

CHAPTER XIII.

Suppression of the Culdees at St Andrews.—Preparatory Measures adopted with this View.—Their Controversy with the Canons Regular as to St Mary's Church.—Remarks on Goodall's Account of this.—State of the Culdees at Iona.—Their Subjection to the Authority of Rome ; and Expulsion of those who were refractory.—Of the Translation of the Reliques of Adomnan, and of Columba.

LET us now attend to the means used for the suppression of the Culdees at St Andrews. Before the introduction of canons regular there, the bishops, it is admitted, were elected by the Culdees. But we need not be surprised to find, that when these canons were brought in by David I., the authority of the Culdees was much diminished ; as this was one thing specially designed in their introduction. Henceforth the chapter consisted chiefly of canons ; while the Culdees were

merely permitted to form a part of it on certain conditions. Their temporal emoluments were also greatly abridged. When Robert de Burgo had seized upon that part of the lands of Kirkness in Fife, which had long been their property, the king indeed enjoined restoration ;¹ and it was undoubtedly with his approbation that Constantine, Earl of Fife, and Macbeth, Thane of Falkland, raised an army for the purpose of resisting this oppressor.² But although he so far preserved appearances, as to repress measures of gross violence, it is evident that he was determined to cast the religious societies in Scotland into a new mould.

Even in the metropolitan see, it cost the labour of nearly two centuries to accomplish the extinction of this society. Here, as in other places, the great plan adopted, was the advancement of the canons regular. But, in subserviency to this, a variety of steps were gradually taken, some of which seem not to have been noticed by former writers on this subject.

In the Register of St Andrews, we have the deed of foundation of the priory of this place, by Bishop Robert, A. 1144. Besides all his other donations of lands, tithes, &c. he gives all his books to this priory. Of the seven portions, which belonged to the altar of St Andrews, he devotes two to the canons regular, and one for an hospital.³

¹ Excerpt. Regist. Sti Andr. V. Dalrymple's Coll. p. 280.

² Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 387.

³ V. Appendix, No. XX.

This register also contains a deed of David I., authorising the prior and canons of this new foundation to receive the *Culdees* of Kilrimunt among them as canons, with all their possessions and revenues, if they be found willing to adopt this character. If they refuse to comply, it is enjoined, that the Culdees then living shall be permitted to retain their possessions during their natural lives; and that on their demise, canons shall be appointed to succeed them individually; and that all their possessions shall thus successively be converted to the perpetual use of this canonical priory.¹ This deed was enacted about the year 1150.

Bishop Robert, mentioned above, by another deed extends his donations to the new priory. For he grants all the portions of the offerings at the altar, without any restriction, except the seventh, which belonged to the bishop. A similar grant was made by Ernald, who filled the see a few years after him, and renewed this grant. He assigns a reason for the gift, which affords the fullest confirmation of what has formerly been mentioned as one great cause of offence at the conduct of the Culdees. "Every offering at the altar used formerly to be divided into seven parts, which were held by seven persons; *not living in common.*" He affirms, that this offering "ought not to be divided into parts, because community of living gives, in a certain sense, community to all that is possessed."² This Ernald was admitted to the see, A. 1158.

¹ V. Appendix, No. XXI.

² V. Appendix, No. XXII.

From the extracts from the Larger Register, it appears, however, that the bishop does not here give a very accurate statement of the appropriation of these portions, or one favourable to the Culdees. The bishop had always one, and the hospital another; the other five belonged to the Culdees. Sibbald thinks that they had always the care of the hospital, and of attending on strangers. But all that certainly appears from the passage, as he has himself translated it, is, that, "when there happened more than six to come, they were wont to cast lots, who, whom, and how many, they should receive and accommodate with themselves."¹ He adds; "They counted obedience, in the performance of these charitable works, as good as sacrifice."² These grants of the offerings to the canons, were confirmed by a charter of Malcolm IV.³ The register contains another, by the same prince, confirming the agreement made between the canonical priory of St Andrews, and the *Culdees* of the same church, concerning the lands of Stradkines and Lethin.⁴

Richard, who succeeded to the episcopate in the year 1163, gave to the canons regular the church of the Trinity at St Andrews, with the lands of Kindargog.⁵

By a rescript of pope Adrian, A. 1156, it is enjoined, that in case of a vacancy in the see of St Andrews, there shall be no exercise "of craft or violence, but that the election

¹ V. Appendix, No. VII.

² Reg. Sti Andr. p. 250, 251.

³ Ibid. p. 162.

⁴ History of Fife, p. 179.

⁵ V. Appendix, No. XXIV.

shall be made with their common consent, and according to the determination of the sounder part of the brethren of the priory." This is evidently pointed against the Culdees, concerning whom it is ordained, in the sentence immediately following, that, "upon their demise, their places shall be supplied by canons regular."¹

We have an ordinance of Pope Lucius, dated A. 1183, similar to that with respect to the Culdees of Monimusk; prohibiting them to leave their monasteries, without permission from their prior, and discharging other religious houses from granting them protection.²

The canonical priory of St Andrews, while striving to suppress the Culdees, was careful to strengthen its own dependencies. Accordingly, we find Prior John, and his convent, "because of the slender means belonging to their priory of Lochlevin, formerly the property of the Culdees," granting and confirming, with consent of the bishop and chapter, to this priory, the whole barony of Kirkness, the lands of Admore and Rialie, Bolgin, Balcristin, Markinche, Auchmotie, and the tithes of the church of Portmoak with certain limitations. Some of the lands formerly mentioned, as belong-

¹ — Obeunte vero fratre nostro Roberto episcopo vestro, nullus in ecclesia Sancti Andree, qui sedes episcopalis est, aliqua surreptionis astutia sen violentia proponatur; sed quem vestro communi consensu, vel fratrum ecclesie vestre pars consilii sanioris secundum Dominum canonicè provideritis eligendum. Statuimus etiam, ut, decedentibus Keledeis, loco eorum regulares canonici, auctore Domino, subrogentur. Reg. S. Andr. p. 54. V. etiam p. 66.

² V. Appendix, No. XXIII.

ing to the priory of Lochleven, are here omitted, and others are mentioned. This deed is dated, A. 1240.¹

A few years after this, the adverse parties mutually tried their strength. This severe struggle seems to have hastened the overthrow of the Culdees. I shall give an account of it in the words of a writer who is not at all partial to them. He has extracted it from an instrument taken in the church of Inverkeithing, A. 1250, preserved in the Advocates' Library. This is transcribed by Sir Robert Sibbald.²

“The prior and convent of St Andrews claimed the prece-

¹ — Joannes prior et conventus sancti Andree, Salutem in Domino. Quamvis pie memorie David, et Willielmus, &c. pro religionis affectu dederunt et confirmaverunt nobis et successoribus nostris *Abbatiam Keledeorum*, infra Lacum de Leven, cum omnibus suis annexis, connexis, dispositionemque religionis in eadem. Et — justum est, et equum, ut illius abbacie fundatores debitis non frauderentur suffragiis; Noverit igitur vestra universitas nos, *exiitate bonorum prioratus nostri Lochleven* considerata, ac quiete fratrum ac canonicorum nostrorum ordinis Sancti Augustini ibidem institutorum et commorantium, caritate fratria providere volentes de voluntate et concilio Domini Gamalielis S. episcopi nostri, ac communi consensu et assensu capituli nostri, Dedisse, concessisse, et hac presente carta nostra confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Sancti Seruani infra Lacum de Leven, ad usus proprios canonicorum ibidem Deo servientium, &c. Reg. Sti Andr. p. 148, 149.

² Acta in ecclesia parochiali de Innerkethyn, anno secundo regni Regis Alexandri, Gratiae anno 1250, crastino Sancti Leonardi, coram Domino Abbate de Dumfermling, capellano Domini Papae et cancellario Domini Regis Scotiae, et Domino R. Thesaurario ecclesiae Dunkeldensis, fungentibus auctoritate apostolica inter Dominum Priorem et Conventum Sancti Andree ex una parte, et Magistrum Adam Malkarwistun gerentem se pro praeposito ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae civitatis S. Andree, et Keledeos se gerentes pro canonicis, et eorum vicariis ex altera.

Cum dies praenominatus esset praestitus *ad publicandum sententiam latam*

dency and superiority in the direction and management of affairs in St Mary's church of St Andrews, which the Culdees would not allow : for they maintained, and with *a good deal of reason too*, that Mr Adam Malkirwistun, their prior, was provost of St Mary's church, and that they themselves were the canons. The matter was appealed *to the pope* of Rome, and he delegated the priors of St Oswald and Kyrkham in England, (who, being of another kingdom, it was to be supposed, would *deal the more impartially*.) to enquire into the matter, and to determine according to justice. The delegates found the Culdees in the wrong, and in the mean time *suspended them from their office* ; but delayed to pronounce their final sentence, which they appointed to be done by Robert

per priorem S. Oswald et de Kircham, in Magistrum Adam de Malkarwiston, Ricardum Weyranem, Gulielmum Wischard, Robertum de Insula, Patricium de Mouchard, Michael. Ruffi, Michaelem Nigri, et quosque alios Keledeos, profitentes se pro Canonicis, et quosque alios inobedientes et rebelles ecclesiae S. Mariae S. Andreae, et ad inquirendum utrum dicti Keledei et eorum vicarii divine celebrarint, sic ligati, et ad statuendum quod canonicum fuerit super praemissis; praefati Abbas et Thesaurarius, actis praecedentibus inhaerentes, usi consilio juris, per eorum sententiam latam per praedictos priores de S. Osualdo et de Kircham, in personas praenominatas, *solempniter publicarunt*, super inquisitione facienda, utrum divina celebraverint sic ligati, testes admiserunt, et eorum dicta in scriptis redigi fecerunt, et diem partibus praestiterant, die Sabbati proximo post Festum S. Andreae in ecclesia Fratrum praedicatorum de Pert, *ad publicandum attestations*, et dudum in testes et testificata, et ad ulterius procedendum secundum formam mandati apostolici: et licet dicti iudices, praenominatis praeposito et Keledeis ob eorum manifestam contumaciam, de jure poenam possent infligere, *poenam eis infligendam usque ad diem partibus praestitam distulerunt*. Sibb. Hist. Fife, first edit. p. 78-9.

Abbot of Dunfermline, one of the pope's chaplains, and chancellor of Scotland, and [R.] the treasurer of Dunkeld, upon the 7th November, 1250, whom they ordained to enquire also, whether these Culdees, and their vicars, had in the mean time celebrated divine ordinances, while they were thus under ecclesiastical censure : Et ad inquirendum utrum divina celebraverint sic ligati. The Culdees did not make their appearance at the day appointed : yet, notwithstanding their *contumacy*, the delegates *mildly enough* delayed the publication of the sentence till another time."¹

It may not be improper to make a few remarks on this account. Goodall admits, at the outset, that the Culdees had right on their side, at least in so far, as it would appear that their prior was the provost, and that they were themselves the canons of St Mary's church. But, towards the close, he exhibits the charge of contumacy against them, almost in the same terms with their enemies. His mode of expression would also seem to bear, that their contumacy lay in not appearing. But there is no evidence, in the original instrument, whether the Culdees were present or not ; or that their absence was viewed as the proof of that contumacy with which they are charged.² There is reason to believe, that the resistance of that claim of precedency which they exhibited, on the ground of their prior being provost of St Mary's, was a plan laid by their enemies for their compleat overthrow.

¹ Preface to Keith's Catalogue, xvi. xvii.

² V. Sibbald's Fife, p. 194, 195.

Although, as their last resource, they appealed to the pope, it is more than probable, that their enemies had so much interest at the court of Rome as to procure the appointment of judges, who had their minds completely prejudged before they heard the cause. There is great reason for this suspicion from the description of the persons. Goodall wishes it to appear, that they had been brought from "another kingdom," under the impression that "they would deal the more impartially." The very reverse is the natural supposition. They, being strangers, could not at any rate be sufficiently acquainted with the religious customs of the Scots. But they had been brought from another kingdom, which was by this time almost entirely cast into the Roman mould, the clergy of which were therefore of course prejudged against the Culdees. To appoint the prior of St Oswalds, indeed, as one of the judges, was virtually to secure their condemnation. For this priory had been long before noted for its zeal for the Romish innovations. We have seen, that, so early as the year 1114, the canonry belonging to it was proposed as the pattern of that reformation which appeared necessary to Alexander I. in regard to the service of God. When, therefore, he converted the ancient Culdean church at Scone into an Abbey, he applied to Adelwald, the prior of St Oswalds, that he would send him canons from his monastery, and obtained them. ¹

This suspicion derives additional confirmation from the

¹ V. Cart. ap. Dalr. Coll. p. 373.

severity of their determination. It might have been supposed sufficient, in a question ostensibly about mere precedency, especially where it is admitted that the Culdees had a *good deal of reason* on their side, had the judges repelled their claim of precedency as ill-founded. But let us observe their decision. They not only gave the cause against the Culdees, but they *suspended* themselves, all those at least who were engaged in the controversy, from all exercise of their office; that is, as appears from what follows, from all "celebration of divine service." We are even left to suppose, that they did so, till they should acknowledge the justice of a sentence that deprived them of the rights which they had possessed for several centuries. Their enemies evidently wished to exclude them from all public ministration. As if this had not been enough, they meant, by their suspension, to lay a trap for them. For they appoint inquiry to be made, whether they presumed to perform divine service after this interdict. The papal delegates not only determined the original controversy, apparently with the greatest injustice, against them; but wished to subject them to the dreaded fulminations of the *Holy See*.

In the instrument referred to, they are not merely pronounced contumacious, in consequence, as would seem, of its being proved by witnesses, that they had celebrated divine ordinances during their suspension; but, in the very sentence of the two judges appointed by the pope, merely in relation to the dispute between them and the canons, they are described as "certain persons who were disobedient and

rebellious against the church of St Mary," or "belonging to" it. Or perhaps this may respect the friends and adherents of these Culdees.

When we attend to these circumstances, not to speak of Goodall's glaring inconsistency, we see how little reason he had for saying, that "the delegates *mildly enough* delayed the publication of the sentence till another time." From the whole tenor of their conduct, there is not the slightest ground for ascribing any part of it to mildness. For both he, and Sir James Dalrymple, have mistaken the sense of the language used by these gentlemen. There were indeed two *publications*. The first was that of the sentence given by the priors of St Oswald and Kirkham, by which the Culdees were subjected to suspension. This, it is said, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and the treasurer of the church of Dunkeld, "*solemnly published*, on their proceeding to make inquiry, whether they had celebrated divine ordinances, *sic ligati*." Having made this publication, they then admitted witnesses, made out a record of their evidence, and appointed a day to the parties, the first Sabbath after the festival of St Andrew, for *publishing* the evidence exhibited by these witnesses, in the church of the preaching friars of Perth; and for proceeding further against the Culdees referred to, "according to the form of the papal mandate." Here was a second publication appointed, which, we have no reason to doubt, would be carried into effect. Where, then, is the proof of the *mildness* of these inquisitors? All that they delay, is a present infliction of "that penalty, which they might have *justly* inflicted," to the day

of this last-mentioned publication. Whether they had any papal authority for proceeding as far as excommunication, I shall not pretend to say.

One thing is evident here. The adversaries of the Culdees, who well knew their spirit, laid a snare for them. The two priors appointed by the pope, suspended them, for no other reason, as far as we can discern, but for pertinaciously adhering to their ancient rights : and at the same time appointed their persecutors to watch them, to see whether they would practically acknowledge the justice of this sentence by submitting to it ; that, if they did not, they might have a ground for further procedure against them. When they obtained the proof which they so earnestly desired against the Culdees, they made a shew of forbearance ; not from any good-will to them, but because they judged it necessary, after having taken one strong step, not too hastily to proceed to another. We have no accounts with respect to any subsequent procedure in this cause. Fear might at length so far operate on the Culdees, as to produce their submission. We learn, that, when William Wishart was postulated to the see of St Andrews, “ at his election or postulation [A. 1272,] the ancient Culdees were *not allowed* to vote.”¹

They had, indeed, been excluded from the election of Gameline, as Keith also remarks,² so early as the year 1255, in which year Gameline appears as elect. The Chronicle of

¹ Keith's Catalogue, p. 18.

² Ibid. p. 12.

Mailros says, that he was elected by "the prior and convent of St Andrews."¹

Notwithstanding this exclusion, the Culdees "neglected to make any appeal, till the year 1297, and then they sent their provost or prior, William Cuming, to plead their cause at Rome, before Pope Boniface VIII.; where they lost their plea, *non utendo jure suo*, because they had suffered two former elections to proceed without them, and entered their appeal only against the third."²

As it appears that these religious were by no means indifferent with respect to their rights, we can account for their listlessness, in this instance, in no other way, than by concluding, that, from the spirit which was manifested in the management of their cause, as narrated above, they had for a long time viewed it as hopeless. Either from the more sanguine temper of Cuming their prior, or from his supposed interest, as it was a powerful name in that age, or from some other circumstance now buried in oblivion, they had

¹ "The greatest confusion," as the same writer observes, "in the list of bishops of this see, is about this time."¹ He seems to think that David Bernham survived till the year 1233. But he must have died before 1250. For in a deed, dated this year, he is stiled *D. bone memorie*. Reg. Sti Andr. p. 29, 30. Keith's account of the election of Gameline nearly agrees with that of the Chronicle of Mailros, which places it A. 1254.² But I know not how to reconcile this with what occurs in a charter granted by John, Prior of St Andrews, concerning the lands belonging to the Culdees, dated A. 1248, in which he speaks of Gameline as bishop of this see before that time. The transcriber has written *Gamalielis Episcopi nostri*. But this is properly corrected *Gamellini* S. i. e. *Sancti*; for which alone it could be meant.³

² Ibid. Pref. viii. Cat. 14.

¹ Ibid. p. 11.

² Gale, p. 220.

³ Reg. Sti Andr. p. 148, 149.

been induced, after a silence of twenty-five years, to try the effect of an appeal to Rome. But their cause, it would appear, had been finally determined there long before.

It has been generally supposed that, from their defeat at Rome, we are to date their extinction. But, from certain articles in the Index to the Extracts from the Register of St Andrews, Sir James Dalrymple concludes, that they continued in that city for some time after this. One article is, *Decisio contraversiæ inter Keledeos et Episcopum de jurisdictione agri per Thomam Ranulphum Guardianem citra mare Scottorum*, An. 1309. "This," he says, "behoved to be with William Lamberton." He mentions another, of which if the contents were known, it would throw much light on the whole matter. This is, *Petitio Keldeorum, et subjectio eorum Episcopo Sancti Andreae*.¹ This last has evidently been their dirge.

Here it may not be improper to take a cursory view of the state of their brethren at Iona, for some centuries previous to the extinction of their monastery.

It is worthy of observation, that the decline of their prosperity, as well as of their respectability and influence, may be dated from the æra of their submission to the encroachments of Rome. As God had punished the apostacy of professing Christians on the continent of Europe, by letting loose on them the barbarians of the north, he permitted the same unrelenting instruments of his displeasure to desolate the remote islands of the west.

¹ Collections, p. 284.

The ostensible grounds of controversy between the Culdees and the church of Rome, were in themselves trivial. It did not signify, on what day they began to celebrate a feast, which had no divine authority in the christian church; nor in what manner they practised a tonsure, which had no better origin than the blind superstition of the priests of heathenism. The proper question was, whether any church or bishop had a right to prescribe to all who bore the christian name. And although the church of Rome, conjoining policy with her power, attacked the Culdees more immediately on these points, it has appeared, that the object she had in view was far more extensive; and that she was resolved to accomplish either their total extinction, or their complete subjugation.

Adomnan, in consequence of a visit which he made to the monks of Girwy, when sent as ambassador from his nation to Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, had become a convert to the Romish rites; and attempted, on his return, to introduce them at Iona. But, great as was their veneration for their patriarch, they continued firm in their adherence to those customs, which, as they believed, had been transmitted to them from the apostles of Christ. Thirteen years after the death of Adomnan, the Annals of Ulster take notice of an event in the history of Iona, which merits our particular attention, as marking the commencement of the many vicissitudes to which the Culdees were henceforth subjected. “716. *Expulsio familiae Iae trans Dorsum Britanniae, a Nectano Rege.*

The expulsion of the family of Hij beyond Drum-Albin, by King Nectan."

The notices, which have reached our times, concerning these dark ages, are so slender, that it is not possible to ascertain the causes of those facts which are barely narrated. We can only form conjectures, from a comparison of what is stated in the Annals of Ulster, and of the Quatuor Magistri, in the Chronicon Pictorum, in the Martyrologies, and by Colgan. There can be little doubt, however, as to the cause of this *expulsion*. Nectan, the third of the name, king of the Picts, being convinced, as is said, by reading ecclesiastical writers, of his own error, and that of his people, with respect to Easter, resolved to embrace the catholic mode. But, "that he might accomplish this with greater ease, and with more authority, he wished for aid from the nation of the Angles. He accordingly sent ambassadors to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Girwy, requesting that he might write a hortatory letter to him, by means of which he might be enabled to confute those who presumed to observe Easter out of the proper time, and also concerning the mode of tonsure by which the clergy ought to be distinguished; informing him, that he was himself pretty well instructed on these subjects."¹ Nectan received such a letter as he requested. In this Ceolfrid says, that by him Adomnan had been convinced of his errors, but that he was "not able to reduce to a better way the monks who lived in the island of Hij, over whom he presided as ruler." When

¹ *Ecd. Hist.* V. 22.

this letter was read and interpreted to Nectan, it is said that he greatly rejoiced at the exhortation, gave thanks to God, and protested before all present, that he, with all his nation, would for ever henceforth observe this time of Easter; and decreed that the Roman mode should be received by all the clergy in his kingdom." ¹ Here we have an early specimen of Roman *finesse*. Bede also informs us, that, not long after this, the monks of Hij, with the other monasteries which were subject to them, were, *by the assistance of our Lord*, reduced to "the canonical observation of Easter and the tonsure." For, in the year 716, the priest Ecgberht went from Northumbria to Hij, and prevailed with them to submit to this change. "These monks," he says, "by the instruction of Ecgberht, received the catholic rites of life, under the Abbot Dunchad, about eighty years after they had sent Aidan to preach to the nation of the Angles." Ecgberht remained thirteen years in the island, and died A. 729. ²

Yet it seems unquestionable, that "the family of Hij were expelled in the year 716." How shall we reconcile these ap-

¹ Ibid. c. 21.

² Bromton gives the same account, as Bede, of the *conversion* of the monks of Hij to the Catholic Easter, with this slight difference, that he calls the Pictish king *Nauton*. By Bede the name is written *Naitan*, for which this might be an error of some transcriber. V. Tuisden, col. 773.

Gillan, who has been at great pains to shew the perfect conformity of the Culdees to the Romanists, views the language of Bede, quoted above, as a decisive proof of this conformity. "If all this," he says, "does not import a perfect agreement with the Roman church, and a renunciation of all former differences, I will despair for ever of understanding the clearest and plainest words." Remarks, p. 112.

parent contradictions? May we not suppose, that the excellent Bede, zealous as he was for conformity to the church of Rome, was ashamed of the means employed at Iona, and therefore drew a veil over the expulsion itself, and the circumstances connected with it? By comparing his account of Egberht's visit to Iona, and long residence there, with what is said in the Annals of Ulster, it is evident that the language of the latter cannot be understood of a total expulsion. It appears that, by the authority of Nectan, all the refractory monks were expelled; while those, who submitted to the innovations, remained. But perhaps, we may safely infer, from the use of the term *familia*, that a great part, if not the majority, were removed.

I am inclined to think, that, on the part of Nectan, some degree of policy had been blended with this severity. He expelled the monks "across," or "beyond Drum-Albin," *i. e.* beyond the Grampian mountains, apparently into the low country, or that of the Southern Picts, of which Abernethy was the capital.¹ It is evident, that, about this time he had formed the plan of adorning the religious foundation at Abernethy, and perhaps of extending it. With this view, when he wrote to Ccolfrid, for the purpose already explained, he at the same time requested that he would send him architects to build a church in his nation after the Roman man-

¹ It would seem that the term *Drum-Albin* more strictly denoted "the highest part, or mountainous ridge of Braid-Alban." V. Pinkerton's Enquiry, 1. 316; also *Vitae Ant. Sanct.* p. 83.

ner. ¹ Now, as the refractory monks of Iona were sent beyond Drum-Albin, it is not improbable that he wished to increase the religious establishment at Abernethy, and thus gradually diminish the dependence of his people on Iona, which lay at such a distance from his capital, and at the very extremity of his kingdom. He might at the same time hope, by a change of situation, to wean them from their former prejudices; and especially by retaining them in or near his capital, and immediately under his eye. ²

It would appear, that Faolchuo, or Faolon, also called Felim, had been elected Abbot of Iona, after Dorbhen, A. 714.

¹ Bed. Hist. V. 22.

² Father Hay, himself a canon regular of St Genevieve, admits that the change, introduced at Iona, caused the dispersion of a considerable number of the monks of that place. Speaking of Adomnan, he says; "The monks of Iona, whose governor he had sometimes been, did strongly oppose him. Others, that lov'd not to be contentious, retir'd; amongst whom Disybodius and Levinus are reckon'd. Disybodius going into Germany, liv'd many years a monke in the Abbey of Fulden. I find likewise Sanctus Florentius Scotus monachus et Abbas Haselachii, qui monasterium amplissimum, ad amnem Bruschium monachis Scotis aedificavit; Sanctum Arbogastum miraculis clarum de terra levavit; obdormivit in Domino clarus sanctitate 675, die septimo Idus Novembris, in monasterio suo Scotorum, quod nunc Sancti Thomae intra muros urbis vocatur, sepultus. Trithem. lib. 4. cap. 172, mentions Chilianus Scotus monachus Chienensis, qui in Germaniam, cum aliquot commonachis perveniens, Wirtzburgenses, sive Herbiopolenses, eorumque ducem Gosbertum ad Christi fidem adduxit, et illius civitatis primus Episcopus, seu Apostolus vocatus, per martyrii palmam ad cælos evolavit, anno 685. Trithem. lib. 4. cap. 190, speaks of one Sanctus Albinus, monachus Hnensis, qui cum multis Gentilium ad Christi fidem, cujus causa in Germaniam devenerat, sua prædicatione convertisset,—verbum Dei seminare non desiit, tandem miraculis clarus, quievit septimo Kalendas Novembris, et Thuringorum Apostolus appellatus est." Scotia Sacra, p. 33, 34. He then proceeds to mention a number of others, who left their own country about the same time.

But it may be supposed, that, in consequence of the schism with respect to the Romish rites, he had been obliged to resign his dignity to Duncha or Dunchad. For, in the chronicle compiled by Dr Smith, it is said, under the year 716, when Dunchad died; “Faolchuo, who had resigned his office to him, again resumes it.”¹ There is a slight difference of two years between Dr Smith’s Chronology, and that of the Ulster Annals, as given by Usher, Pinkerton, and Johnstone; the former fixing the expulsion of the monks of Hij A. 714., the same year in which Faolchuo had been elected, and two years before his restoration. If we trust to the narrative given by Bede, we may suppose the expulsion to have taken place a year or two before the time mentioned in the Ulster Annals. For we learn from him, that Nectan, on receiving the letter from Ceolfrid, “immediately performed, by his royal authority, what he had said. For forthwith, by public proclamation, the circles of nineteen years were sent throughout all the provinces of the Picts to be transcribed, learned, and observed, the erroneous revolutions of eighty-four years being every where suppressed. All the ministers of the altar and the monks had their heads shaved in the form of a crown; and the corrected nation rejoiced, as anew subjected to the instruction of the most blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, and put under his patronage for protection.”²

He adds; “Not long after, those monks also of the Scottish nation, who lived in the island of Hij,—were reduced to

¹ Life of Columba, p. 165.

² Bed. ubi sup.

the canonical observation of Easter and the tonsure. For in the year 716,—Ecgberht was honourably received," &c.

From the Ulster Annals we learn, that "the reliques of Adomnan were transferred into Ireland," A. 726. This was probably in consequence of the continuance of the schism, and by those who adhered to the ancient rites. For it follows;—"and the law renewed." This may signify, that *the law*, or established custom received from their fathers, which had been broken by the tyranny of Nectan, was *renewed* among all those who at this time retired into Ireland. This conjecture receives confirmation from what is said under the year 729: "The return of the reliques of Adomnan from Ireland." ¹ This was the very year in which Ecgberht died: and it appears probable, that the adherents to the old system flattered themselves, that, in consequence of this event, they might be restored to the peaceful enjoyment of their former privileges in Iona; especially as their persecutor Nectan, who had been *put in chains* by Drust, A. 725, had died in the year 727, that is, two years before the return of the reliques; unless we suppose that it was the same year, according to the error ascribed to the chronology of Tighernac. ²

From this time the island of Hij seems to have enjoyed tranquillity for more than sixty years. A. 793, all the western isles were desolated by the Gentiles. Hij was burnt by them, A. 801. They returned in 805, and "reduced the family of Hij to sixty-four." Blathmac, the son of Flain, was

¹ Ibid.

² Pinkerton's Enquiry, I. 299, 303.

martyred in Hij by the Gentiles, A. 824. In 828, “Diarmaid, Abbot of Hij, went into Scotland with Columcille’s reliques :” The same person, it is added, in the year 830, went into Ireland with the same reliques. A. 848, Jurastach, Abbot of Hij, “came into Ireland with Colum Cille’s oathes, or sanctified things.”¹

It is evident that the reliques, venerated at Iona, were no longer reckoned safe there, by reason of the perpetual inroads of the northern nations. But it is not easy to account for their perpetual change of place. A learned writer supposes, that, when under the year 848, Jurastach “is said to have brought Columcille’s oaths, or sanctified things, into *Ireland*,” it is “mistakingly put for *Scotland*, into which they were brought at this epoch.”² He apprehends, that, in the year 849, they were deposited in a church built at Dunkeld, by Kenneth Macalpin, in honour of Columba.

The repetition in the Annals of Ulster gives great probability to the idea, that there is a mistake as to the designation of the country ; as these reliques are previously said to have been carried into *Ireland*, A. 830. To this it must be added, that, in the year 877, it is said, “The shrine of Colum Cille, his oathes and reliques, brought into Ireland, for refuge from the Gentiles,” or “for fear of the Gâls.”³ If Jurastach actually deposited these at Dunkeld, we must either suppose that they were allowed to remain there only about twenty-

¹ Ann. Ulst. Pinkerton.

² Caledonia, i. 428.

³ Ann. Ulst. V. Pink, and Johnst.

eight years : or that the writer of the Annals speaks of some other reliques, which had been retained at Hij till this time, as a succession of abbots was still kept up there. It seems certain, from Innes's old Chronicle, No. 3, that A. 849, Kenneth translated the reliques of Columba to the church which he had erected.¹ But as Constantine, the son of Vergust, King of the Picts, built the church of Dunkeld, A. 815,² it is said, in Dr Smith's Chronicle, under the year 816, " St Dermit, Abbot of Hij, goes to Albin with Columba's coffin or box (*scrinium*)."³ If this event happened so early, it is probable that Diarmaid had gone with them to Dunkeld ; as knowing that Constantine had erected a church in honour of Columba. This agrees with Myln's account of the building of a church by Constantine ; although he dates the erection about the year 729.⁴

At any rate, it is impossible to account for their being so early transported into Ireland as A. 830. If we shall suppose a mistake in the date of the Ulster Annals, as to the time of their being brought into Scotland, and that they were really deposited at Dunkeld A. 816, they may have remained there for some time, and been afterwards removed ; because Ungus, who succeeded Constantine, A. 819, founded Kilrymont, in honour of Regūlus, and was determined to give it the pre-eminence above Dunkeld. For, at this time,

¹ Septimo anno regni reliquias S. Columbae transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit. Essay, Append. p. 783.

² V. Enquiry, I. 309.

³ P. 166.

⁴ See above, p. 136.

there does not appear to have been any internal disturbance in Pictland, nor any invasion from the northern barbarians, that could render Dunkeld insecure.

If we may credit Colgan's Chronology, these reliques could not have been carried into Albin by Diarmaid, later than the year 816; for he says that in this year he died.¹ But at what time soever they were carried thither, it would appear that they were soon transported into Ireland. If we admit the idea, that they had been formerly deposited in Constantine's church, whether in the year 816, or 828, we must suppose that, in 848, or 849, they were only brought back by Juras-tach to the place which they had occupied before. As it is said that these reliques were carried to Ireland A. 877,² or, according to Smith, A. 875, "for refuge from the Gentiles;" some light may be thrown on this by comparing it with what is said in the same Annals, under the year 865. "Anlaiv and his nobilitie went to Fortren," *i. e.* Pictland, "together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland; and spoiled all the Cruthens" or Picts, "and brought their hostages with them." This Anlaiv, or Olave, was leader of the Danes and Norwegians who had taken up their residence in Ireland. He invaded Pictland a second time, A. 870. In the year 874, the Picts were defeated, with great slaughter, by the black Gàls. He remained a whole year in Pictland. Thus in about a year, or at farthest three years, after this last defeat of the Picts, the reliques of Columba seem to have been removed

¹ Caledonia, i. 324, No.

² Ann. Ulst. Pink.

to Ireland, as at that time in a state of greater tranquillity than Pictland. For this was a very disastrous reign to the Picts.¹ It is evident, however, from what we have formerly seen, that the monks of Dunkeld still boasted the possession of at least one precious wonder-working bone of the saint.²

Notwithstanding the great decline of power, there continued to be monks, if not abbots, of Hij, at least, till the year 1203, when, it is said, "Ceallach built a monastery, in opposition to the learned of the place; upon which the clergy of the north of Ireland held a meeting; after which they came to Hi, and demolished the monastery of Ceallach."³ It is probable, that this was erected for the reception of one of the Romish orders of religious; as it was opposed not only by the Irish clergy, but by "the learned of the place."

¹ Enquiry, i. 178-9.

² See above, p. 144.

³ Life of Columba, p. 168.