Scotie headquarters removed to,  
 465  
 seat of Roman bishop of, 480;  
 removed to Abernethy, 481  
 title of Roman bishop changed  
 to 'bishop of Alban,' 492  
 Forvie, 336  
 Fothad I., Roman bishop of  
 'Alban,' 515  
*Fotla*, 12  
 'Four Nations,' the, 230  
 Frankish clergy, 279  
 Franks, the, 452  
 Fraserburgh (Faithlie), 135  
 Freedom for the Church, 520  
 Freswick, 136  
 Frisian Vikings, 271, 447  
 Frithwald, Roman bishop of *Can-  
 dida Casa*, 419, 431  
 Fumoc, S., of Botriphnie, 252  
 Furs, 68  
 Fusion of Picts and Scots in the  
 west, 410
- Gabhran Mac Domangairt, king of  
 Dalriada, 8, 13, 204, 265, 347  
 the Clan, 366, 386, 401, 410  
 Gaidhealic dialect of Celtic, 20  
 Gaidheals or Scots, the, 2, 172, 188,  
 191, 202, 216, 229, 265, 302,  
 311, 352, 365, 379, 401, 434,  
 460, 464, 478  
 of Ireland, 172, 274, 322  
 Galan, sovereign of the Picts, 216  
 Galan Cennaleph, sovereign of the  
 Picts, 218  
 Gall, S., 2, 41  
 Gall, St., 45, 244  
 library at, 42  
 '*Gallaibh*' generally, and referring  
 to Caithness, 451  
 '*Gallgaedelaib*,' 294, 450  
 Gall-Gaidheal, the, 449, 457  
 Galloway, 1, 18, 101, 249, 273,  
 285, 286, 289, 312, 337, 353,  
 356, 394, 413, 418  
 Alpin the half-Pict settles in,  
 413, 417



# INDEX

- Garioch, 238, 253  
*Garth*, 38  
 Gartnaidh Mac Domneth, sovereign of the Picts, 228, 263, 344  
 Gartnaidh Mac Donnel, sovereign of the Picts, 229, 329  
 Gartnaidh Mac Gyrom, sovereign of the Picts, 217  
 Gartnaidh Mac Wid (Foith), sovereign of the Picts, 229, 329  
 Gaul, 245, 279  
   Church of, 234, 522  
 Geographical idea of Pictland of Alba in early and mediaeval periods (compare with references the map of Matthew Paris), 1, 224, 236, 364, 380  
 Gilbert Murray, Roman bishop and saint, 4, 131, 341  
 Gilbert de Sterling, Roman bishop, 348  
 Gildas, saint and censor, 137, 146, 193, 201  
 Gilgith, Gilgic, or Galgac, sovereign of the Picts, 211  
 Giric or Grig, last Pictish titular sovereign of the Picts, 5, 434, 445, 446, 482, 484  
   his gift of 'Liberty' to the romanized Scotie Church, 483, 487  
 'Glas Cainic,' the, 58  
 Glasgow, 18, 104, 129, 196, 200, 231, 246, 257, 273, 299, 319, 337, 352, 529  
   S. Columba's visit to, 256  
 Glasnevin, 26, 259  
 Glaston, Glasserton, 79, 101, 286  
 Glastonbury, 101, 191  
 Glen, the Great, 112  
 Glen Esk, 508  
 Glen Gyle, 407  
 Glenmoriston, 112  
 Glen Shiel, 356  
 Glen Urquhart, 39, 135  
 Godfrey of the race of Ivar, 461  
 Gospel MSS., 57, 532  
   S. Martin's, 58  
 Govan, 243, 337  
 Gragabai, the jarl, 461  
 Gruoch, queen, 500  
 Guallauc, or Hywel, 148, 176, 196  
 Gureit, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, 311  
 Gwenddolen ap Ceidian, 60, 196  
 Gwendydd, 59  
*Gwledig* or Guletic, the, 189  
*Gwynedd*, *Gwendote*, Venedotia (N. Wales), 191, 219  
 Hadrian, abbot at Canterbury, 317  
 Hadrian, Wall of, 420  
 Haldane, the Viking, 458  
 Halkirk, 131, 136, 342  
 Hebrides, 8, 52, 426  
 Helmsdale, 39, 131  
 Hexham or Hagustald, 420  
 Hierarchy of Rome, and Pictland, 391  
 Hilary, S., 78, 337  
 Hilda's abbey, 328  
 'Hill of Faith,' Scone, 488  
 Hinba, 299  
 Hoan, king of the Britons of Strathclyde, 312  
 'Holdelm,' now Hoddam, 199, 251  
 Honorius, emperor of Rome, 213  
 Houston, 123, 355  
 Hoy and Church, 342, 384  
 Hubba, the Viking, 458  
 Humber, the, 17, 462  
 Huns, the, 453  
 Hussa the Angle, 148, 176  
 Hut circles, 70  
 Hy or Iona, which see, 2  
 Hymn of S. Fiac, 49  
 I, Hy, or Iona, 221. *See* Iona  
 Iceland, 254, 332  
 Ida, the Angle, 174  
 Ilduib (misread 'Illulb') Mac Constantine, king of 'Alban,' 446  
*Ilidh*, *Ülligh*, Ila, the Helmsdale river, 10, 268  
 Illtyd, or Iltutus, S., 155  
 Inchmaholm (*Innis na Cholm*), 122, 344  
 Inguar, the Viking, 458  
*Innis Cumennraighe*, plundering of, 404  
*Innis na Cailleach*, 123, 355  
*Innis Pict*, 1  
*Innis Witrin*, Isle of Whithorn, 286

# THE PICTISH NATION

- Insch, Garioch, 135  
 Inverarity, 125  
 Invergowrie, 375  
 Invermoriston, 384  
 Inverness, 8, 227, 235, 237, 378, 383  
 Iolan, Ab of Kingarth, 295  
 Iona, 2, 20, 52, 221, 227, 264, 267, 270, 311, 325, 332, 350, 367, 373, 381, 386, 425, 428, 455, 538  
   Abs who conformed to Rome, 430  
   *Cele De* at, 517  
   clergy expelled from Pictland, 379  
   Kenneth Mac Alpin the Scot breaks away from, 476  
   left derelict by Innrechtach, 477  
   old parish Church of, 431  
   Pictish Churchmen found a Church there, 296, 430  
 Ireland, 52, 460, 477, 496  
 Isla, Angus, 400  
 Islay, 304  
 Ithernan, or Ethernoc, S., 297  
 Ivar, king of the Vikings in Ireland, 458, 460  
 Ivar Conung ua Ivar, 461, 495  
  
 Jarrow-on-Tyne, 368, 420  
 Jerome, S., 280  
 Joceline of Furness, 19, 60, 100, 200, 247, 256, 273  
 John, bishop of York, 288  
 John IV., Pope, 282  
 Jonas, biographer of S. Columbanus, 243  
 Julius Capitolinus, 17  
 Justus, bishop of Rochester, 276, 285  
  
 '*Kailli an Find*,' 350, 380, 479  
*Kalēdonioi*, 11  
 Keith, 303, 306, 392  
 Kenneth Derelei, 378  
 Kenneth III. Mac Alpin, Scotie sovereign of the Picts, 418, 434, 437, 438, 442, 444, 446, 457, 460, 465, 468, 477, 485  
   breaks away from Columban Church of Iona, 476  
  
 Kenneth III. Mac Alpin, establishes the Roman Mission in Alba, 476  
   his attack 'in the rear' of the Pictish army, 442  
   his innovations in the Scotie and Pictish Churches, 476  
   his scoticizing designs, 472  
 Kenneth IV. Mac Maelcoluim, king of 'Alban,' 345, 446, 466, 474, 490  
 Kenneth V. Mac Duibh, king of 'Alban,' 446  
 Kentigern (Mungo), S., 19, 59, 100, 194, 196, 200, 246, 332, 337, 499, 507, 511, 527  
   Missions of, 248  
 Kentigerna, S., 121, 135, 347, 355, 358, 427  
*Kerōnes*, 9, 14  
 Kessoc, S., 137, 138  
 Kiannaght, 123, 259  
 'Kilcalmkill' for 'Gillyecallongil,' 384  
 Kil-Curdy (Kil-Curitan), 375, 377  
 Kildonnan, Arran, 268  
 Kildonnan, Eigg, 343  
 Kildonnan, Sutherland, 268, 342, 538  
 Kilfillan, Kil'llan, 355, 356  
 Kilkenney, Round tower of, 73  
 Kil-Kinterné, 356  
 Kilmarnock, 299  
 Kilmoha, Argyll, 138  
 '*Kilmoronoc*,' '*Kilmoronog*,' 297, 430  
 Kilrenny, 297  
 Kilrymont (*Cill Rìg-Monaidh*). See *Cind rìgh Monaidh*  
 Kiltarn, Ross, 356  
 Kincardine, Mearns, 10  
 Kincardine, Ross, 10  
 Kingarth (*Cinn-garadh*), 293, 319, 343, 344, 430, 431, 469, 508  
 Kinghorn, 336, 338, 474  
 Kingussie, 384  
 Kintail, 14, 269, 356  
 Kirkcolm, 268  
 Kirk-Cowan, 355  
 Kirkcudbright, 102  
 Kirkintilloch, '*Chircind*,' '*Caer pen*,' 228

# INDEX

- Kirkmahoe, 138  
 Kirkmaiden, 268  
 Knapdale, 203, 406  
 Knoydart, 357  
*Kornavioi*, 9  
 Kynör, 252, 346  
 'Kyrkenes', 500  
  
 Laeghaire, king of the Irish Gaidh-eals, 47  
 'Laicht Alpin,' 413  
 Lairg, 306  
 Laisranus, Mac Laisre, Molaisren, Ab of Bangor, 283, 292  
 Lamlash, 38, 292  
 Lanark, 251  
*Landnamabók*, the, 23, 255, 458  
 Lands of the *muinntirs* stolen under the Scots, 473  
 of the clansmen stolen, 474  
 Latin among the Picts, 56  
 Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, 276, 285  
 his letter to the Irish, 277  
 'Laus perennis,' 35, 122, 256  
 'Law of the Innocents,' Adamnan's, 373, 374  
 Law regulating succession of Pictish Abs, 472  
*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, 2  
 Learning among the Picts, 369  
 Leathlobhair, chief of Irish Picts, 456  
 'Legacaester,' Chester, Battle of, 180, 276, 286  
 Legions, in Britain, 187  
 Leinster, 49, 355  
*Leithreid*, Battle of, 222  
 Lennox, 138, 145, 149, 178, 256, 295, 313, 350  
 Lerins, 523  
 Lesmahagow, 169  
 Leven (Lochaber border), 405  
 Leven, Loch (Kinross), 336, 501, 515  
 Leven, the, Dunbarton, 149  
 Lewis, 12, 269, 305, 449, 467  
 Lhanbride, 39  
*Lia Fail*, The, 33  
 'Liberty' to romanized Scotie Church by Giric, 483, 487  
 Libraries of Bobbio and St. Gall, 41  
 Library at *Candida Casa*, 57  
 Ligugé, 337  
 Lindisfarne, 318, 455  
*Lis, lios*, 39  
 Lismore (Lorn), 19, 39, 170, 236, 343, 347, 469  
 Llallogan, 59, 198  
*Llan*, 38  
 Llancarvan, 144, 155  
 Llan-Elwy, 194, 246  
 Llolan, S., 137, 165  
 Loarn Mor, reputed first king of the Scots of Dalriada, 203  
 Lochaber, 14, 367  
 Loch Broom, 10  
 Loch Carron and Carron river, 306  
 Loch Duich, 356  
 Loch Fyne, 304  
*Lochlann*, 451  
*Lochlannaibh*, the, 450, 459, 494  
 Loch Leven (Kinross), 336, 501, 515  
*Cele De* at, 500  
 Loch Lomond, 123, 355  
 Loch Long in Kintail, 356  
 Loch Maree (*Ma rui*'), 306  
 Loch Ness, 85, 349, 351, 367  
*Logo-Tigiac, Leuko Teiac, Logotigiacum*, 26, 78, 159  
 Lollius Urbicus, 7, 16, 17, 415  
 London, 188  
 Lonmay, 135  
 'Loogdae' Loch, 390  
 Lord's Supper, 272, 284, 533, 536  
 Lorn, 343, 406, 409  
 Clan, 366, 387, 401, 407, 411  
 Loth, or Llewddyn Lueddag, king of Eastern Brito-Picts, 175, 192, 217  
 Lothians, 191, 378  
*Lougoi*, 10  
 Louth, 41  
 Love of country, Pictish, 541  
 Lugbe Mocumin, 257, 350  
 Lumphanan (Llan-Fhinan), 38, 446, 500  
 Lumsden Village, 348  
 Lungley, St. Fergus, 136  
 Luss, 140  
 Luxeuil, 244  
 Lyon, Church foundations in Valley of the, 160



# THE PICTISH NATION

- Mac Alpin, Kenneth. *See under* K  
 Macbain, Dr., 16  
 Macbeth, king of 'Alban,' 446, 500  
 Machan, S., 137, 145, 201  
 Mac Maelchon, Brude. *See under* B  
 Mac Oigi, Ab of Bangor and Aber-  
 crossan, 244, 304, 343, 455  
 Mâcon, Council of, 280  
 Madderty, 297  
 Maelcoluim I., king of 'Alban,'  
 446  
 Maelcoluim II., king of 'Alban,'  
 446  
 Maelduin, bishop of 'Alban,' 517  
 Maelduin, king of Dalriada, 401  
 Maelgon, Maelgwyn or Maelchon,  
 king of Gwynedd, and sove-  
 reign of the Brito-Pictish  
 tribes, 154, 178, 192, 194, 219  
 Maelmanach, Ab of Kingarth, 295  
 Maeloc, S., 148  
 Maelrubha, S., 22, 37, 273, 307,  
 335, 343, 392, 426, 454  
     his Church foundations in the  
     East, 306, 392  
     his Church foundations in the  
     North, 306  
     his Church foundations in the  
     West, 304, 343  
 Maelrubha, Moruf, or Morubh of  
 Angus, 345  
*Maes y dawc* or Catoc, battle of,  
 417  
 Maghbile, 18, 98, 129, 234, 337,  
 355, 456, 469  
 'Magnum Monasterium' of S. Mar-  
 tin, 24, 34, 79  
     of S. Ninian, 34, 79  
 Mailros, Melrose, 101  
 Malcolm Mac Duncan, Ceanmor,  
 king of 'Alban,' 446  
 Malcolme or Maol-Choluim of  
 Fearn and *Candida Casa*, 105  
 Man, Isle of, 449  
 Manapian Picts, 1, 17, 49  
*Manau gu-Ôladin* (Mannan), 190,  
 222, 266, 330  
*Maolruadh*a, for Maelrubha, which  
 see  
 Mar, 300, 323  
 Margaret, queen of 'Alban,' 510,  
 514  
 Margaret and the Pictish Church-  
 men, 513  
 'Marmoutier,' Mor Muinntir, 24,  
 79  
 Marnoc, or Marnan, S., 298  
 Marriage of Celtic clerics, 515  
*Martain, Taigh*, 109, 353  
 Martan, S., of Angus, 339  
 Martin, S., 26, 77, 282, 353, 507,  
 522  
 Martyrdom of S. Donnan, 271  
 'Maxima Caesariensis,' 17  
 May, Isle of, 338, 449  
 Mearns, 11, 12, 110, 323, 345, 444  
 Meath, 1  
 Medan, S., of Airlie, 125  
 Medan, S., of Buchan and Caith-  
 ness, 132, 347  
 Medan, S., of *Candida Casa*, 84  
 Medraut, or Modred, 175, 191, 193,  
 217  
 Mellitus, bishop of London, 276,  
 285  
 Mentality, Pictish, 539  
 Menteith, 122, 313, 344  
 Merovingians, 185  
 Mersey, 17, 312  
 Methlick, 36, 84, 346  
*M'eadail*, 63  
*Miathi*, 11, 17  
 Midmar, 252  
 Ministry, Pictish, 530  
 Mirran, S., of Paisley, 243, 337  
 Missions and missionaries, Pictish,  
 530  
 Mobhi, S., 218, 259  
 Mochaol, S., 137  
 Mochriea, S. (misnamed 'Mac-  
 har'), 166  
 Mo'dan, S., of Rosneath, 296  
     Church foundations of, 296  
 Mo'enna, S., 98  
 Molendinar, the, 231  
 Moluag, S., 19, 58, 220, 225, 235,  
 251, 259, 292, 300, 305, 340,  
 343, 347, 348, 511, 543  
     Church foundations of, 234, 237,  
     343, 376  
 Monarchic and Diocesan bishops,  
 392, 394  
 Monasticism, S. Martin's, 77  
 Monifod, Monifieth, 125, 338

# INDEX

- Monire, S., of Crathie, 252  
*Monith Carno*, battle of, 390, 399  
*Monith Craebh*, battle of, 398  
 Moray, 3, 323, 426, 507  
     Firth, 135  
 Morecambe, 195  
 Morkan, Morcant, Brito-Pictish  
     chief, 148, 176, 177, 196, 246  
 Mortlach, 53, 237, 347  
     bishops at, 347  
 Muckairn, 304  
 Mugent, Ab of *Candida Casa*, 98,  
     155, 337  
     'Hymn' of, 27, 56  
     '*Muinntir*,' 1, 24, 32, 78  
 Muircertach, Ab of Cambus and  
     Bangor, 234  
 Mull, 259  
*Mullie*, 63  
 Mun-Ros, Montrose, 125, 339, 507  
 Munster, 2, 458  
 Muredach, 'king' of Lorn, 402, 406  
*Mynghu*, Mungo, 63. *See* Kentigern  
*Mynyv*, *Fenyv*, 164, 195  
     '*Mynyv Vetus*,' 164  
 Myran, S. *See* Mirran  
 Myrdinn, Llallogan, 198  
  
 Nairn, 306  
 Nathlan, S., of Meldrum, 301  
 Naver, 'Nawarn,' 'Nair,' river and  
     strath, 306, 454  
 Navidale, '*Niandal*,' 39, 85, 131  
 Nechtan Derelei, sovereign of the  
     Picts, 330, 350, 360, 364, 370,  
     378, 386, 388, 390, 396, 399,  
     522  
     becomes a cleric, 389, 398  
     'Nechtans mere' (Dunnichen), 61,  
     323, 325  
 Nectan Mac Canonn, sovereign of  
     the Picts, 228, 229, 344  
 Nectan the Great, Mac Erp, sove-  
     reign of the Picts, 124, 214, 323  
*Nemhidh*, 36  
*Nemi*, 37  
 Nennio, S., 'Manchan,' Ab of *Can-*  
     *dida Casa*, 95, 98, 113, 155,  
     163, 337  
 Nennius, 41, 148, 273  
 Newcastle, 420  
 Nialls, the, 1, 2, 173, 303, 457  
  
 Nidan, S., 252, 346  
 Ninian the Great, S., 1, 8, 18, 55,  
     77, 100, 212, 233, 254, 337,  
     340, 346, 349, 507, 511, 522,  
     527  
     Churches founded by, 84, 336  
 North Sea, the, 453  
 Northumbria, 413, 455  
 Norway, 254, 453  
 Norwegians, 448, 450. *See* '*Loch-*  
     *lannaibh*'  
 Nothelm, Archbishop of Canter-  
     bury, 419  
  
 Oan, 'princeps' of Eigg, 343, 393  
 O'Beollans of Ross, the, 474  
 Octha, the Viking, 447  
     '*Oifrend*,' Eucharist, the, 272  
 Olaf Cuaran, the Dane, 462  
 Olaf, son of Godfrey, Viking king  
     of Dublin, 462  
 Olaf the Fair, Viking king of Dub-  
     lin, 458, 459  
 Olaf Tryggvesen, king of Norway,  
     342  
 Olrig, Castletown of, 136  
 O'Morgair, S. Malachi, 244  
 Orders of the clergy of the Scots,  
     517  
 Organization of the Pictish Church,  
     form of, 525  
     complete, 332  
*Ork*, *Orcaes*, Orkney, 12, 52, 254,  
     332, 342, 384, 447, 449, 466  
     Vikings converted by Rome, 342,  
     466  
     Viking kingdom of, 461  
 Ornaments, 60, 66  
 Osred, king of the English, 331  
 Oswald, king of the English, 288,  
     311  
 Oswy, king of the English, 312, 325  
*Otadini*, the, 11, 176  
 Otter, the, 64  
 Ottir, the jarl, 461  
 Owain, father of S. Kentigern, 177,  
     246  
 Oyne, 135  
  
*P*-using Celts, 7, 15  
 Paisley, 243, 299, 337, 427  
*Papas*, *Papa*, 23, 77, 253, 454

# THE PICTISH NATION

- Paradise of the Celts, 541  
 'Parce Domine,' the, 56  
 Paschal date, the, 280, 365, 371, 387, 394  
     at Iona, 425  
 Pasgen, son of Urien, 252  
 Patras, 423  
 Patrick, S., 47, 49, 109, 113, 137, 213, 535  
 Paul Hën, 'Paldoc,' 'Paldy,' 'Polan,' 99, 110, 112, 159, 160  
 Paulinus, Archbishop of York, 78, 101, 287, 300  
 Pausanias, 17  
 Pechthelm, Roman bishop of *Candida Casa*, 104, 274, 289, 394, 419  
 Pechtwin, Roman bishop of *Candida Casa*, 104, 274, 289, 419  
 Peebles, 251  
 Pelagius, 533  
 Penicuik, 251  
 Pennines, 195  
 Pentland (Pictland) Firth, 13, 449  
 Pentland Hills, 195  
 Periods of the Churches, 5  
 Perth, 214, 299  
 'Peter Abstoil,' S. Peter, 4, 314, 376, 391  
 Peter, S., his protection for the Picts, 371, 391, 420, 427, 469  
 Pet-names, 63  
 Petty, 384  
 Phoenicians, 72  
*Pictish Chronicle, The*, 54, 55, 209, 213  
 Pictish Church, aims of, 526  
     penetration by Scotie clergy begins, 468  
 Pictish dialect of Celtic, 15, 48  
 Pictish dissent after beginning of Scotie dynasty, 472  
 Pictish kings of Dalriada, 433, 437  
 Pictish literature, 55  
 Pictland, '*Cruitin-tuait*,' of Alba, 7, 9, 12  
     penetration by Scotie chiefs and clergy begins, 468  
 Picts of Alba, 54, 209, 301  
 Picts of Alba, western (Bede's 'northern'), 220, 225, 236, 259, 264, 269, 410  
 Picts of the north-east of Ireland, 1, 61, 259, 266, 301, 312, 337  
 Picts of the south-east and midlands of Ireland, 1, 258, 337  
 Pilgrim, the Pictish, 542  
 Pitmedan of Fintray, 84  
 Pitmedan of Udney, 135  
 Pittenweem, *Pet-na-Weem*, 338  
 Place-names, Celtic, 541  
 Poitiers, Celts of, 77, 522  
 Polwarth, 251  
 Polyandry, 74  
 Pope, Scots and the, 262  
 Portree, 305  
 Port Ronain, Iona, 430  
 Pottery, 66  
 Precious metals, 66  
*Pretanikai Nēsoi*, 7  
 'Princes,' President, 480  
*Priten, Pryden, Cruitin*, Briton, 7  
 Psalter MSS., 57, 532  
     of Bobbio, glosses on, 505  
 Ptolemy, and the influence of his geographical error with regard to Pictland on early historians, 9, 12, 80, 187, 224, 364, 380  
*Qu-, C-, K-*using Celts, 2, 15  
 Rafford, 306  
 Ranald, the Dane, 461  
 'Red Priest,' the, 302. See S. Mael-rubha  
*Regles, Recles*, at St. Andrews, 261, 267, 338  
 Regulus, S. See Riaghail or Rule, S.  
 Relics of 'S. Andrew,' 423  
 Relics, veneration of, 422, 430, 455, 461, 478, 494, 536  
 Religion and politics, 352  
     pre-Christian, among the Celts, 540  
 'Religiosus,' 427, 508  
 'Religious Equality,' 488  
 Reodatus (Reodaidhe), Ab of Fearn, Edderton, 85, 340, 426, 538  
 Rescobie, 380  
 Restennot, 126, 375  
 Resurrection, 263, 532  
 Retreats, 507



# INDEX

- '*Rex Pictorum*,' high-king or sovereign of the Picts, 2, 446  
 Rhydderch '*Hael*,' later, '*Hên*,' sovereign of the Britons of Clyde, 60, 148, 176, 194, 200, 230, 246, 251  
 Riaghail, Rule, S., of Bangor, 61, 261, 324, 338  
 Riaghail, Rule, S., of *Muc Innis*, 261, 338  
 '*Rígh Dalriada*,' '*Rígh Albain*,' '*Rex Alban*,' 2, 444, 446  
 Rioc, S., 98  
 Robert of Popilton, 209  
 Roman and Celto - Catholic Churches, 522, 525  
 Roman hierarchy organized in Alba by the Scots, 475  
 Roman mission of S. Curitan (Boniface), 372, 378, 391, 393, 428  
 Roman Mission, the, 182, 231, 247, 275, 289, 323, 327, 329, 354, 362, 387, 391, 394, 420, 425, 427, 429, 452, 454, 471, 485, 515, 522  
   promoted in Alba by the Scots, 476  
 Rome, Imperial, 7, 187, 213, 415, 453  
 Ronan, S., Ab of Kingarth, 295, 394, 425, 429  
   at Iona, 429  
   other Church foundations of, 296  
 Ronan, the, *Cele De*, 515  
 Ronan, 'the Scot' (Irishman), 429  
 Rosemarkie, 19, 227, 237, 340, 375, 391, 428  
 Rosnat, 'Rosnan(t),' Whithorn, 96, 163  
 Rosneath, 296  
 Ross, 19  
   absence of Columban Churches in, 383  
   *Cele De* in, 517  
   Earls of, 475  
   Easter, 105, 269, 289, 307, 340, 377, 426, 458  
   Roman Church in, 475  
   Wester, 302  
 Ros Torathair, battle of, 266  
 Rothiemay, 135  
 Round towers, 73, 97, 342  
 Rule of Bangor, 242, 283  
 Rum map Urbgen, 99, 101  
 Sacraments in Celtic Church, 185, 362, 513, 533  
 '*Sagart Ruadh*,' 302. See S. Mael-rubha  
 Sanctuary, Ecclesiastical, 38, 269, 305, 539  
   Royal, 405  
 '*Saxanacaibh*,' 458  
 Saxons, 226, 229, 231, 275, 284, 452, 458  
 Scandinavian Vikings, the, 447  
 Schools, 58  
 Scone, 12, 125, 443  
   Ecclesiastical Council at, 488, 491  
   Kenneth Mac Alpin's treachery at, 442  
 'Scot,' 2, 54  
 Scotie religion in tenth century, 494  
 Scotie vicar in Pictland, the, 473  
 Scots, the, 2. See under Gaidheals  
 Scriptures in Pictish Church, 531  
 Seannal Ua Taidhg, Ab of Achadh-Bo, 428  
*Seipeal*, *Sépél*, Chapel, 28  
 Selbac, chief of Lorn, 386, 402  
 Servanus, S., 30, 55, 99, 127, 129, 201, 251, 252, 337, 500, 507  
   of the fabulists, 501  
 Severus, L. S., 11  
 Shetland, 8, 52, 332, 342, 384, 453, 466  
 Shipping, 69, 401  
 Sidlaw hills, 323  
 Simoniacal bribe of the Scots to the Pictish Abs, 473  
 Sitriuc, the Dane, 462  
 Skail, 454  
 Skaoc, S., 126, 339  
 Skye, '*Sketis*,' 12, 269  
 Slebhine, 'Ab' of Iona, 430  
 Sleibhte, 49, 114  
*Smertai*, 10  
 Smiths, 65  
 Solitary, the, 507  
 Solway, the, 312  
 Sonichar, 245  
 Soul of the Picts, 470

# THE PICTISH NATION

Spike Island, 1  
 Spinning, 67  
 Stilicho, 213  
 Stinchar, 140  
 Stirling, 295, 312, 318, 321, 378  
 Stormont, 364  
 Strath-Clyde, 175, 177, 246, 286, 337, 457, 458  
 Strath-Earn, 321, 323  
 Strath-Gartney, 407  
 Strathmore, 324  
 Strathpeffer, 237  
 Strath-Spey, 365  
*Studion*, the, 36  
 Succession, Law of, 75, 435, 445  
*Suidhe*, 33  
 Sunday, 513  
 Sutherland, 10, 33, 384, 426, 458  
 S. Andrew, 261, 372, 420, 422, 469, 536  
*Legend of*, 261, 415, 420, 423  
 St. Andrews, 3, 53, 58, 260, 338, 344, 394, 423, 428, 469, 471, 488, 491, 493, 496, 512  
*Cele De* at, 516  
 Council of, 513, 531  
 Hexham, 421  
 St. Cainnechs (Kilkenny), 73  
 St. Colms, Buchan, 135  
 St. Davids (*Mynyv*), 156, 164  
 St. Drostans (Deer and Canisbay), 135, 136  
 St. Fergus, Buchan, 135  
 St. Fillans ('Rath-Erann'), 121  
 St. Fittocks, 252  
 St. Gall, 42, 243, 464, 470  
 St. Mungos, 129, 251  
 Tacitus, 211  
 Tain, Old, 136  
 Tain, Ross, 53  
*Taizaloi*, the, 10  
 Talmag, 56, 98  
 Talorg Mac —, sovereign of the Picts, 212  
     Mac Aniel, sovereign of the Picts, 214  
     Mac Congusa, 405  
     Mac Murthollic, sovereign of the Picts, 218  
     Mac Wid ('Foith'), sovereign of the Picts, 229, 312, 329

Talorgan, Mac Angus, sovereign of the Picts, 437  
 Mac 'Enfred,' sovereign of the Picts, 229, 329  
 Mac Fergus of Lorn, 407  
 Mac Wthoil, joint-sovereign of the Picts, 437  
 Tara, 50, 374  
     Synod of, 374  
 Taran Mac Entfidich, sovereign of the Picts, 329  
 Tarbat, Easter Ross, 426  
 Tarlagan or Talorgan, S., 305  
 Tarlog or Talorg, S., 269  
 Tathan, S., 143  
 Taudar Mac Bilé, king of the Strath-clyde Britons, 320, 417  
 Tay, 10, 160, 214, 323, 381  
 Teaching of the Pictish ministers, 529  
 'Tear' (Deer), Kirk o', 136  
 Teilcho, battle of, 207  
 Teimnen of Kingarth, 508  
*Tempul*, 27  
     Maelrubha, 306  
     Ninian, Loch Ness, 85, 268, 349, 351, 367, 380  
     Ronoc, or Ronain, 430  
 Ternan, S., Ab of *Candida Casa*, 95, 99, 109, 116, 129, 168  
 Teunon (Forglen), 400  
 Teutonism, 322, 363, 400, 409, 415, 444, 448, 452, 470  
 Teutons, 281, 284, 363, 450  
 Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, 317  
 Thorstein the Red, 458  
 Tighernac, S., of Cluain Eois, 97  
 Time, Celtic reckoning of, 540  
 Tíree, 238, 259, 266  
*Toiseach*, 8, 204, 382  
 Tolarg, brother of Angus I., 417  
 Tolarg Mac Drostain of Atholl, 379, 380, 386, 406, 408  
 Tonsure, the Celtic, 316, 362, 365  
     the Roman, 368, 387  
*Toraidh*, plundering of, 404  
 Tours, 77, 337, 522  
 Towers, round, 73, 97, 342  
 Triduana, legend of, and Nechtan, 380  
 Trumwine, bishop among the

# INDEX

- Angles at Abercorn, 316, 318,  
327, 363  
Tuatalan, Ab at St. Andrews, 264,  
338, 394, 424, 425, 427  
Tuathal Mac Artguso, 'first bishop  
of Fortrenn,' 480  
Turgot, Roman bishop at St. An-  
drews, 516  
Turriſſi, 3, 14, 109, 347, 354, 357,  
393, 427, 471  
*Ty Gwyn*, 34, 78, 159  
Tyne, 420, 423  
  
Ullapool, 10  
Ulster, *Uladh*, 2, 49, 61, 123, 129,  
234, 239, 337, 457  
Underworld, the Celtic, 540  
Union of Picts and Gaidheals, or  
Scots, 3, 433, 445  
*Ur-ghard, Ar-ghard, Air-Gharadh*,  
307  
Urquhart, Loch Ness, 307  
Urquhart (on Cromarty Firth), 306  
Urien Rheged (Urbgen), 59, 148,  
176, 196, 246  
  
*V* in Ptolemaic names, 10  
*Vakomagoi*, 11, 17  
*Valentia*, 17  
Veneration of relics, 422, 430, 455,  
461, 478, 494, 536  
of Saints, 371, 455  
*Vernikones*, 10, 17  
*Verturiones*, Men of Fortrenn, 11,  
17, 320  
Vigean, S., 99, 107, 126  
Vikings, 51, 72, 301, 437, 440, 444,  
447, 452, 494  
detailed raids of, 454  
Frisian, 271, 273, 447  
  
Vikings, their destruction of re-  
ligious life and education, 470  
Vision, alleged, to Angus I., 422  
Vortigern, 59, 189  
Vosges, 245  
  
Wales, 52, 100, 191  
Wallace, William, 319  
Walloc, S., 99, 252, 300, 346, 349  
Wearmouth, 368, 420  
Weaving, 67  
Weem, 157  
Wells, 83, 167, 291, 301  
Welsh, the, 300  
Westerdale on Thurso, 136  
Westfield, Caithness, 136  
Westminster, 33  
Whithorn, 'Hwiterne,' 1, 56, 101,  
163, 286, 337. See *Candida*  
*Casa*  
Wick, 39, 136, 342  
Wigtownshire, 355  
Wilfrid I., bishop of Northumbria  
and York, 314, 318, 421, 531  
and the Picts, 316  
Wilfrid II., bishop of York, 288  
Worship, 35, 122, 256  
Wrad (Ferat) Mac Bargoit, sove-  
reign of the Picts, 437  
Wrexham, 181  
  
Xiphiline, 11  
  
'Yellow Plague,' the, 218  
'*Yns-witrin*,' Isle of Whithorn, 286  
*Ynys Prydain*, 7  
York, and See of, 104, 201, 287,  
289, 314, 318  
  
Zimmer on the Roman fabulists,  
521

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67







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