THE COLUMBAN CHURCH.

Degree of D. Litt. conferred 3rd July. 1930.

C O N T E N T S.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

A.C. = Annals of Cambria.

A.I. = Annals of Innisfallen.

A.T. = Annals of Tighernach.

A.U. = Annals of Ulster.

Adamnan = Adamnan's 'Vita S. Columbae' (Reeves 1874).

Ailred V.S.N. = Ailred's 'Vita S. Niniani'.

Amhra = Amhra Choluimb Chille.

Armagh = The Book of Armagh.

B.B. = The Book of Ballymote.

Bede, 'H.E.' = Baeda. 'Historica Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum'.

Confessio = Confessio S. Patricii.

Epistola = Epistola S. Patricii ad Corotici subditos.

Fél. Gorm. = Félire of Gorman.

Fél. Oeng. = Félire of Oengus.

Forbes 'N. and K.' = Forbes 'Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern'.

Forbes 'K.S.S.' = Forbes 'Kalendars of Scottish Saints'.

F.M. = Annals of the Four Masters.

H.S. 'C.E.D.' = Haddan and Stubbs 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents'.

Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' = Jocelyn's 'Vita S. Kentigern'.

L. Br. = Leabhar Breac. The Speckled Book.

Lismore Lives = Lives of the Saints in The Book of Lismore.

L.L. = Leabhar Laighean, Book of Leinster.

L.U. = Leabhar na Huidre. The Book of the Dun Cow.

Mansi = Mansi 'Sacrorum Concillorum nova et amplissima collectio'.

Migne P.L. = Migne 'Patrologiae Cursus completus, Series Latina'.

O'Donnell   =   Manus O'Donnell; 'Betha Colaim Chille'.

O.I.L. = Old Irish Life of St. Columba.

P.R.I.A. = Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

P.S.A. Scot. = Proceedings of The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Plummer, V.SS.H.' = Plummer 'Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae'.

Rawl. B. 502 = Kuno Meyer 'Rawl B. 502'.

Reeves 'V.S.C.' = Reeves 'Adamnan's Life of St. Columba'.

Skene 'C.S.' = Skene 'Celtic Scotland'.

Skene 'C.P.S.' = Skene 'The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots'.

Warren 'L.R.C.C.' = Warren 'Liturgy and Ritual of The Celtic Church'.

Watson 'C.P.N.S.' = Watson 'The History of the Place-Names of Scot-
     land'.

Y.B.L. = The Yellow Book of Lecan.

Zimmer 'Keltische Kirche' Realencyklopädie - Zimmer, 'Keltische
    Kirche' in 'Realencyklopädie Für Protestantische Theologie
    und Kirche'.

Preliminary Note.

The references to Adamnan are to Reeves' Adamnan, the Edition of

    1874, unless the Edition of 1857 is specially mentioned.

The dates of The Irish Annalists have been corrected from A. O.

    Anderson, 'Early Sources of Scottish History'.

PRE-COLUMBAN CHRISTIANITY

(1) Britain.

The Columban Church touched three countries: Ireland, North
Britain (Scotland)[1], and Britain (England).

In the year 521 A.D. St. Columba was born in Ireland; in
563 A.D. he landed in Iona, to carry out his work in North Britain;
and in 635 A.D. the monks of Iona began at Lindisfarne their mission
to Britain.

Our first enquiry therefore is, as to the beginnings of
Christianity in these three countries, before the arrival in them
of the Columban Church.

We turn to Britain first, because it was Britain which was
the first of these three countries to receive the Christian religion.

Where history is silent the field is open for invention; and
nowhere has the pious, or the patriotic, imagination been more busy,
than in writing the first chapter of the Christian Church in Britain.
We have to cut our way, to begin with, through a mass of impossible
legends. We must dismiss, in the first place, as unsupported by any

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(1) Scotia prior to the eleventh century was used for Ireland. The
first application of it to what is now called Scotland was by
Marianus Scotus (1026-1081). (Skene 'C.P.S.' XXXVIII and 65).

sort of evidence, all the attempts to show an Apostolic origin for the British Church; although no less than six of the Apostles have had their claims urged, as having had to do with laying its foundations.[1] For the same reason, although with a greater reluctance perhaps, we must set aside the beautiful mediaeval romance, which brings Joseph of Arimathea with his twelve companions to Avalon, or Glastonbury, bearing The Holy Grail with him, to plant The Holy Thorn, and to build there the first Christian church in Britain.[2] Equally incredible is the Welsh tradition, which relates how Bran the Blessed brought The Gospel, in the middle of the first century, from Rome to Britain; and built the first Christian church at Llandav.[3] Of the same nature also, must be reckoned the story, which comes down to us on the usually highly respected authority of The Venerable Bede; and which tells us how, in the year 156 A.D., Lucius the King of Britain sent a letter to Pope Eleutherus, "entreating that, by his command, he might be made a Christian"; and how his "pious request" was granted, for himself and also for his people.[4] Lucius, as we may remark, is not a very likely name for a British King; and the Lucius referred to, it has been almost certainly proved, was the King, not of Britain,

(1) Paul, Peter, Simon Zelotes, Philip, James and John. (H.S. 'C.E.D.' I 22-24. Ussher 'Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates' 1.)
(2) First found in William of Malmesbury (twelfth cent.) 'De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae', Prologue.
(3) Williams J. 'The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of The Cymry', 51.
(4) Bede, 'H.E.' I,4. But Eleutherus was not Pope until 177-189 A.D. (Gams. 'Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae' 1.). In his 'Chronicon', Bede dates it 180 A.D. (Stevenson 'Baedae Opera Historica' tom. II, 173,174). 'The Saxon Chronicle' gives 167 A.D. (Plummer, 'Two of The Saxon Chronicles Parallel' I, 8,9.)

but of Edessa in Mesopotamia; and it was due to the error probably of some Roman scribe that he was transferred to Britain.[1] Even Bede fails us, then, to give a satisfactory account of the beginning of the Christian Church in Britain; and we must turn from all such fables, to seek if possible for some more trustworthy evidence.[2]

The first scraps of what might, at first sight perhaps, appear as evidence for the existence of Christianity in early Britain, are to be gleaned from Patristic sources, and are to be found in Tertullian and Origen. Tertullian, writing about 208, speaks of "places of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ";[3] and Origen, writing some thirty years later, refers in two passages to the Britons, as having been brought under the influence of Christianity.[4] Owing to the propensity of these two Fathers of the Church, however, to the use of highly-coloured rhetoric, it is doubtful how much weight - if any - should be laid upon any statements which they make, when they are boasting about the triumphs of the Christian Faith.

We seem to reach more certain ground, when we come to the

(1) The story appears first in the recension of the 'Liber Pontificalis', called the 'Catalogus Felicianus' (composed about 530) - probably Bede's source. (Duchesne. 'Le Liber Pontificalis' tom. I, CII, CIII, 59, 136). Harnack discovered that Lucius was Agbarus IX, King of Edessa (176-216); called also Lucius Aelius Septimus Megas. His citadel was 'Britium'; confused with 'Britain'. (Harnack, 'Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften', 1904.) The story is also in Nennius 'Historia Britonum'. 22. (Zimmer, 'Nennius Vindicatus', 140,150).
(2) Other fables: Claudia (II Tim. IV, 21), Aristobulus (Rom.XVI, 10), Pomponia Graecina. (Tacitus, 'Annales' XIII, 32) (H.S. 'C.É.D.'. I 22-24).
(3) Tertullian, 'Adversus Judaeos' VII.(Migne, 'P.L.' II 650.)
(4) Origen, 'Homil. IV. Ezek.' (Migne, 'P.L.' XXV,723) 'Homil. VI, Luc. (Migne, P.L. XXV, 246).

account of the martyrdom of St. Alban. According to the testimony of Gildas and of Bede, St. Alban - the Proto-martyr of the British Church - suffered death, in the persecution under Diocletian, at Verulamium (St. Alban's); and two other martyrs - Aaron and Julius - are mentioned as having suffered at the same time at Legionum Urbs (Caerleon-on-Usk). [1] As the persecution, instituted by Diolcetian, swept over the Roman Empire from 303 to 305, somewhere within these years then, if we are to accept the testimony of Gildas and Bede, the martyrdom of St. Alban would require to be placed; and a tolerably exact date would thus be given to the first appearance of the Christian Faith in Britain. The matter, however, is not so easily settled; for, while the fact of the martyrdom itself seems to be sufficiently well attested, the time when it took place remains extremely doubtful: the particular persecution under which it happened remains undecided; and no certain conclusion can be drawn, therefore, from such indefinite evidence, as to the time of the arrival of Christianity in the country. [2]

Towards the beginning of the fourth century, however - and apart from the martyrdom of St. Alban - we come upon certain proof

(1) Gildas, 'De Excidio Britanniae', 10,11.Bede, 'H.E.' I, 7,18,20.

(2) The placing of St. Alban's martyrdom in the Diocletian persecution is a mere guess by Gildas: it is doubtful if that persecution reached Britain. (Zimmer, 'Keltische Kirche'X Realencyklopädie, 206). 'The Saxon Chronicle' dates the martyrdom, either 283 or 286. (Plummer, 'Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Parallel', 10,11). Williams and Warren suggest the Decian persecution. (Williams, H. 'Christianity in Early Britain' 114. Warren, F.E. 'Cambridge Mediaeval History' II 497). The earliest trace of the tradition is in 429 A.D., when Germanus visited St. Alban's tomb. (H.S. 'C.E.D.' I. 6).

at last of the presence of Christianity in Britain; and proof too
of the existence of a fully developed Christian Church. At the
Council of Arles, which was held in the year 314, it is recorded,
that among the bishops who were present on that occasion, there
were three from Britain: their names are preserved; and their
sees are mentioned; and they were accompanied by a presbyter and
a deacon - it is the first absolutely reliable fact which we poss-
ess in the history of the British Church.[1]

Thereafter, throughout the fourth century, we come from
time to time upon various references to the British Church. We
find the British Church mentioned by various writers of the fourth
century; and they pay their tribute to its orthodoxy.[2] We find
the British Church assenting to the decisions of The Council of
Nicaea (in 325), with regard to Arianism and Easter;[3] and joining
with The Council of Sardica (in 347) in acquitting Athanasius.[4]
We find British bishops present again at The Council of Ariminum
(in 359); and three of them are so poor, that they accept the
payment of their travelling expenses from the Emperor out of the
public revenue.[5] Towards the close of the century, we read of a
visit paid to Britain by a Gallic bishop - Victricius of Rouen -

(1) Mansi 'Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio', II 476, 477. Their names
    were Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelphus. Their sees were "de
    civitate Eboracensi (York) provincia Britannia," 'de civitate
    Londinensi" (London), and "de civitate colonia Londinensium".
    Londinensium is obviously an error. Haddan and Stubbs read
    Legionensium (Caerleon-on-Usk) (H.S. 'C.E.D.' I, 7); but
    Haverfield, with more probability, reads Lindensium (Lincoln)
    ('English Historical Review', Vol. XI, 419).

(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I, 7-11.   (3) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I. 7.

(4) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I, 8.   (5) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I. 9,10.

to settle some dispute.[1] And before the century ends, the British Church produced its first distinguished theologian - the celebrated heretic Pelagius.[2] It is plain that, in the course of the fourth century, Christianity had made considerable progress in Britain.

Besides such literary evidence as we have cited, of the appearance and growth of Christianity in Britain, there is the evidence which is obtained also from archaeological sources; and that leads to the same conclusion. There is a total lack, to begin with, of any very early Christian remains in Britain - of any, that is, which can be dated before the fourth century;[3] and then, when we come to the fourth century, among much which is pagan, there are quite a considerable number of undoubtedly Christian remains; and these, it is to be noted, are found, not merely in what were the great towns, but also in the remoter parts of the country.[4] Sometimes we come upon pagan remains which themselves serve as evidence for the spread of Christianity; for they hint at the struggle which Roman paganism had to wage with the new religion - altars erected by Romans "To the Old Gods".[5] The most precious of all the archæological discoveries which have been

(1) Victricius, 'De Laude Sanctorum',I. 2. (Migne. 'P.L.' XX, 443.)
(2) There is difference of opinion as to the nationality of Pelagius Augustine and other early writers call him a Briton. (H.S. 'C.E.D.' I. 15,16). Jerome refers to him as an Irishman(Scotus) in two passages:- "Scotorum pultibus praegravatus", and "habet enim progeniem Scotticae Gentis" (Jerome 'Jeremiah'. Bk. I. Prologue. Migne 'P.L.' XXIV, 682, 758). Gougaud and Bury conjecture, probably rightly, that he was of Irish extraction, but born in Britain. (Gougaud, 'Les Chrétientés Celtiques', 32. Bury 'Life of St. Patrick', 43).
(3) Hübner 'Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae', Introduction. 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum', Vol. VII.
(4) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I 37-40.
(5) "Dibus Veteribus" or "Deo Veteri" (Haverfield 'English Historical Review', XI, 423, 424.

made is the little Romano-British church, the foundations of which have been excavated at Silchester; and which dates, as far as can be judged, also from the fourth century.[1]

According to all the evidence which we have then - both the literary, and the archaeological evidence - the British Church, in the fourth century, had attained a well-established position. It was a fully organised church, with bishops and presbyters and deacons. That it must have had a number of bishops seems clear from what is recorded about The Councils of Arles and Ariminum. At Arles, we are told that there were three British bishops present; and it is not likely that all the bishops would be absent from the country at the same time. And at Ariminum, we are expressly told that, besides the three British bishops who accepted at that Council pecuniary assistance from the Emperor, there were other representatives from Britain, who, like their brethren from Gaul, considered it unseemly to receive the offered alms.[2] The seats of the bishops were in the great towns, which were the centres of the Roman power; but the Christian Faith had spread out also into distant parts of the country, furthest removed from Roman influence; the Church seems to have made its

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(1) Haverfield 'English Historical Review'. XI. 424, 425.
(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.' I, 10.

way, that is, also probably widely among the native Britons.[1] The
orthodoxy of the British Church of the fourth century is vouched
for, as we have seen, by contemporary writers, and also by its ad-
herence to the findings of the great Church Councils; its pover-
ty is indicated by the presence of its indigent bishops at Arim-
inum; and its dependence upon the Church in Gaul seems to be sug-
gested by the visit of Victricius.

So far, we can sum up the first glimpse which we get of
the Christian Church in Britain.

But, as to when, and whence, and in what manner, Christian-
ity first came into Britain, we are entirely without information;
and we must fall back upon mere conjecture.

Apart from the somewhat doubtful references which have been
noted in Tertullian and Origen, there is no evidence of the exist-
ence of Christianity in Britain, as we have seen, during the first
three centuries; and then, suddenly, at the beginning of the
fourth century, there appears a wide-spread and a fully articulated
Church. Our first conjecture therefore is, that Christianity
probably arrived in Britain some considerable time before the be-

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(1) Haverfield. 'The Roman Occupation of Britain', 252; but oppos-
      ed to the more common view, that the Christianity of Early
      Britain, up to the time of the departure of the Romans was
      confined almost exclusively to the Romans themselves, and to
      the Romanized natives. (Haddan, 'Remains' 216-218; A. Plummer,
      'The Churches in Britain before A.D. 1000'. I. 13; W. E.
      Collins 'The Beginnings of English Christianity', 42, 43).

ginning of the fourth century: some considerable time would sure-
ly have been necessary for the growth of such a Church. Again,
the very fact that no credible account has come down to us, of
how the Christian Faith arrived in Britain, seems to indicate
that it came by no special or deliberately planned mission, which
would have been likely to have left some trace in history; but
that it filtered in gradually, by unnoticed, and therefore unre-
membered and unrecorded ways, through ordinary intercourse with
the outside world.

The most natural source to look to, perhaps, for the intro-
duction of Christianity into Britain, is the Roman army; and
that the first missionaries of The Gospel in Britain were the sol-
diers of Rome, is the view which has commanded, perhaps, the most
popular acceptance. But natural and attractive although such a
view may be, such facts as we have to guide us seem in the main
to be against it. That there were Christians in the Roman army
from a very early date, we have abundant evidence;[1] but as far
as we have any traces of the religion of the Roman army in Brit-
ain, these are purely pagan. Most of the troops employed by the
Romans in Britain, it is important to remember, were not Legion-

(1) Harnack, 'Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums', 388,
    394.

aries proper, drawn from Italy, where Christianity had spread rapidly from the beginning; but Auxiliaries merely, recruited chiefly from the districts of the Western Empire, and especially from the neighbourhood of The Rhine:[1] from tribes, that is, which were still entirely pagan, and which brought with them therefore to Britain their own pagan gods. As we follow the footsteps of the Legions in Britain, we come upon the names of a bewildering number of gods, cut upon tombs and altars and buildings - Roman, Celtic, Teutonic and Eastern gods - but never upon any single trace of Christianity.[2] The Roman army seems to have remained the most conservatively pagan part of the community: the least likely to have been the means, therefore, of introducing and propagating the Christian Faith.

If we rule the Roman army out then, as the missionary source for the introduction of Christianity into Britain, the most probable source which remains is Gaul. Gaul was the nearest part of the Continent to Britain; and the intercourse between the two countries, in the way of trade, at the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, was very intimate. We know that Christianity had entered Gaul before the close of the second century:[3] at any

(1) Haverfield. 'Cambridge Mediaeval History', I, 370.

(2) Haverfield. 'The Romanization of Roman Britain'. 67, 68.
    Haverfield. 'The Roman Occupation of Britain', 247-254.

(3) Harnack. "Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums', 506.

period after that then, it might have found its way into Britain. We hazard a more likely guess therefore, when we picture the first missionaries of The Gospel in Britain, not as the soldiers of Rome, but as traders rather from Gaul, who, having themselves received the Christian Faith, carried it with them and spread it wherever they chanced to go in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations. And once Christianity, brought from Gaul, took root in Britain, and a Christian Church began to grow, it would be from Gaul again most naturally, that further help would be forthcoming from time to time, as it might be required. In the visit already mentioned of Victricius, and afterwards in the visits of other Gallic bishops, there is evidence of the fostering care which the Mother-Church in Gaul bestowed upon the Daughter-Church in Britain.[1]

For the first three centuries nothing is known about the Church in Britain; in the fourth century it comes suddenly into the light of history; and then in the fifth century the darkness comes down again: for more than a hundred and fifty years we are left almost without record, in that darkest age in the history of Britain which ensued upon the withdrawal of the Roman power. In

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(1)   Warren asserts an Eastern origin for the British Church. (Warren, 'L.R.C.C.' 46-57). Haddan and Stubbs deny Eastern origin. (H.S., 'C.E.D.' I, Preface XVIII, XIX). Gougaud speaks of the "mirage oriental". (Gougaud, 'Les Chrétientés Celtiques' 70).

410 Alaric the Goth entered Rome;   and as the troops in Britain
were now needed nearer home, to defend Italy against the Barbar-
ians, the far-off Province of Britain was abandoned by the Emperor
Honorius, and was finally lost to the Roman Empire.   The retreat
of the Legions was followed by the Anglo-Saxon conquest.   Jutes
and Saxons and Angles - Teutonic marauders from the north-west
shores of the Continent - whom the strong arm of Rome had held at
bay so long, now swarmed into the undefended country;   and they
brought their own heathen gods with them: wherever the path of
their conquest spread, it was a heathen conquest;   and the religion
of Woden and of Thor replaced the religion of Christ.   In the
lurid and mournful pages of the British historian Gildas, we get
a memorable description of the disaster which overwhelmed the land
and the Church: churches burned, and altars overthrown; priests
and people slain, and left unburied in the streets;   and the mis-
erable remnant who had escaped from the sword compelled to become
the slaves of the conquerors, or forced to seek refuge in the
woods or among the mountains;   some of them driven to seek a new
home beyond the sea.[1] And - saddest of all, according to Gildas -
it was not only by the fire and by the sword of the heathen that

(1) Gildas. 'De Excidio Britanniae', 24, 25.
    Many crossed the sea to Armorica (Brittany) (Gougaud. 'Les
    Chrétiétés Celtiques'. 111.)

the land was laid waste; but by the degeneracy of the Church it-
self - by the sins of its own priesthood.[1]

In the hour of its need, it was from Gaul again that help
came to the distressed Church; for - to add to all the afflic-
tions of the time - Pelagianism also began to spread in Britain;
and in 429, and again in 447, there are the accounts of visits
paid to Britain by Germanus, the celebrated bishop of Auxerre, to
assist the Church in Britain in dealing with the heresy.[2] On the
occasion of his first visit, Germanus was accompanied by Lupus
the bishop of Troyes; and on the occasion of his second visit,
by Severus the bishop of Treves; and the result of their efforts
was the extirpation of the heresy, and the confirmation of what
remained of the sorely-tried Church in the Catholic Faith.

When the Anglo-Saxon conquest had run its course, Christ-
ianity had practically disappeared from all the main part of the
country; and it survived only in the most western extremities -
in Cumbria, and in Wales, and in Cornwall - where the Britons
still maintained a stubborn resistance to the invaders. It was
amongst the mountains of Wales especially, where British freedom
found its most impregnable stronghold, that the British Church

(1) Gildas. 'De Excidio Britanniae', 21 etc.

(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.', I, 16-19.

found also her securest sanctuary; and in the great monastic es-
tablishments which arose there, under the great Welsh Saints,
whose names illumined that darkest age, she waited the better day
which was to come, when the invading heathen themselves should bow
the knee to Christ, and be gathered into His Church.

It is a charge which Gildas and Bede both make against the
British Church, that it made no effort to convert the invaders:
the first attempt to win the English over to Christianity was made
from Rome; and it was an attempt which - although the generally
accepted tradition is otherwise - signally failed. The record of
it is preserved in the pages of Bede.

It is towards the close of the sixth century that we come
upon the incident, so memorable in English history, which is de-
scribed so graphically by Bede - the story of the fair-haired
English boy-slaves, exposed for sale in the market-place at Rome,
and of how they won the compassion of Gregory the Great. Struck
by their "angelic" name and appearance, he longed to give The
Gospel to the land from which they came.[1] Not yet himself Pope, he
asked to be allowed to go himself to Britain, that he might win

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(1) Bede. 'H.E.'. II. 1.

the English for Christ;   but his request was refused.   When how-
ever, a few years later, he came to the throne of St. Peter, he
was able to give effect to his purpose;   and the result was the
mission of St. Augustine.   It was in the year 597 - the year that
St. Columba died - that St. Augustine with his little company of
monks, dispatched by Pope Gregory, landed on the coast of Kent
on the Island of Thanet, and began his work for the conversion
of the English.[1] The success of St. Augustine was at first rapid.
The Kentish King, Ethelbert - who had already married a Christian
princess, a daughter of the King of the Franks - received the
missionaries with favour, and gave them a home at Canterbury;
and soon, under their teaching, declared himself a Christian and
was baptised.[2] Many of his subjects followed his example;   Kent
was soon won;   and The Gospel was carried also into Essex.   But
when St. Augustine, urged by Pope Gregory, endeavoured to carry
his mission further afield, he met with impenetrable opposition.
The attempt to found a bishopric in the north at York failed;[3]
and the attempt also failed, to bring the remnant of the British
Church in the west under his jurisdiction and under the jurisdic-
tion of Rome, and to enlist their service in the work of converting

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' I. 25:
(2) Bede, 'H.E.' I, 26.
(3) Bede, 'H.E.' I, 29.

the English.[1] The British Church had no desire to resign their in-
dependence;   and still less inclination to trouble themselves
about the salvation of those who had devastated their country.
When St. Augustine died (in 604, or 605), his great undertaking
was still at its beginning.

After the death of St. Augustine, even worse befell the
Roman mission. In the north there was the great pagan Kingdom
of Northumbria, which had remained practically untouched by the
Christian Faith;   and under the rule of its war-like Kings its
boundaries were always being extended. In 617 its throne was
seized by Edwin, a kinsman of the previous monarch whom he had
slain in battle;   and in his reign the Northern Kingdom reached
its greatest power. In the far north, Edwin pushed his conquests
up to the river Forth;   and he built there, to guard his northern
frontier, the fortress which bears his name still to this day -
Edinburgh (Edwin's Burgh);   and he extended his territory to the
south, until all except the Christian Kingdom of Kent was brought
under his sway. In Kent, too, he determined to obtain a footing,
if not by the sword, by marriage;   and he made his suit to Ethel-
berga the sister of the King of Kent. Ethelberga was a Christian;

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' II, 2.

and as a condition of the marriage, she was allowed to bring with her a minister of her religion, to help her to maintain her faith amid the pagan surroundings of her husband's court. She brought with her the Roman bishop Paulinus; [1] and under the teaching of Paulinus Edwin himself became a Christian, and the work of evangelising Northumbria was at last begun. [2] But a few years later - in 633 - Edwin was slain in battle by Penda, the pagan King of Mercia; and all the work of Paulinus was wiped out; Paulinus himself fled with Ethelberga back to Kent; and the darkness of paganism settled down again upon the Northern Kingdom. [3]

The effort of Rome to convert the country had failed: all that Rome had achieved was the Christianizing of Kent. But when Rome failed, the monks of Iona stepped in, and carried the defeated cause of Christianity at last to victory, and laid the foundation of the English Church. [4]

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' II, 9.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' II, 14.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' II, 20.

(4) Opposed to the view of Bright ('Waymarks of Church History' 297-322) and W.E. Collins ('The Beginnings of English Christianity', 76-81).

(2) North Britain

When we pass from Britain, to consider the beginnings of Christianity in North Britain in its Pre-Columban age - that is, before the arrival of St. Columba in Iona in 563 - we find that the information which is at our disposal is scanty, and that the authorities upon which we have to rely are much less trustworthy than in the case of Britain. Scotland has no historian to take the place of Bede; and instead of Bede's patient research and sober statement, imagination and invention have been allowed to run riot.

In Patristic literature, to begin with, there is no allusion to North Britain; unless the very doubtful statements already referred to in Tertullian and Origen be pressed again into service.[1]

We turn, therefore, to Scottish authorities.

There are two traditions about the introduction of Christianity into North Britain, which occupy a prominent place in most of the early histories of Scotland, and which claim therefore our first attention.

The first of these traditions is to be found in Fordun, the

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(1) Page 3.

earliest historian of Scotland - in his "Chronicle of The Scottish Nation", which was written towards the close of the fourteenth century. The words of Fordun are as follows:- "In the seventh year of the Emperor Severus, Victor I being the fourteenth Pope after Peter, the Scots began to embrace the Catholic Faith; that is to say, in the year of The Lord 203".[1] Hector Boece, writing about a century later, and in his accustomed manner elaborating upon Fordun, says that missionaries were sent from Rome in that year to Scotland; and that they converted the King of the Scots who was then upon the throne, Donald I, to the Christian religion.[2] It would be difficult to put together a sentence more full of glaring inaccuracies, than this brief notice which is supplied by Fordun. There were no Scots in what is now called Scotland in the year 203: the Scots did not come from Ireland until about three centuries later; and the Pope in that year was not Victor I, but Zepherinus:[3] Victor I was dead; and it was the tenth, and not the seventh year, of the reign of Severus.[4] A statement so full of errors stands self-condemned. The alleged fact is evidently one of those "pious", or "patriotic" falsehoods, which did duty among the early historians of Scotland, when they were endeavouring

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(1) Fordun. 'Chronica Gentis Scotorum', II, 35.

(2) Boece, 'Scotorum Historiae', Lib. V. fol. 83. 20.

(3) Victor I was Pope 190-202; Zepherinus, 202-217. (Gams. 'Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae', 1.)

(4) Gibbon 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire'. (Bury I 122)

to counter the claims of England to a supremacy over Scotland. It was desirable - in order to enlist the support of Rome upon the side of Scotland in the dispute - to show that Scotland had not received its Christianity from England, but direct from Rome like England itself; and if England had the story of King Lucius to boast of, it was necessary to supply something similar also for Scotland; and so the story was invented. It cannot be traced any further back than Fordun; and therefore we may conclude that Fordun himself was probably the inventor of it. The only authority which he quotes for it consists of a few lines of anonymous Latin poetry; and he was probably the author of the poetry as well. The century in which Fordun wrote was the century in which the Battle of Bannockburn was fought: there were different ways of fighting the English; and the historians of Scotland had their own method; and when occasion seemed to demand it, they never scrupled to use it.

The other tradition is the more familiar, and the more fantastic legend, which has given to Scotland its Patron-Saint; and which is associated with the name of St. Regulus (or St. Rule). It is the story which tells how, some time in the fourth century,

the Greek monk St. Regulus, bearing with him from the East some of the relics of St. Andrew, and accompanied by some fellow-monks, after long wandering at sea, was driven upon the coast of Scotland, near the place where now there stands the City of St. Andrews; and how, after praching The Gospel to the inhabitants of that part of the country and converting their King, he built there a church in honour of the Apostle, the first Christian church to be built in the country[1]. It is easy in this case also to trace the origin of the story. It lay in the tradition, handed down from the earliest times, that the Scots and the Scythians were originally of the same race; and, as St. Andrew was said to have preached The Gospel in Scythia, it was natural to add as a sequel to the story, that some of his bones at least had been carried to Scotland.

The early Scottish historians take us no further than the Early Church Fathers; we must turn from all such fabrications then, to seek for evidence somewhat more reliable - if it is to be found - as to the introduction of Christianity.

North Britain was under the occupation of the Romans for upwards of three centuries - from the time when Agricola crossed the borders in 80 A.D., until the withdrawal of the legions to-

(1) There are two forms of the legend: (1) Skene 'C.P.S.' 138-140. (2) Skene, 'C.P.S.' 183-193. The legend was connected with the founding of St. Andrew's in the eighth century. (Skene, 'C.S.' I 296-299. II 261-268).

wards the close of the fourth century; and as in the case of
Britain, so also in the case of North Britain, the popular view
has always been, that the introduction of Christianity was due to
the Romans; that the first missionaries of The Gospel were pro-
bably the soldiers of Rome. But the evidence again is wanting;
and such facts as we have to consider give no grounds to support
such a view: not only is there no trace of any Christianity con-
nected with the Roman army in North Britain; but no Christian re-
mains at all have been discovered in North Britain, which can with
any certainty be dated back to the Roman period. [1]

The Romans also fail us then, as the Church Fathers have
failed us, and as the historians of Scotland have failed us, in
our search for the beginnings of Christianity in North Britain:
we must turn elsewhere for the evidence which we seek.

We can find no trace of Christianity in North Britain, up
to the end of the period of the Roman occupation: that is, up to
towards the end of the fourth century. In order to clear the way
for our further enquiry into the period which succeeded to the
Roman age, it is necessary for us to remember the conditions which

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(1) Appendices I, II.

were to be found in the country after the withdrawal of the Romans.

It is not until about a century and a half after the departure of the Romans - that is, about the time of the coming of St. Columba - that we get a glimpse of the state of things in North Britain; and we find that the land had come to be occupied then by different peoples, who had settled in different parts of the country and formed separate Kingdoms. We find that the land was then divided between four distinct nations: the Picts, the Britons, the Scots, and the Angles.

The Picts - the first of these four nations which occupied North Britain - have presented to ethnologists always one of their most perplexing problems. According to most modern authorities, they were Goidels or Gaels, belonging to the Celtic branch of the Aryan race.[1] The oldest of these four nations, they had entered the country some centuries before the Christian era, and they had absorbed the original inhabitants of the land. They had once spread over the whole country; but in course of time, having been gradually driven back by later invaders, they had come to occupy latterly that part of the country which lay in the North - roughly speaking, north of the Forth; while isolated portions of them

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(1) Rhys, 'Celtic Britain', 238, 239. The most recent discussion of the Picts is by Watson, C.P.N.S., 59-68. Watson holds that the Britons at first occupied all the Island. (Watson, 'C.P.N.S.', IX). Rhys holds that the aboriginal inhabitants were a non-Celtic race; and that there were two subsequent invasions by Celts: the first invasion, by Goidelic Celts, and the second invasion by Brythonic Celts. (Rhys, 'Celtic Britain', 4).

lingered still in places further South.[1] Those north of the Grampian mountains were distinguished as "The Northern Picts"; those south of the Grampian mountains, but north of the Forth, were "The Southern Picts";[2] and those still further south were chiefly in Galloway ("The Niduarian Picts"),[3] and in the Lothians.[4] The capital of the Pictish Kingdom was at Inverness; and the Kings who reigned there ruled latterly over both Northern and Southern Picts: their sway extended from the Forth to the Orkneys.

The second of these four nations - the Britons, or Brythons, or Cymry - were Celts too; but a different branch of the Celts from the Gaels.[5] They were a remnant of the race which occupied Britain at the coming of the Romans. They had settled in North Britain from a very early period; and after the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain, their numbers in North Britain were greatly increased. They held that part of the country which lay between Cumberland and the Clyde - with the exception of Galloway, which the Picts still retained.[6] The Kingdom which they formed was called The Kingdom of Cumbria or Strathclyde; and their capital was Ail Cluade ("The Rock of Clyde"), or Dun Brettan ("The Fortress of the Britons"), afterwards known as Dumbarton.[7]

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(1) Skene, 'C.S.' I. 123-132.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III. 4 etc.

(3) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 11. Watson denies that there were Picts in Galloway. (Watson 'C.P.N.S.' 175-178).

(4) e.g. the Pentland Hills in Lothian, a corruption for the Pehtland, or Pictland Hills.

(5) Rhys, 'Celtic Britain', 3, 4.

(6) Skene, 'C.S.' I. 123.

(7) Bede, 'H.E.' I. 1.

The third of these four nations - The Scots - were also Celts; and from the same branch of the Celts as the Picts - that is, the Goidelic or Gaelic branch.[1] These Scots had come over from Ireland (Scotia), and they had obtained a footing in North Britain, about the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century. Some time between 495 and 501, under the leadership of their King or Chief, Fergus Mor, they had seized upon that part of the western coast which is now comprised, roughly speaking, by Argyleshire and the adjacent islands.[2] They gave to their settlement in North Britain the name of Dal Riata, after the name of their old home in the North of Ireland; and their capital was the hill-fortress of Dunadd near Crinan.[3]

The Angles - the last of these four nations which came to occupy North Britain - were not Celts like the rest, but Teutons. Their original home was in that part of the northern coast of the Continent which is now called Schleswig; and they came upon the eastern coast of North Britain, as the Scots came upon the western coast. Even before 449 - the date which is usually accepted for the landing of Hengist and Horsa in Kent - Teutonic invaders had begun to make their appearance on the South-East coast of

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(1) Rhys, 'Celtic Britain' 239-243.

(2) "III bliadhna ar XL o thanic Patraic in Erinn co cath Ocha. Fichi bliadhna o cath Ocha condechatar clanna Eircc mic Echach Muindremair in Albain." ('Synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach', Skene, 'C.P.S.' 18). St. Patrick arrived in Ireland in 432 A.D.: adding 43 years and 20 years, gives 495 A.D. as the date of the crossing of the Scots to Alban. 501 A.D. is the date given in A.T.

(3) Mentioned in A.U. under 683 A.D.

North Britain; and in 547, the Anglian leader Ida built as his
head-quarters the fortress which is now known as Bamborough, on
the Yorkshire coast near the Tweed, and founded the Anglian King-
dom of Bernicia.[1] Bernicia extended from the Tees to the Forth;
and afterwards, when the neighbouring Anglian Kingdom of Deira
to the south was added to it, the Kingdom of the Angles extended
from the Humber to the Forth, and was called the Kingdom of North-
umbria.[2]

In our search for the beginnings of Christianity in North
Britain, in the period between the withdrawal of the Romans and
the coming of St. Columba, it will make for greater clearness, if
we consider each of these four nations, as far as possible, se-
parately; and if we take them now in reverse order.

The Angles.

There is no trace of any Christianity to be found among the
Angles of North Britain, during the period in question. The
Angles who settled in North Britain brought their heathen religion
with them from the Continent - the worship of the gods of Norse

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(1) 'Saxon Chronicle' under 547 A.D. Bamborough is called Bebban
    Burh. (Plummer, 'Two of The Saxon Chronicles, Parallel', I
    17)

(2) Skene, 'C.S.' I. 155, 156. Plummer 'Baedae Opera Historica',
    II, 120.

mythology;   and they remained heathen, and the stubborn opponents of Christianity, until after the death of St. Columba;   and the first mission-work which was done amongst them was the mission-work which was carried out afterwards from Lindisfarne by the monks of the Columban Church.[1]

The Scots.

The Scots had already had the Christian Faith proclaimed to them in Ireland, before they came to North Britain.   A century and a half before they crossed to North Britain, St. Patrick had lived and laboured in Ireland;   and it was in Dal Riata - in that part of the country which was the original home of these Scots - that some of St. Patrick's most effective work had been achieved. The Scots who came from Ireland, to found their new Dal Riata in North Britain, carried with them the Christianity which had been taught by St. Patrick.   When St. Columba arrived in North Britain, it was not only to convert the heathen that he came;   but also to confirm in the Christian Faith his own fellow-countrymen who had already settled there.

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(1)   Rait says that "the Angles of Lothian were converted by
        Paulinus." (Rait, 'Scotland' 6).   Rait gives no authority
        for his statement.   Bright, who takes a similar view about
        Bernicia, quotes Bede, 'H.E.' II, 14. (Bright, 'Waymarks
        of Church History', 294, 295).   But it is difficult to
        identify the places mentioned by Bede in 'H.E.' II, 14;
        and in 'H.E.' III, 2, he says of the cross which Oswald
        erected at Heavenfield, that "there was no symbol of the
        Christian Faith, no church, no altar erected throughout
        all the nation of the Bernicians before."

The Britons.

We have seen that Christianity had obtained a considerable hold upon Britain in the fourth century; and it is probable that it spread in that century also, to some extent, among the Britons of the North - among the Britons, that is, of Cumbria or Strathclyde. It was among the Britons of Cumbria or Strathclyde at least, and by the shores of the Solway, that the first gleam of light appeared amid the heathenism of North Britain, in the mission of St. Ninian. The first authentic figure that meets us in the story of Christianity in North Britain is St. Ninian: when we come to St. Ninian, we emerge at last out of the twilight of legend and the shadowy region of conjecture into the clear light of history: the record of his mission constitutes the first important chapter in the history of the Christian Church in North Britain.

For the account of the life and labours of St. Ninian, we have two principal authorities to rely upon: the one is a brief note by Bede, in his "Ecclesiastical History", which was written in the eighth century;[1] and the other is a "Life of St. Ninian", which dates from the twelfth century, and which was written by

(1) 731 A.D. (Plummer 'Baedae Opera Historica' I, X.)

Ailred, a Cistercian monk, who had been brought up at the court
of David I, and afterwards became the abbot of the monastery of
Rievaulx in Yorkshire.[1]

Of those two authorities, the more important by far is
Bede. He takes us back to within three centuries of St. Ninian.
His reference to St. Ninian is as follows:- "The Southern Picts,
who dwell upon this side of these mountains, had, it is said,
long before (i.e. before the mission of St. Columba to the North-
ern Picts), forsaken the errors of idolatry, and received the
True Faith, under the preaching of Nynias, a most reverend bishop,
and a most holy man of the Britons, who had been accurately in-
structed at Rome in the Faith and mysteries of the Truth; whose
episcopal seat, distinguished by the name of St. Martin the bish-
op - where he himself also rests in the body, together with sev-
eral saints - is now in the possession of the race of the Angles.
Which place, belonging to the province of the Bernicians, is
commonly called "At the White House" ("Ad Candidam Casam"); be-
cause there he built a church of stone, a custom unfamiliar to
the Britons".[2]

These few simple words of Bede have the air of truth about

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(1) Forbes, 'N. and K.' VI - X.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4.

them; and they state the only really reliable facts which have been preserved about St. Ninian.[1]

The "Life" by Ailred, on the other hand, gives unfortunately a very different impression. A work undertaken, as we gather from the Prologue, at the request of the officials at Candida Casa in honour of the Saint: a panegyric, crowded with the most fantastic and incredible miracles; and written some seven hundred years after the subject of it had passed away, by a courtier of David I, who was such a zealous supporter of the Roman Church - Ailred's "Life of St. Ninian" would be, for all historical purposes, almost worthless; were it not that the writer professes to base his narrative upon a previous work upon the subject;[2] and were it not for the possibility also, that he may have preserved in it some of the traditions about the saint which may have lingered to his day.

Adding to what Bede tells us then, some of the most probable-seeming details from Ailred, the following is what we piece together, as something like the outline at least of the story of St. Ninian.

The exact date of St. Ninian's birth is uncertain; but he

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(1) Mackinnon suggests that Bede might have received his information about St. Ninian from Pecthelm, the Anglian Bishop of Candida Casa in Bede's time, and a friend of Bede. (Mackinnon, 'Culture in Early Scotland' 100 note.)

(2) "Liber de Vita et Miraculis ejus barbario scriptus". (Ailred, 'V.S.N.' Preface).

was born probably about the middle of the fourth century. By

birth he was a Briton; but the exact place of his birth is also

uncertain: somewhere, however, it seems to have been beside the

Solway; but whether on the Northern or the Southern side, we are

left in doubt.[1] His father was a Christian King, says Ailred; but

the royal descent ascribed to him, as to so many of these early

saints, means little more in St. Ninian's case probably than that

his father was a local chief, who had some recognition perhaps

from the Romans. As it was a Christian home into which he was

born, he was brought up in the Christian Faith; and when he came

to manhood, he determined to go on a pilgrimage to Rome, in order

to obtain there a fuller knowledge of the Divine Truth. At Rome

he received a welcome from the Pope;[2] and after having been in-

structed in the doctrines of the Church and consecrated as a

bishop, he was sent back to his native land to convert his own

countrymen. On his return through Gaul, he visited St. Martin of

Tours, the celebrated abbot-bishop, the founder of Gallic monas-

ticism; and he received from St. Martin the impress of his monas-

tic ideas. He also obtained from St. Martin some masons, to go

with him to his own country, to help him to build a church there

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(1) Appendix III.

(2) Ailred. 'V.S.N.' 2.

after the Roman fashion.[1] On his arrival in his own country, he
fixed his head-quarters at, or near, what is now the town of Whit-
horn - in that disturbed part of the country, which lay beyond
the Wall of Hadrian, and which by that time seems to have been
practically abandoned by the Romans.[2] There, with the help of his
Gallic masons, he erected a church. While the church was being
raised, news was brought of the death of St. Martin; and he de-
dicated the new building to him.[3] It was constructed of stone;
and so differed from the wooden buildings to which the natives
were accustomed; and from its white appearance, it came to be
known as 'Candida Casa'.[4] As St. Martin died, it is reckoned, some
time between 397 and 401, we get a tolerably precise date for the
mission of St. Ninian, and for the erection of the first Christian
church in North Britain.[5] As Candida Casa was intended by St.
Ninian to be a centre for missionary work, he founded a monastery
there also; and he gathered around him there those of his converts
whom he wished to train, to assist him in carrying The Gospel to
the surrounding heathen. The monastery at Candida Casa, afterwards
known as "The Great Monastery" ("Magnum Monasterium") or Rosnat,[6]
fashioned after the model of the famous monastery of St. Martin at

(1) Ailred, 'V.S.N.' 2, 3.

(2) See pp. 189, 190.

(3) Ailred, 'V.S.N.' 3.

(4) Candida Casa is translated into old English Hwiterne modern
    English Whithorn (White House).

(5) Forbes, 'N. and K.', 271-273.

(6) Rosnat is from Ros, (a promontory) nat (diminutive). Called
    also in Irish Futerna (the Latinized Gaelic form of old
    English Hwiterne) and Teach Martain (Martin's House).

Marmoutier, developed - as we learn from other sources than Bede or Ailred - into a great school of learning for the training of missionary monks:[1] students flocked to it from all quarters, and many of them from Ireland; and it became one of the principal centres from which monasticism was introduced into Ireland.[2]

It is a striking fact, that it is in the very region in which St. Ninian is said to have fixed his head-quarters, that the earliest Christian remains have been discovered in Scotland - the well-known monumental stones of Kirkmadrine, which date, as far as can be judged, from about his age.[3] But more sacred still, perhaps, is the cave which is shown to this day, a few miles from Whithorn, and facing the sea - called "St. Ninian's Cave" - whither according to tradition, he is said to have been wont to retire for prayer; and on the rocky walls of which the Cross is incised.[4] It was in this lonely rock-hewn cave by the shore of the Solway, and amid the prayers of St. Ninian, that the Church of Scotland had its birth.

As to how far the missionary labours of St. Ninian extended, it is difficult to determine; and it is a question which has produced conflicting opinions. In any estimate of the work after-

(1) "Das Kloster in Candida Casa wurde bald das Lerins des Nordens." (Mackinnon, 'Ninian und sein Einfluss auf die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Nord-Britannien', 37.)

(2) Forbes, 'N. and K.' XLII.

(3) Appendix I.

(4) 'Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Scotland', Fourth Report, Galloway, Wigtown, 3-9.

wards accomplished by St. Columba and his followers, it is of importance to understand, if possible, how far Christianity was spread throughout the country by the previous labours of St. Ninian and his disciples. That he preached The Gospel to the inhabitants of the country in the neighbourhood of Candida Casa, may be taken as certain - that is, to his own fellow-countrymen, the Britons of Strathclyde, and to the Picts of Galloway. And that he went further afield, and that he carried The Gospel also to the Picts who lived further north - as far north at least as the Grampian mountains - seems also certain; for that seems to be the most natural interpretation of what Bede means by "The Southern Picts who dwell upon this side of these mountains".[1] But whether, as some writers maintain, his missionary labours reached even further north - into the territory also of the Northern Picts - is a question which we shall postpone at present, until we come to deal with the Picts themselves, and with the beginnings of Christianity further north. The memorable nature of St. Ninian's work, however, may be gathered from the fact, that we come upon his name, from The Shetlands to the Solway, and in Ireland also, and also in the North of England.[2]

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(1) Macewen maintains that St. Ninian's work was confined to the Picts of Galloway; but such a view conflicts with Bede's words. (Macewen, 'History of The Church in Scotland', I, 12).

(2) Forbes gives sixty-six Dedications in Scotland. (Forbes, 'N. and K.' XIII-XVII). A.B. Scott ('St. Ninian' 63-69) and Mackay ('The Church in The Highlands', 6) give further Dedications in the North of Scotland.

But - memorable although the work of St. Ninian was, and important in many ways in the history of the Church, both in Scotland and in Ireland - in the confusion of the country in the times which immediately followed, much which he had laboured to accomplish seems to have been destroyed. The evidence which we have for this is a Letter which has come down to us, written by St. Patrick of Ireland to Coroticus (or Ceretic), a British King of Strathclyde.[1] The date of St. Patrick's Letter is some time in the middle of the fifth century - a few years, that is, probably after the death of St. Ninian; and the occasion of its being written was a marauding expedition which had been made to Ireland by some of the followers of Coroticus and their allies. In the course of this invasion, the raiders had come upon a Christian congregation engaged in some religious service; and they had attacked the defenceless worshippers. Some of those who had just been baptised were slain; and others, men and women, had been carried away into captivity. And St. Patrick writes, denouncing the outrage, and demanding the restoration of the captives. Coroticus is commanded to do penance for the crime; and an appeal is made to his people to have no intercourse with him, until the

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(1) 'Epistola S. Patricii ad Christianos Corotici Tyranni Subditos'.
     (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II 314-319).

captives are returned; and those whom St. Patrick blames most of all for the deed are, not the immediate followers of Coroticus, but some of the allies who were associated with them - "Scots and apostate Picts". What came of St. Patrick's remonstrance, we do not know; but his Letter throws a flood of light upon the state of things at that time in Strathclyde. The fact that such a Letter was written by St. Patrick shows indeed that there must have been some Christian sentiment to which such an appeal could be made; but the perpetration of such a deed as he describes shows also how little worth such a Christianity must have been: it was the work, as St. Patrick rightly says, of "apostates" rather than of Christ- ians - so soon had those, who had received The Gospel from St. Ninian, proved regardless of his teaching.

About a century passes after St. Ninian; and we come upon another Saint, whose name is associated also with the British King- dom of Strathclyde - St. Kentigern,[1] or as he is more familiarly known, St. Mungo,[2] the Founder of the See and of the City of Glasgow.

St. Kentigern is a much more shadowy figure than St. Ninian. We have no record of Bede to fall back upon with regard to him; and almost all that we know about him is gathered from a "Life",

(1) Kentigern: the Welsh form is Cynderyn; from Cyn (Chief) and Teyrn, in composition Deyrn (Lord).

(2) Mungo: the Welsh Mwyn (Amiable) and Cu, in composition Gu (Dear).

which dates, like Ailred's "Life of St. Ninian", from the twelfth
century - some six hundred years, that is, after he is said to
have lived - and which was written by a monk, Jocelyn by name, of
the Cistercian Abbey of Furness in Lancashire, who outrivals even
Ailred in the untrustworthiness of his narrative.[1] From a mass of
utterly incredible legends with which Jocelyn's book is filled,
the following few facts may perhaps be sifted out.[2]

The son of a British King, a King of Strathclyde, and of
a Christian princess, Thanew by name, who was a daughter of a
King of the Lothians,[3] St. Kentigern was born, it is reckoned,
about the year 518.[4] We come upon him first at Culross, on the
northern shore of the Forth; where he is brought up in the Chris-
tian Faith by St. Serf.[5] On reaching manhood, he journeyed into
the West, and fixed his home at the spot where the Molendinar
stream ran down into the Clyde.[6] Some traces of the Christianity
taught by St. Ninian still lingered in the Kingdom of Strathclyde;
and when the fame of his piety spread abroad, the King and the
people invited him to become their bishop. An Irish ecclesiastic
consecrated him to the office; and his hermit's cell was trans-
formed into his episcopal seat.[7] He gathered disciples around him;

(1) Jocelyn of Furness was commissioned to write the 'Life' of St.
    Kentigern, by Jocelyn Bishop of Glasgow (1175-1199), who began
    the building of the Cathedral of Glasgow. There is a 'Fragment
    of The Life of St. Kentigern' by an unknown author. (Forbes,
    'N. and K.' 123-133.)
(2) The best thesaurus of the legends about St. Kentigern is Steven-
    son, 'The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St. Kenti-
    gern'.
(3) "Regis paganissimi" (Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 1), "vir semi paganus
    ('Vita Kentigerni Imperfecta' 1).
(4) Forbes, 'N. and K.' 369,370.   (5) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 4.
(6) "Cathures qui nunc Glasgu vocatur" (Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 9).
(7) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 11.

and they had all things in common; and he taught them, not only
the truths of The Gospel, but also the art of agriculture; and
it was after this 'family' of his disciples that Glasgow ("The
Dear Family"), took its name.[1] After years of a peaceful life in
Glasgow, and of missionary journeys throughout Strathclyde, on the
accession of a new King to the throne, he fell into disfavour at
court, and had to flee from the Kingdom. From the British Kingdom
of Strathclyde, he turned his steps to the British Kingdom in
Wales; pausing on his way south, to preach The Gospel for a time
in Cumberland, and in the district around Carlisle.[2] In Wales, he
received a welcome from the great Welsh Saint, St. David; and the
Welsh King, having gifted him with land for the building of a mon-
astery, he founded there the monastery of Llanelwy, afterwards
called St Asaph, after the name of his favourite disciple. But a new[3]
King again came to reign in Strathclyde, and St Kentigern was
invited to return. On his way north, he fixed his head-quarters
for a time in what is now Dumfriesshire, and preached to the heath-
en there.[4] At length he reached Glasgow; and it was in his old
home there, and amid his "beloved family" of disciples, that he
spent the remainder of his days, engaged to the last in his

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(1) "Glesgu, quod interpretatur Cara Familia, que nunc vocatur
     Glasgu." (Jocelyn, 'V.S.K.' 11.)

(2) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 23.

(3) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 23, 24.

(4) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.', 32.

unwearied labours.[1]

There are visits to Rome which are recorded by Jocelyn,[2] and a meeting also between St. Columba and St. Kentigern,[3] and work done among the Picts of Galloway and the "barbarians" in the wilds of Albania, and missionary expeditions said to have been made by his disciples to The Orkneys and Norway and Iceland;[4] but these are probably apocryphal, due to the fertile imagination of Jocelyn. But whatever be the truth, or the falsehood, in these further claims which Jocelyn makes, it was in the Kingdom of Strathclyde that his labours mainly lay; and it is as an Apostle to the Britons of Strathclyde that he shares with St. Ninian a place in the early history of the Church in Scotland.

The Picts.

We have already dealt with the Picts of Galloway, in speaking of St. Ninian: our further enquiry is, as to the beginnings of Christianity among the Picts north of the Forth, before the mission of St. Columba.

The Picts north of the Forth were, as we have seen, distinguished as the Southern Picts (north of the Forth, and south

(1) His death is given in A.C. under 612 A.D.

(2) Jocelyn says he paid seven visits to Rome. (Jocelyn, 'V.S.K.' 27).

(3) Jocelyn 'V.S.K.' 39. Adamnan does not mention the meeting.

(4) Jocelyn, 'V.S.K.', 34.

of the Grampian mountains), and the Northern Picts (north of the Grampian mountains).

We turn, in the first place, to the Southern Picts.

The first to carry the message of The Gospel into the territory of the Southern Picts was, as we have seen, St. Ninian; who preached, as Bede tells us, to the Picts who dwelt "on this side of these mountains", towards the beginning of the fifth century.

Between St. Ninian and St. Columba, the Saint who occupies the most prominent place in all the early histories of Scotland, as associated with the country of the Southern Picts, is St. Palladius: his name survives to this day at Fordun in the Mearns (Kincardineshire). But his inclusion among the missionary Saints of North Britain is due to a glaring, and easily detected blunder. It is in "The Chronicle" of Prosper of Aquitaine that we learn about St. Palladius; and we are told there that, in the year 431 A.D., a deacon who was then in Rome, named Palladius, was ordained by Pope Celestine, and "sent as the first bishop to the Scots who believed in Christ".[1] The Scots whom Prosper referred to were, of course, the Scots of Ireland; as there were no Scots in what is now called Scotland in the year 431; but subsequent Scottish writers, forget-

(1) "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cae lestino
    Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur" (Prosper Aquit. 'Chron.'
    in Anno 431. H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 290)

ful or ignorant of this, claimed St. Palladius as a missionary to North Britain.[1] The association of his name with Fordun in the Mearns may be due to an Irish tradition that he died there;[2] or it may be due, perhaps, to the fact that some of his relics may have been carried there by one of his disciples.[3]

Dismissing St. Palladius then, we find that the work which was begun by St. Ninian among the Southern Picts was supplemented, in the period bewteen St. Ninian and St. Columba, from two quarters - from Ireland and from Wales.

After Bede's reference to the work of St. Ninian among the Southern Picts, the next piece of evidence which we come upon, as to the existence of Christianity in that part of the country, is some fifty years later: it is a note which is to be found in "The Pictish Chronicle", (which dates from the twelfth century), about one of the Pictish Kings - Nechtan Morbet; and it is to the following effect:- Nechtan Morbet, we are told, the King of all the Provinces of the Picts, having been driven from his throne by his brother Drust, sought St. Brigit in Ireland, and besought her to pray to God for him; and on being restored to his Kingdom, in the third year of his reign, he offered up Abernethy to God and to St.

(1) In his Bull of March 4th 1878, Leo XIII makes this error:-
    "Narratur sae culo V.S. Palladius, Ecclesiae Romanae Diaconus,
    ibi (in Scotia) Christi fidem prae dicasse", ('Literae Apos-
    tolicae Leonis XIII, Romae 1878). Bellesheim says:- "Leo XII]
    was fully justified in accepting the tradition." Hunter
    Blair adds:- "The Bull, however, does no more than cite the
    tradition as such." (Bellesheim, 'History of the Catholic
    Church in Scotland', I, 24; edited by Hunter Blair.)

(2) Annotations on "Fiacc's Hymn" in "Tripartite Life" (Stokes II,
    418). 'Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus' II, 313. Nennius,
    'Historia Britonum', 50.

(3) Skene, 'C.S.' II, 30.

Brigit, in the presence of Darlugdach, the abbess of Kildare, who
was then in exile from her country.[1] Nechtan Morbet reigned from
about 457 to 481;[2] and Abernethy was the capital of the Kingdom of
the Southern Picts: this note from "The Pictish Chronicle" is of
importance therefore, as indicating Irish missionary activity among
the Southern Picts, in the later part of the fifth century. And it
is in corroboration of this influence of the Irish Church among the
Southern Picts, that we come upon the names of other Irish Saints
of about the same period, associated with the same part of the
country: St. Buite, who is said to have raised King Nechtan from
the dead;[3] and St. Faelan, whose name is to be found in St. Fillan's
in Perthshire;[4] and St. Sciath, who is commemorated in Forfarshire,
in the Chapel of St. Skay.[5]

It is about a hundred years later, that we come upon the
next piece of evidence, as to the continued existence of Christian-
ity in the territory of the Southern Picts; and it has to do with
the presence in that part of the country of a Saint, who has suffer-
ed a strange neglect hitherto at the hands of all the historians of
the Church in Scotland - the great Welsh Saint, St. Cadoc[6] - who has
left his name in Kilmadock and St. Madoes (in Perthshire), and in

(1) Skene, 'C.P.S.' 6,7.   (2) Skene, 'C.S.' I, 134.
(3) Buitte, son of Bronach, died in the year St. Columba was born
     (A.T. 521). L.L. 351 b; Rawl, B. 502, 90 h.; L.Br. 19 A.;
     Fel. Oeng. 256.
(4) "Feolan, son of Oengus, son of Natfraoch, of Rath Erenn in
     Alba, and of Chill Faelan of Leix" ("Foelan mac Oengusa mic
     Natfraich o Raith Erend i nAlbain, 7 o Chill Faelan i Laigis"
     ('Fel. Oeng.' June 20, 157). 'L. Br.' 90 note. Oengus was
     baptized by St. Patrick; therefore Faelan lived about 500
     A.D.
(5) Contemporary of St. Ailbhe, who died between 527 and 542.
     ('Vita S. Albei', XXXIII, Plummer. 'V.SS.H.' I, 58.)
(6) Welsh Cattwg. Baptismal name Catmail for Celtic Catu-maglos
     (Battle-Prince). Cadoc is short for Catu-maglos: maglos is
     dropped, and 'oc' added (diminutive of affection): further re-
     duced to Doc. Docc - Latin Docus, Doccus.

Chapel Dockie (in Forfarshire). Our information about St. Cadoc, the founder of the famous monastery of Llancarvan in South Wales, is gleaned from an anonymous Latin "Life" of the Saint, which was written probably in the twelfth century.[1] Born about the year 500 - the son of a Welsh prince, the prince of Glamorgan[2] St. Cadoc was an older contemporary of St. Kentigern and of St. Columba. After founding the monastery of Llancarvan,[3] and after various journeyings - to Cornwall, and Brittany, and Ireland, and Rome, and Jerusalem - he set out, we are told, for Albania (now Scotland); and he built a monastery of stone there, at a place which is described as "on this side of Mons Bannuac, which is said to be situated in the midst of Albania".[4] Mons Bannuac means "The Peaked Hill Range"; and the range of hills in the midst of Scotland which seems to suit the description best is the range which crosses Stirlingshire, and from which flows the Bannock Burn. The site of the monastery which he is said to have built is uncertain; but Cambuslang is dedicated to him as patron-saint, and it suits the position.[5] According to the Latin "Life", he laboured there for seven years; and it was from his mission-centre there that, during these years, his work spread out across Perthshire and Forfarshire. St. Cadoc is a far

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(1) 'Vita Sancti Cadoci' in 'Lives of The Cambro-British Saints', edited by W. J. Rees, 22-96.

(2) His father was Gwynllyn (Latinized 'Gundleius'); his mother, Gwladys.

(3) 'Vita S. Cadoci', 9.

(4) "Citra montem Bannauc, qui in medio Albanie situs perhibetur." ('Vita S. Cadoci', 22).

(5) W. J. Watson, 'Scottish Gaelic Studies', Vol. II, Part II, June 1927.- 8,9.

more authentic figure even than St. Kentigern;[1] and it is time
that he received the place which is due to him in the early history
of the Church in Scotland.

We turn now to the Northern Picts.

According to some authorities, modern as well as ancient,
Christianity was widely spread over all the territories of the
Picts - north as well as south of the Grampian mountains - long be-
fore the mission-work of St. Columba and his monks.

And chiefly, this claim is made with regard to the labours
of St. Ninian.

We come upon the name of St. Ninian to-day, scattered all
over Scotland; and many of the places which are associated with
his name occur in the north of Scotland beyond the Grampian moun-
tains, in what was formerly the country of the Northern Picts; and
Ailred, in his "Life of St. Ninian", asserts that St. Ninian "began
to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops, distribute the other dig-
nities of the ecclesiastic ranks, and divide the whole land ("totam
terram") into parishes"[2] - from which it has been concluded that,
long before there was a Columban Church in North Britain, there was
a fully organised British or Pictish Church, covering all the

(1) W. J. Watson has found the personal names Doig, Doag, Doak,
    Dog in the three places in Scotland where he laboured.
    ('Scottish Gaelic Studies', Vol. II, Part II, June 1927,-
    10,11.)

(2) Ailred. 'V.S.N.' 6.

country, and founded by St. Ninian.[1]

Against such a view, however, there are very serious objections[2] It contradicts, to begin with, the explicit testimony of Bede - that the work of St. Ninian was confined to the Southern Picts, while the conversion of the Northern Picts was due to St. Columba.[3] It contradicts also the testimony of Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba: in Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba", there is no hint of the existence of any Christianity among the Northern Picts before the preaching of St. Columba. Commemorations of a saint do not necessarily imply the actual presence of the saint; and dedications are not necessarily personal foundations. The attachment of a saint's name to any place, apart from any further evidence, may mean no more than the efforts of after ages to do him honour.[4] And as for the words of Ailred, he is almost certainly, in the passage quoted, outstripping the bounds of truth and drawing upon his imagination, and transferring what was being done in his own day to the time of St. Ninian; for the division of the land into parishes, and the other measures which he ascribes to St. Ninian, were precisely the very things which were being done in Ailred's day by David I, in his great work for the reformation of the Church

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(1) A. B. Scott, 'S. Ninian' XIV. Douglas Simpson, 'The Historical St. Columba', 18.
(2) Appendix V.
(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4 etc.

(4) Appendix VI.

in Scotland. It would be a task highly congenial to an ecclesias-
tic, who had been brought up in the court of David I, to show that
the reforms which were being carried out by his royal master, whom
he so greatly honoured for his zeal for the Church, had the sanc-
tion of antiquity; and that they were but the completion, or the
restoration, of the work which had been initiated by the great Saint
St. Ninian.

We may dismiss the idea of a Brito-Pictish Church then,
spread over all the territory of the Northern Picts by St Ninian,
and anticipating by more than a century the work of St. Columba.

We come upon the names of many other Saints, connected with
various places which were formerly in the territory of the Northern
Picts; but there is no satisfactory evidence to date any of them
to the period before St. Columba.[1]

In our search for the beginnings of Christianity among the
Picts north of the Forth, we are driven back then upon the testi-
mony of Bede. We see Christianity introduced among the Southern Picts
by St. Ninian; and we see the work of St. Ninian supplemented by
missionary efforts afterwards from Ireland and from Wales; but
among the barbarian heathen north of the Grampian mountains, there

(1) Claims chiefly made for St. Ternan, St. Drostan, St. Colm,
       St. Fergus, and St. Medan. (W. Mackay, 'Urquhart and Glen-
       moriston', 322-326. A.B. Scott, 'The Pictish Nation',
       108-136. Douglas Simpson, 'The Historical St. Columba',
       18, 36).
     Appendix V. pp. 197-199.

is no trace of the Christian Faith until we come to the great mission of St. Columba.

The conclusion which we come to about the beginnings of Christianity in North Britain, before the arrival of St. Columba, is therefore as follows:- Among the Scots of Dal Riata we find the Christianity which they brought over with them from Ireland; among the Britons of Strathclyde, we find some tincture of Christianity, left behind by the labours of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern; and among the Southern Picts, some trace of the work of St. Ninian, and of his successors from Ireland and Wales. But the Northern Picts and the Angles remained still wholly pagan: the former were to receive The Gospel from St. Columba; and the latter were to have the Christian message proclaimed to them, and to be won for the Christian Church, by the followers of St. Columba, when the monks of Iona, after St. Columba had passed away, began their mission-work at Lindisfarne.

(3) Ireland

No certain answer can be given to the question, as to when Christianity was first introduced into Ireland. The popular view is that it was introduced for the first time by St. Patrick; but there are certain facts which render that view impossible.

We find Irish Christians on the Continent in the days before St. Patrick;[1] and in the "Lives" of the Irish Saints, we come across several who are said to have laboured in Ireland before St. Patrick, or at least to have been his older contemporaries;[2] and in some of the oldest traditions of the Irish Church there are traces to be found of Christianity in the country before the mission of St. Patrick.[3] But the most conclusive evidence which we have for the existence of some form of Pre-Patrician Christianity in Ireland, is the statement which is made by the Chronicler of the fifth century, Prosper of Aquitaine, which we have already referred to in dealing with St. Palladius. The mission of St. Patrick to Ireland began in the year 432; but Prosper, in his "Chronicle", tells us, that in the year 431, St. Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and "sent as the first bishop to the

(1) Mansuetus, Bishop of Toul (C. 350 A.D.) (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II 289).

(2) The claim has been made on behalf of the four Munster Bishops:
     St. Kiernan, St. Ailbe, St. Declan, St. Ibar; it is rejected
     by Todd, 'St. Patrick' 198-211.

(3) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 291 note b. Todd, 'St. Patrick', 221-224.

Scots who believed in Christ". The Scots to whom Prosper refers here were, as we have seen, the Scots of Ireland.[1] According to Prosper then, there was a mission to Ireland in the year before the mission of St. Patrick; and at that time there were already Christians in Ireland. Even if Prosper had not expressly stated that there were Christians already in Ireland before the arrival of St. Palladius, we would have inferred it from the fact that the representative who was sent from Rome was a bishop. It was not the custom of the Church of Rome, nor indeed of any Church, to send a bishop to an entirely heathen country - an ordinary missionary would in that case have sufficed; but the fact that a bishop was sent was proof of itself that there were some Christian communities already existing in the country, which were to be subjected to his authority.

Ireland can be seen from several points on the western coast of Britain; and there must have been from the earliest times considerable intercourse between the two countries. Although Ireland was never conquered by the Romans, and never formed therefore an integral part of the Roman Empire, there are indications of a close connection with the Roman Empire during the

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(1) Page 40.

time of the Roman occupation of Britain. Tacitus, writing in the
first century, speaks of the trade which the Romans had with Ire-
land, and of their knowledge of its coasts and harbours;[1] and
Ptolemy, who lived in the second century, knew enough of its geo-
graphy to draw up a map.[2] Numerous Roman coins have been discover-
ed in Ireland, ranging over the first five centuries.[3] There are
traces of Irish settlements on the south-west coast of Britain,
dating back to the third and fourth centuries. And that the
Irish were accustomed to raid the coasts of the neighbouring
Island and to carry off captives, we learn from the experience
of St. Patrick himself.[4] As in the case of Britain it was probably
not by any deliberately planned missionary effort that Christianity
was first introduced into Ireland; more probably, it gradually
found its way into the country, by means of trade, or by means
of piracy - by the capture, that is, of Christian prisoners; and
it probably came in the course of the fourth century, from Brit-
ain or Gaul: by that time, Christianity was widely spread
throughout both of these countries.

In whatever time or way, and from whatever quarter, Chris-

(1) Tacitus, 'Agricola', XXIV.

(2) His map of Ireland is better than his map of North Britain.
      (Ptolemaeus Claudius. 'Geographiae', P. Bertius).
(3) "The Ulster Journal of Archaeology", Vol. II, 182-192.

(4) "Confessio" (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296.)

tianity was first introduced into Ireland, it was not until the
fifth century was well advanced, that the first official attempt
was made from Rome to win the country over to the Christian Faith,
and to lay the foundations of the Christian Church. In the year
431, as we have seen, St. Palladius was sent from Rome for this
purpose; and the systematic work of evangelisation was at last
begun.

In the following year, St. Patrick arrived. It was in-
evitable, perhaps, that the close proximity in point of time of
these two missions - the mission of St. Palladius and the mission
of St. Patrick - should have led to some surprise and confusion;
and the attempt has been made to identify the two missions and
the two saints; with the result that St. Patrick has been set
aside by some authorities as a purely mythical figure.[1] But the
evidence for the separate existence of St. Palladius and of St.
Patrick is irresistible: for St. Palladius, on the one hand, the
very reliable testimony of Prosper; and for St. Patrick, on the
other hand, the incontrovertible witness of his own writings.[2]
The proximity of the two missions is quite naturally accounted for
by the circumstances. All the information which we can gather

(1) Zimmer, 'Keltische Kirche' Realencyklopädie, X. 207-221.
     "Mussen wir anerkennen, das der historische Patricius und
     Palladius bei Prosper identisch sind" (215).

(2) Zimmer's theory is refuted by Bury, 'Life of St. Patrick',
     384-391, and by Williams, 'Zeitschrift für Celtische
     Philologie' IV. Band 545-563.

about the mission of St. Palladius leads to the conclusion that
it was brief and ineffective, and that it was terminated premat-
urely by his death. There is nothing remarkable then, surely, in
the fact that, on the failure of one effort, another effort
should be made. And so, the mantle of St. Palladius fell upon St.
Patrick; and what his predecessor had been unable to accomplish,
St. Patrick carried to a successful end.

The real Apostle of Ireland then was St. Patrick; and it
was out of the Church which St. Patrick planted in Ireland, that
the Church afterwards grew, which was to be associated with the
name of St. Columba.

Irish devotion and Irish imagination have lavished all
their wealth upon the story of St. Patrick; and it is difficult
to pick out the facts from the mass of incredible fiction which
has gathered around his name. Our best authority is St. Patrick
himself in his own writings: in his "Confession", in which he
gives us some outline of his own life;[1] and in his "Letter to
Coroticus", in which he adds a few further details.[2] Relying al-
most exclusively then upon what St. Patrick tells us about him-

(1) 'Book of Armagh' fol. 22, a.a. 59. H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296-313.

(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 314-319.

self, we gather the following facts about his life and mission.

He was born some time before the close of the fourth cen-
tury[1] and his birth-place was somewhere "in the Britains" ("in
Britannis")[2] at a place called Bannavem Taberniae[3] possibly at,
or near, Dumbarton on the Clyde. The home into which he was born
was Christian: his father, Calpornus, a farmer[4] amd a Decurio[5]
(a town burgess), was also a deacon; and his grand-father had
been a priest.[6] At the age of sixteen, on the occasion of a raid
upon the coast by some Irish marauders, he was seized, along with
many others, and carried away into captivity and into slavery in
Ireland[7] where he was employed night and day in tending the cattle
of his master.[8] It was in this calamity that there befell the
spiritual crisis of his life. Although he had been brought up in
a Christian home, and taught no doubt the truths of the Christian
religion, he seems to have lived in those early days a careless
and irreligious life: he remained in unbelief, he tells us;
and he "knew not The True God"; and he was disobedient to the
law of God, and to the instructions of the priests.[9] There was
one sin especially, which he had committed when he was scarcely
fifteen, which lay heavily upon his conscience.[10] He looked upon
his captivity as a punishment sent upon him by God;[11] and in his

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(1) Bury gives conclusive reasons for 389 A.D.('Life of St.
     Patrick' 331-334.)
(2) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 303).
(3) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296) Appendix, IV.
(4) 'Confessio' (H.S.'C.E.D.' II,296. (5) 'Epistola'(H.S.'C.E.D.'
     II, 316).
(6) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296.)
(7) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296).
(8) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 300.)
(9) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 296).
(10) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 304.)
(11) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 297).

distress he turned to God; and the religion, which had meant so little to him before, now became the passion of his life. Out on the mountain-side, and in the woods, by night and day, he poured out his heart in prayer to God; and by fasting also, he sought to win the pardon of Heaven.[1] After six years spent in captivity thus,[2] a dream suggested to him his escape;[3] and he reached the Continent.[4] It is difficult, from the somewhat confused account which he gives in his 'Confession', to follow the exact course of his wanderings; but we find him at home again; and it was there that the call came to him, which opened up to him his life-work. It came to him in a vision of the night, he tells us - "the voice of the Irish" calling to him, and entreating him to come and dwell with them.[5] Sooner or later, he obeyed this call, which he took to be from God; and in order to equip himself for the task which lay before him, he sought and obtained consecration as a bishop. According to later traditions, he is said to have visited St. Honoratus at Lerins,[6] and St. Germanus at Auxerre,[7] and St. Martin at Tours,[8] and to have received his consecration and his commission at length at Rome, from the Pope himself - Pope Celestine.[9] But of all this, in his own writings, there is nothing. All that he

(1) 'Confessio' (H.S.'C.E.D.' II 300).(2)'Confessio'(H.S.'C.E.D.'
    II,301).
(3) 'Confessio'(H.S.'C.E.D.' II 300).(4)'Confessio'(H.S.'C.E.D.'
    II,302).
(5) 'Confessio' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 303).
(6) "Erat autem in una ex insolis quae dicitur Aralanensis annis
    XXX, mihi testante Ultano episcopo" (Dictum Patricii
    'Armagh' 17. b.) 'Tripartite Life' (Stokes II, 503).
(7) 'Tripartite Life' (Stokes I, 25). Notes by Muirchu, 'Armagh',
    20 a 1. Fiacc's Hymn ('Tripartite Life', Stokes II, 406,
    416). The Lebar Brecc Homily on St. Patrick.(L.Br. 25, 2).
(8) 'Tripartite Life' (Stokes, I, 25).
(9) Notes on Fiacc's Hymn. ('Tripartite Life', Stokes, II, 421).

tells us about this important passage in his life is, that he was made a deacon, after confessing the sin which he had committed in his youth,[1] and that afterwards he was made a bishop;[2] but as to where, and by whom, his consecration was conferred upon him, he gives us no information. His subsequent mission in Ireland, which occupied the rest of his life, almost thirty years - from his arrival in Ireland in 432, until his death which is said to have taken place in 461 - is elaborately described in the legendary "Lives" which have been written about him; and especially the contest which he is said to have had at the court of the King at Tara with the heathen Druid priests. But St. Patrick himself has little or nothing to record about it. We can so far trust tradition, however, as to believe that he visited almost every part of the country, and that his labours in converting the heathen were crowned with the most signal success: he broke the power of heathenism in Ireland; and laid the foundations of the Irish Church; and brought the one land in the west, which had lain hitherto outside the pale of Roman civilisation, into vital connection, through the religion which he bestowed upon it, with the rest of Christendom.

(1) Confessio, H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 304.
(2) Confessio, H.S., 'C.E.D., II, 314.

Of the Church which St. Patrick left behind him in Ireland and of its subsequent development, we get the most reliable description in a very important document, which has come down to us from an unknown writer of the eighth century; and which is entitled "The Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, according to their Different Periods" (Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae, Secundum Diversa Tempora").[1] In this document the Irish Saints are arranged chronologically into Three Orders as follows:-

"The First Order of Catholic Saints was in the time of Patrick. And then, they were all bishops, famous and holy, and full of The Holy Ghost, in number 350, the founders of churches. They had One Head ("Caput") Christ, and one Chief ("Dux") Patrick. They observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure, from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox; and what was excommunicated by one, all excommunicated. They disdained not the service and the society of women (according to another MS "neither laymen nor women did they repel from the churches"), because, founded upon the Rock of Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This Order of

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(1) H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 292-294.

Saints continued through four reigns; that is, during the time
of Laoghaire, and Oilioll Molt, and Lugaidh son of Laoghaire,
and Tuathail.   All these bishops were sprung from the Romans,
and Franks, and Britons, and Scots (Irish).

"The Second Order was of Catholic Presbyters. In this
Order, there were few bishops, and many presbyters, in number
300. They had One Head, our Lord. They celebrated different
masses, and had different rules, one Easter on the fourteenth
moon after the equinox, one tonsure, from ear to ear. They re-
fused the service of women, separating them from the monasteries.
This Order has hitherto continued through four reigns; that is,
from the latter years of Tuathail, and during the whole reign of
Diarmit the King, and of the two grandsons of Muredach, and of
Aedh the son of Ainmire. They received a mass from David the
bishop, and Gillas and Docus, the Britons.....

"The Third Order of Saints was of this sort. There were
holy presbyters, and few bishops, in number 100, who dwelt in de-
sert places, and lived on herbs and water and alms; they shunned
private property; and they had different rules and masses, and
different tonsures....and a different Easter festival.....These

lived through four reigns; that is, of Aedh Allain......and

Domhnall, and during the joint reigns of the sons of Maelcola and

of Aedh Slaine, and continued to that great mortality.....

"Note that the First Order was most holy; the Second, holy

of holies; the Third holy. The First glows like the sun in the

heat of brilliancy; the Second is pale as the moon; the Third

shines like Aurora....."

From the names of the Kings attached to each Order, we can

compute the period during which each Order is said to have lasted,

as follows: the First Order extended from 428 to 544; the Second

Order, from 544 to 599; and the Third Order, from 599 to 666.[1]

Although the arrangement is to a certain extent artificial,

and historical accuracy has evidently been subordinated to symmet-

rical effect, in the main "The Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland"

may be accepted as history; and what it gives us, therefore, is

a rough sketch - the oldest, and the most reliable which we have -

of the development of Irish Christianity, and of Irish ecclesias-

tical history, from the time of St. Patrick down to 666; and the

development, as we see, is characterised by a gradually deepening

asceticism, which may be summed up thus:- in the First Period,

(1) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 294, note B.

the Church consisted of an episcopal and secular clergy; and in
the Second, of a monastic clergy; and in the Third, of an eremit-
ical clergy.

According to this classification, St. Patrick belongs to
the First Period; and St. Columba to the Second Period. The
Third Period falls outside of our present consideration; and our
attention is therefore centred upon the First Two Periods.

In the First Period - the Period to which St. Patrick be-
longs - the Church in Ireland is predominantly episcopal: there
are a multitude of bishops.

Three hundred and fifty bishops - the number which is given
in "The Catalogue" - even if we regard it as a rough estimate and
probably exaggerated, seems an extraordinarily large number of
bishops for such a comparatively small country as Ireland; and we
can only account for it by considering the social and political
conditions which were to be found in Ireland at that period, and
the method which St. Patrick adopted in evangelising the country
and in laying the foundations of the Church. Nowhere have secular
institutions had such a determining effect upon the Church as in

Ireland. There was a High King (Ard Righ) at Tara, who held a
nominal lordship over the whole of Ireland; and there were sub-
ordinate Kings who divided the country amongst them; [1] but the
fundamental unit in the social and political life of Ireland was
the tribe (Tuath). The land was divided into a large number of
small districts, each of which was possessed by a separate tribe
and ruled over by a tribal chief. When St. Patrick, in the course
of his missionary journeys, passed from tribe to tribe, he set
himself always first of all to convert the tribal chief; and
when he had won him over to the Christian Faith, he required from
him a gift of land beside the royal dwelling, upon which he built
a church; and in every church he placed a bishop. The Christian
bishop was meant to take the place in the tribe which before had
been held by the heathen priest, the Druid. As there were many
tribes, so there came to be many bishops. In other countries
the Christian Church had been in touch with the Roman Empire; and
as it conquered the Roman Provinces it moulded its organisation
upon the organisation of the state: the civil divisions of the
one became the ecclesiastical divisions of the other: the city be-
came the seat and the diocese of the bishop: and the capital be-

(1) In St. Patrick's time there was an Heptarchy: the Kingdoms
of:-
1. Ailech (Donegal, Derry, N. Tyrone.)
2. Airgiall or Oriel. (Armagh, Monaghan, S. Fermanagh,
S. Louth, S. Tyrone).
3. Uliad or Ulidia. (Antrim, Down, N. Louth: it included
Uliad proper, Dal nAraide, Dal Riata).
4. Connacht. (W. Cavan, but not Clare).
5. Munster.
6. Leinster.
7. Meath (Parts of N. Leinster and Ulster, S. Louth,
S. Meath (Brega), W. Meath, Longford, and part of
Cavan).
(Eoin MacNeill. 'Phases of Irish History'. 98-132).

came the see of the arch-bishop. But in Ireland, where there was
no national unity and no centralised government - only a number
of disintegrated tribes - the Church had no civil structure to
build upon; and so, it became itself tribal, founded upon the
tribal system which prevailed around it. There is no evidence
that St. Patrick ever created bishops who were left to wander
about the country, to exercise at will their episcopal functions:
the Patrician bishops were diocesan, only in the sense that each
bishop had for his diocese the tribe to which he was attached.[1] To-
wards the end of St. Patrick's life, the system underwent a further
development which prepared the way for monasticism, in the estab-
lishment in many places of collegiate churches, consisting of
seven bishops: the seven bishops being frequently drawn from the
same family in the tribe. But there was no metropolitan juris-
diction in the Church which St. Patrick founded, and there was no
indication of any subjection to the authority of Rome. A certain
moral leadership was naturally accorded to St. Patrick himself;
and for the rest, the spiritual unity of the Church was expressed
by the Headship of Christ; and outwardly its unity was exhibited,
by the form of its worship, and by the peculiar tonsure of its

(1) Bury, 'Life of St. Patrick', 375-379).

clergy, and by the date upon which the Resurrection of The Lord was celebrated.

When we pass to the Second Period in the history of the Irish Church - the Period to which St. Columba belongs - the fact of outstanding importance is, that by that time, the Church had become completely monastic: all the clergy were now monks; and the monasteries were the centres of ecclesiastical life: outside the monasteries, the Church had no real life and no real exist-ence.

It is a question which has provoked a considerable amount of discussion, and to which various conflicting answers have been given - as to how this transformation came about, and what the sources were from which monasticism was introduced into the Church of Ireland. The earliest monasticism in the Christian Church arose in the East - in Egypt and Syria - in the times of the Decian and of the Diocletian persecutions, in the middle of the third, and in the beginning of the fourth centuries. Numbers of Christians then fled into the deserts in these countries, in order to escape from persecution, and - influenced by ascetic ideas also - in or-

der to separate themselves from the world, and to devote them-
selves to a more exclusively religious life. They began to live
as hermits; and then, some of them, gathering together into com-
munities, or 'families', under Abbots or 'Fathers', adopted a
coenobitic or monastic life. From Alexandria, this Eastern monas-
ticism was carried to Marseilles, and was spread through Gaul,
mainly through the influence of St. Martin of Tours; and from
Gaul it was easy to transport it to Ireland. But there were
sources nearer to Ireland even than Gaul. In "The Catalogue of
the Saints of Ireland", we read that the Saints of the Second Or-
der "received a mass from David the bishop, and Gillas and Docus
the Britons".[1] David the bishop, here referred to, was the great
St. David of Wales; and Gillas was Gildas, the celebrated his-
torian; and Docus was St. Cadoc, the founder of the monastery of
Llancarvan in South Wales, where Gildas was associated with him.
According to "The Catalogue", it would seem then that the British
Church in Wales exercised at this time a considerable influence
upon the Church in Ireland; if the Saints in Wales conferred a
liturgy upon their brethren in Ireland, it was probable that they
passed on to them also something of the spirit of their monastic-

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(1) 'Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae' (H.S. 'C.E.D. II 293).

ism, from their great monasteries which were then at the height
of their fame.[1] And, besides Wales, there was the influence which
flowed also from the Church which St. Ninian had left behind him
in Galloway. That there was considerable intercourse between Ire-
land and Whithorn during this period, we know from several of the
"Lives" of the Irish Saints. Students, as we have seen, flocked
from Ireland to "The Great Monastery" at Candida Casa - or Rosnat,
as it was called in Ireland; and they carried back to Ireland
with them doubtless, the monastic ideas which they learned there.
Gaul and Wales and Galloway probably all made their contributions
to the monasticism of Ireland; but apart from any external in-
fluence, the monastic development in Ireland was natural in it-
self, and was largely probably a native growth, out of the cir-
cumstances of the country and of the times. It was natural for
Christian converts, at that time, to gather into communities: it
was necessary often for their safety, as well as for the preserva-
tion of their religious life. It was a stage in the growth of
Christianity which was common to most countries. Only in the
shelter and in the seclusion of the monastic life could men find,
in these disordered and evil days, a place of refuge from the

(1)　Zimmer denies Welsh influence ('Keltische Kirche', Realen-
　　　cyklopädie X 224).

world of violence and of heathen wickedness with which they were
surrounded.

It was during this monastic period in its history that the
Church of Ireland reached its golden age; and there were two di-
rections in which Irish monasticism especially distinguished it-
self.

It distinguished itself, in the first place, by its zeal
for Learning.

At a time when everywhere else, in Britain and on the Con-
tinent, the waves of barbarian invasion were sweeping over every-
thing, and submerging in destruction all culture and civilisation,
the Church in Ireland, removed from these distresses in its island
home, was enabled to devote itself peacefully to the cause of
Learning; and its great monasteries - those of Aran, Clonard,
Clonfert, Moville, Clonmacnoise and Bangor - became universities
of European fame, to which students flocked in thousands from all
countries.[1] Latin was used as a living language; and Greek and
Hebrew were also studied. The beautifully transcribed and richly
illuminated copies of The Psalter and of The Gospels, which have
come down to us from these Irish monasteries, speak of the artist-
ic ability of these old Irish monks, and of the love and reverence

(1) W. G. Hanson, 'The Early Monastic Schools of Ireland', 1-35.

which they had for The Holy Scriptures; while numbers of Irish

manuscripts of Classical authors, which have been preserved from

the same period, bear ample witness to the breadth of their schol-

arship and to the depth of their erudition. There was nothing

anywhere at the time - not even in Rome itself - to surpass, or

to equal, the standard of culture which was to be found in the

great monastic schools of Ireland.

The other direction in which Irish monasticism especially

distinguished itself was in its missionary enthusiasm.

The great monasteries were not only seminaries for schol-

ars; they were also centres for the training of missionaries,

and for the propagation of The Gospel. Whether it was from the

purely missionary motive of carrying The Gospel to other lands,

or the desire sometimes for seclusion from the world, mingled with

the love of wandering and of adventure inherent in the Irish nat-

ure, we find that from an early period it was customary for these

Irish monks - either singly, or in little companies, generally of

three, or seven, or twelve - to set out upon their quest. Some of

them went to the Continent - to Gaul and Germany and Switzerland

and Italy - carrying the light of their learning and the influ-

ence of their purer faith, into lands which were lapsing again in-
to barbarism.   One of the most notable of those wandering Irish
monks was Columbanus of Bangor, who founded on the Continent the
greatest monastery of the age - the monastery of Luxeuil in Bur-
gundy.   Others again, setting sail in their frail craft - in their
coracles of wicker-work and hide - put out into the wild northern
seas, and crossed to the Hebrides;   and the greatest achievement
of the Irish Church was begun - the christianizing of North Brit-
ain.   The most romantic figure perhaps of all those Irish monks
was St. Brendan, the founder of the monastery of Clonfert.[1]   He
sailed, we are told, with some of his disciples, in search of the
Land of Promise of the Saints;   and his voyage of seven years be-
came one of the most popular legends of the Middle Ages - a monk-
ish Odyssey, which inspired many a poet and many a mariner;   and -
it is believed by some - led in the long run to the discovery of
America.   On his return from his great voyage, St. Brendan is said
to have visited St. Gildas in Wales;[2]   and thereafter, to have set
out for the Western Isles of North Britain: in the Island of
Auerech, (probably Ilachinive), he founded a monastery;[3]   and in
the Island of Heth (Tiree) he built a church.[4] The ambition of the

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(1)   'Vita Prima Sancti Brendani'. (Plummer, 'V.SS.H.' I, 98-151).

(2)   'Vita Prima Sancti Brendani, LXXXIII.

(3)   'Vita Prima Sancti Brendani'. LXXXVI.

(4)   'Vita Prima Sancti Brendani'. LXXXVII.

missionary supplied to the Irish heart a far more powerful incentive than the old love of warfare and of plunder; and the nation, whose pirate fleets had been for centuries the terror of the neighbouring coasts, now sent forth her sons on a nobler errand - to carry the peaceful message of The Gospel to other lands. From the plains of Lombardy in the south, to Iceland in the far north, we come upon the traces of these wandering Irish missionary-monks. In that decadent age of the Roman Church, "The Isle of Saints" kept the light of The Gospel burning brightly, and became the great missionary centre for the diffusion of Christianity. "For a time," as John Richard Green says, "it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had driven before them had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West."[1)

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(1) Green, 'The Making of England', II, 44.

II.

SAINT COLUMBA.

(1) In Ireland.

The first forty-one years of the life of St. Columba were spent in Ireland: it was in the religion of Ireland that St. Columba was nurtured; and it was in the Church of Ireland that he was prepared for his life-work.

For the life of St. Columba, we are fortunate in possessing a record of the most authoritative kind. Within sixty years of his death, which took place in Iona in 597, one of his successors in Iona, Cummene (or Cummian), the seventh abbot (abbot 657-669), wrote some account of his "Virtues";[1] and some fifty years later, another of his successors in Iona, Adamnan, the ninth abbot (abbot 679-704), produced his celebrated "Life of St. Columba" - the most precious literary relic which has come down to us from these early days. Adamnan incorporated in his book all that Cummene had written before him; and he drew further materials, as he tells us, from oral and written sources. Near enough in point of time to

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(1) Cummene or Cummian, 'Vita S. Columbae', (Colgan 'Trias Thaumaturga 321-324, and Pinkerton 'Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum', I, 50-69).

have conversed with those who had actually known St. Columba, and writing on the spot where he had so long lived and laboured, it is a very distinct and very memorable and well-authenticated picture which Adamnan presents, of this, the greatest of all the Saints of the Celtic Church. It is not a biography, in the ordinary sense of the word, which Adamnan has produced, but a eulogy; and he writes, not as a historian, but as a hagiologist. What he gives us in his memoir of the Saint are what he considers to be the chief "Glories" of St. Columba - his prophecies and miracles and angelic visions. While the stress which he lays upon the miraculous is something which we would gladly have dispensed with, and while the artificial arrangement of his book makes it difficult to follow the sequence of events in the life of St. Columba, they take nothing away from the life-likeness of the figure which is set before us; and they leave undisturbed also the light which is shed upon the times of which he writes; for it is not only for the picture which he paints of St. Columba that we are indebted to Adamnan, but also for the information which he gives of St. Columba's age. Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba" is the earliest authority which we possess for many of the particulars, not only

of the religious and ecclesiastical, but also of the civil, hist-
ory of our country in these early days. It is, as one of the most
discriminating writers upon the Antiquities of Scotland, Pinkerton,
truly says:-   "the most complete piece of such biography that all
Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through
the whole Middle Ages".[1]

It is from Adamnan that we must draw mainly then for our
information about St. Columba: supplementing what Adamnan has to
say, with a few details from other, but subordinate, sources.

St. Columba was born at Gartan,[2] a little village in the
wilds of Donegal, on the 7th of December,[3] in the year 521 A.D.[4] He
belonged to the race of the O'Donnells, a clan which has always oc-
cupied a foremost place in the annals of Ireland; and through
each of his parents he could boast of royal descent: his father,
Feidlimidh, being the great-grandson of the famous High King of
Ireland, Niall of the Nine Hostages;[5] and his mother, Aethne, be-
ing the descendant also of another Irish King, the King of Lein-
ster.[6] By right of birth, he might have become himself the High
King of Ireland, we are told, had he not chosen rather to be the

(1) Pinkerton, 'An Enquiry into The History of Scotland' I, XXXVI.
(2) Or Gortan. (O.I.L. Lismore Lives. 24.)
(3) A Thursday. (O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 24).
(4) The 7th December was a Thursday in 521. (A.O. Anderson,
      'Early Sources of Scottish History', I, 6, note 3).
(5) Adamnan, Second Preface; LL. 347 b; Fél. Oeng. 148; O.I.L.
      Lismore Lives, 24.
(6) Adamnan, Second Preface; LL. 354. 3; Fél. Oeng. 148; O.I.L.
      Lismore Lives, 24.

servant of God.[1] His royal blood - it is of importance to remember - added considerable distinction to his sanctity in that early age; and had not a little to do with the prestige which always attached to him; and accounted for much of the influence which he afterwards was enabled to wield, not only in spiritual, but also in political matters, among his own countrymen.

Before his birth, his mother had a dream, in which the glory of her son was foretold. She dreamed that an angel of The Lord appeared to her, and brought her a beautiful robe - a robe with all the colours of all the flowers of the world in it. Immediately, it was rapt away; and she saw it spread across all the Heavens, stretching out over plains and woods and mountains. "Thou shalt bring forth a son", said the angel, "so beautiful as the flowers, that he shall be reckoned among his own people as one of the Prophets of God; and he hath been predestined by God to be the Leader of innumerable souls to the Heavenly Country."[2]

It was a Christian home into which he was born; and he received at his baptism the name of Colum ("a Dove" - the symbol of The Holy Ghost: Latinized into Columba). Irish writers say that he was also named Crimthann ("a Fox").[3] Afterwards, he was known

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(1) O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 22. O'Donnell, I.

(2) Adamnan, III, 2.

(3) "Quod Hebraice dicitur Iona, Græ citas vero Περιστερα vocitat, et Latina lingua Columba nuncupatur.... a diebus infantiae hoc vocabulo, Deo donante, adornatus." (Adamnan, Second Preface). Later writers say that his baptismal name was Crimthann. (LL 354 d; L. Br. 236 b. O'Donnell 53, 159. Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, II, 306).

best as Columcille ("The Dove of the Church"), because of the num-
ber of churches which he built.[1] There is a pretty story, which
comes down from the days of his childhood, and which may give us
the real origin of his fuller and more popular name:- "He often
came from the church," we are told, "where he had read his Psalms,
into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to
say this among themselves:- Has our little Dove (Colum) come to-
day from the church (Cille)?"[2]

According to the Celtic custom of the time, in families of
such position, he was brought up under the care of a foster-fath-
er. This duty was undertaken by the aged priest who had baptized
him - Cruithann by name;[3] and with him he remained until he was
old enough to go to one or other of the great monastic schools.
He studied afterwards under the great St. Finnian (or St. Finbar)
at Moville;[4] at Clonard, under another St. Finnian;[5] and at Glas-
nevin, under St. Mobhi;[6] and some time also he spent in Leinster,
under the instruction of an aged bard, whose name was Gemman.[7] It
was from Gemman, very probably, that he acquired something of his
great love for poetry and for music.

During this period of his life, he was ordained as a deacon

ᴄ✕ (1)   Bede, 'H.E.' V. 9.

(2) Fel. Oeng. 144. L. Br. 236. 2.

(3) Adamnan, III, 2.

(4) Adamnan, II, 1. O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 25.

(5) Adamnan, III, 5. O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 25.

(6) O'Donnell, 73, 75. O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 26.

(7) Adamnan, II, 26. In O.I.L. Lismore Lives 25 he is called
       German.

first,[1] and afterwards as a presbyter; and, about his ordination as a presbyter, there is a curious and interesting story which is told. He was with St. Finnian of Clonard at the time; and St. Finnian sent him to bishop Etchen of Clonfad, with the request that St. Etchen would make him a bishop. St. Columba, we are told, came upon St. Etchen while he was ploughing in the field, and he proferred his request; and St. Etchen readily agreed to do what was required of him; but a mistake was made: St. Etchen intended to make him a bishop, but he ordained him as a presbyter instead. When the error was discovered, St. Columba regarded it as the will of God; and vowed that he would remain a presbyter thereafter to the end of his life.[2] The story points to the extreme simplicity of ordination in Ireland in these early days; but it looks also very suspiciously like the invention of a later age, to account for the seemingly surprising fact, that a Saint so distinguished as St. Columba should never have acquired the higher ecclesiastical rank of bishop.

On the completion of his education he returned to his kindred in Ulster, and the work of his life was begun. For the re-

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(1) Adamnan, II, 1.

(2) Fél. Oeng. 72.

mainder of his time in Ireland, we see him moving about the coun-
try, founding in various places churches and monasteries. The
first monastery which he founded was at Derry ('The Place of
Oaks') in 546, on ground which was gifted to him for that purpose
by his own clan;[1] and for Derry he always afterwards retained a
particular affection. The most celebrated of his other founda-
tions in Ireland which date from this period of his life, were
the monasteries of Durrow[2] and Kells.[3][4] "The Book of Durrow" and
"The Book of Kells", the most beautiful extant examples of the
Irish art of illumination, are traditionally ascribed to St. Col-
umba's own hands - his gifts to those two monasteries which he
had founded.[5]

And now, we come to the event which marked the crisis of
his life, and which determined all his subsequent career - the
reason, or reasons, which led him to leave his native land, and to
set out upon his mission to North Britain. The circumstances, un-
fortunately, are involved in considerable obscurity; and it is not
a little difficult to sift out the truth from the various and ap-
parently conflicting traditions.

(1) A.U. in ann. 546. O'Donnell 77. (2) Adamnan I, 3.
(3) O.I.L. Lismore Lives 27.
(4) Other foundations:- Tory (O.I.L. Lismore Lives 30; O'Donnell
        111); Drumcliff (O'Donnell 94); Swords (O.I.L. Lismore
        Lives 29; O'Donnell 102); Raphoe (O'Donnell 91).
"Beloved are Durrow and Derry.   "Beloved to my heart also in the
"Beloved is Raphoe in purity,   (west
"Beloved Drumhome of rich fruits "Drumcliff at Culcinne's strand
"Beloved are Swords and Kells.   "To behold the fair Loch Feval
                                 "The form of its shores is de-
                                                        lightful.
   Old Irish Poem quoted by Reeves (Reeves 'Adamnan'(1857) 288,289.)
(5) Preserved in Trinity College, Dublin.

When we turn to Adamnan first, we find that he has very little to say upon the subject; and what he tells us does not seem to be very definite. He says, that, "in the second year after the Battle of Culedrebina, in the forty-second year of his age, he sailed from Scotia (Ireland) to Britain, wishing to go on pilgrimage for Christ".[1] He tells us also, that, at a Synod which was held at Teilte (Teltown), St. Columba was excommunicated, "for some pardonable and very excusable reasons"; and that the sentence of excommunication was rescinded, on the intervention of one of the friends of St. Columba, St. Brendan of Birr.[2] But what the reasons for his excommunication were, Adamnan does not state; and he does not connect the synod with the battle, nor either of them with the departure of St. Columba from Ireland, as being the reason for his departure. According to Adamnan, it was purely for a religious motive - "to go on pilgrimage for Christ" - that St. Columba left Ireland and went forth upon his quest.

According to another tradition, however, another account is given of the train of events which led up to the departure of St. Columba from Ireland.[3] Briefly, it may be stated as follows. In the year 561, a great Battle was fought in Ireland at Cul Dremhne

(1) "Hic anno secundo post Culedrebinae bellum, aetatis vero suae XLII de Scotia ad Britanniam pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit." (Adamnan, Second Preface).

(2) "Pro quibusdam veniabilibus et tam excusabilibus causis." (Adamnan, III 4.)

(3) The tradition is given in O'Donnell 167-177. The story comes from 'The Black Book of Molaga' which has been lost. (Keating, 'History of Ireland' (Dinneen) III, 88).

(now Cooladrummon) near Sligo. The opposing parties were: on the one side, the followers of Diarmit, the High King of Ireland; and on the other side, the clan of the O'Donnells, the kinsmen of St. Columba, summoned to battle by St. Columba himself. There were two grievances which St. Columba had against King Diarmit, which caused the battle. The first was connected with a book. St. Finnian of Moville, St. Columba's old master, had been on a pilgrimage to Rome, and had brought back with him to Ireland a precious codex of The Psalter, and had placed it in his church at Moville.[1] St. Columba, having heard of the treasure, paid a visit to St. Finnian, and begged to be allowed to make a copy of it - but was refused. Not to be baulked, however - so great was his passion for The Scripture - he stole into the church by night, and secretly transcribed it. On being discovered at his work, St. Finnian demanded that he should deliver up to him his pirated copy; and when he refused, the dispute was referred to King Diarmit for decision. "To every cow, her little cow; and to every book its little book"[2] - so Diarmit pronounced his famous judgment; and gave his decision therefore in favour of St. Finnian.[3] The other grievance which St. Columba had against the King was occasioned by another event which oc-

(1) Probably a copy of Jerome's translation. (Lawlor, P.R.I.A. XXXIII, 316).

(2) "Le gach boin a boinin, le gach lebhur a leabran."(O'Donnell 168)

(3) The copy which St. Columba made was called 'The Cathach' ('The Battler'), because it was carried into battle afterwards by St. Columba's clan, as a palladium, to give them victory. A portion of it - fifty-eight leaves, containing from Psalm XXX, 10 to CV, 13 - is preserved in The Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. (Lawlor, P.R.I.A. XXXIII, 241-436).

curred about the same time. A son of the King of Connaught, having slain a man at the King's court at Tara, and having fled to St. Columba for protection, had been dragged from his presence and put to death by the orders of the King. Stung into indignation by the double affront which he conceived had been done to him, St. Columba applied to his clansmen, the O'Donnells, and roused them to battle; and along with them joined the King of Connaught, eager to take revenge for the death of his son. The night before the battle, St. Columba "fasted on God" to win the victory over the enemy; and Michael, the Archangel came to him, and announced that, according to his prayer, the victory would be his; but because he had asked so worldly a thing from God, he would have to go into exile from Ireland afterwards for all the rest of his life. When the battle was joined, the Arch-angel Michael was seen in the fore-front of the fight; and - St. Columba praying upon one side, and St. Finnian praying upon the other side - the prayers of St. Columba and the sword of Michael prevailed; and a sanguinary defeat was inflicted upon the forces of King Diarmit, three thousand falling upon the field of battle. The sequel to the battle was that a Synod of the Church was held at Teltown in Neath; and for the re-

sponsibility which he had for the slaughter which had been incurred
St. Columba was excommunicated; although the sentence of excommun-
ication was afterwards revoked.

There are further legends, which are to be found in the
"Lives" of some of the Irish Saints, which picture him as overwhelm-
ed with remorse, wandering from saint to saint, seeking the pardon
of God for his sin, and voluntarily accepting as his penance, that
he should leave Ireland for ever, and seek to win for Christ as
many souls as the lives of those who had been lost in battle.[1]

It is not necessary - as has usually been done by the bio-
graphers of St. Columba - to select one or other of these tradi-
tions only as representing the truth, and to reject the others:[2]
in each of these seemingly conflicting traditions, there is pro-
bably some strand of truth: it is possible, at least, to weave
them all into one consistent story. There is nothing improbable,
in the first place, in his having had it in his mind from the first
"to go on pilgrimage for Christ": it was a desire which inspired
the hearts of many of his countrymen; and Adamnan, who is our
best authority, says that it was his passion too. It is not im-
probable either - and it is not inconsistent with that - that he

(1) 'Vita Sancti Abbani' XLV. Plummer 'V.SS.H.' I, 28.
     'Vita Sancti Lasriani' XXXI. Plummer, 'V.SS.H.' II, 139.

(2) e.g. Macewen who rejects as "too puerile for credence" St.
     Columba's desire "to go on pilgrimage". (Macewen 'History
     of The Church in Scotland' I, 51).

should have been implicated also in the battle referred to, and for the reasons alleged: the story seems well authenticated; and it was not the only battle, if we are to believe historians, in which St. Columba had some share. With his imperious and passionate nature, and with the royal blood which flowed in his veins, he was not a man likely to submit himself tamely, even to a King, when he felt himself aggrieved; and in that rude age, and in the war-like country of Ireland, it was not an unusual thing even for churchmen to make their appeal to the sword, and to wield it too themselves upon occasion. The dream of his life - "to go on pilgrimage for Christ" - may have had an unexpected incentive given to it by the consequences of the battle. That the sentence of the Church was revoked seems certain, from the fact that upon more than one occasion afterwards he visited Ireland, and was received with all honour by the Church - which could not have happened if he were still under the ban of excommunication. Further, there is nothing improbable surely in his remorse for his sin, and in his voluntary acceptance of exile to make atonement for what he had done. Even the Archangel Michael himself may find a place in the completed story; for Michael, sentencing him to exile on the night before

the battle only means, that even before the battle was joined he began to feel the stirrings of conscience; and dreams of the night were not always distinguished by these old saints from waking realities. Men often act from a complication of motives in the great decisions of their lives; and in St. Columba's case, various factors may have led up to the event, so momentous in the history of the Church, which drove him to leave behind him the land of his birth, and to seek in a land beyond the sea to win souls for Christ.

When he had determined upon his departure from Ireland, the most natural thing to occur to him was, that he should go to the help of his fellow-countrymen in North Britain. A colony of them had been settled there now for some time, on the western coast of North Britain; their King, Conall, was a near kinsman of his own, and they belonged to his own clan. They had recently, moreover, suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Picts and were in great straits.[1] To go to the assistance of his fellow-countrymen and kinsmen beyond the sea, and encourage them in their hour of need, and confirm them in their religion; and to carry The Gospel to their foes also, the heathen Picts, who lived beyond the moun-

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(1) A. T. in ann. 559.

tains in the far north - such was the purpose which probably began
to unfold itself before him, and to the fulfilment of which he
henceforth devoted his life.

(2) In North Britain.

It was in the year 563 A.D.[1], in the forty-second year of his life, that St. Columba set out from Derry, with twelve of his disciples - the number of the Apostolic Band - to carry out his mission to North Britain.[2]

He kept gazing back at Ireland, we are told, until the sea hid it from his sight, and he poured out his passionate love for Ireland in a Poem of Farewell:-[3]

> "My gaze across the sea I stretch
> From the deck of firm oak planks
> Great is the tear of my soft grey eye
> As I look across to Erin.

> "There is a grey eye
> That looks across to Erin
> It never again shall see
> The men of Erin or women."

hark

On his way northward across the sea, he must have passed by several islands - Islay first, and Jura next; but these were probably too large and too near to Ireland for his purpose. Local tradition says that he landed on Colonsay, and that he visited also the neighbouring islet of Oransay; but finding that Ireland was

(1) Bede says 565 (H.E. III, 4). A.T. in ann. 563. A.C. and A.U. in ann. 562. Reeves (Adamnan, V.S.C. 225) and Skene (C.S. II 105) maintain 563. Plummer (Baedae Opera Historica, II, 130) inclines to 565.

(2) Adamnan, Second Preface and III, 5.

(3) Mo radharc tar sal sinim   do clar na ndarach ndighainn
    mor der mo ruisc glais glemhoill   mar feghaim tar mhais
                                                            Erind
    fuil suil nglais   .   fechus Erinn tar a haiss
    is ni faicfe si re a la   fir Erend naid a mna
    (O'Donnell, 201).

still visible, he would not remain, but put to sea again. A

cairn on the latter island, called 'Cul-re-hErind' ('Back to Erin'),

marks to this day the spot from which he is said to have gazed.[1]

It was on the eve of Pentecost, which fell in that year on the 12th

of May, that he reached Iona;[2] Ireland was no longer to be seen;

and he fixed upon it for his new home - the out-post was seized,

from which The Gospel was to be spread throughout all the length

and breadth of Northern Britain.

It is a little island, Iona,[3] about three miles long, and

from a mile to a mile and a half broad. It lies off the coast of

Mull, separated from it by a narrow strait or sound, about a mile

across. A low island, for the most part, with sandy beaches, and

of uneven surface, the rocks protruding through the turf and heath-

er; the highest hill rising to 330 ft., and commanding a magnific-

ent sweep of about a hundred miles across the sea and the neighbour-

ing islands, from the Cuchulin Hills in Skye to the Paps of Jura;[4]

with land suitable for pasturage and tillage; a stream in it,

draining a marsh, and sufficient in St. Columba's day to drive a

mill; with abundance of fish to be obtained at all seasons in the

surrounding waters; within easy reach of the main-land, and yet

(1) Grieve, 'The Book of Colonsay and Oransay' II, 198, 199.
(2) O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 30.
(3) The oldest MSS. (Codd, A.C.F.S.) of Adamnan have 'Ioua Insula'
        (Ioua is an adjective). By a scribe's error 'n' was inserted
        for 'u'. The error made Iona, which is Hebrew (יוֹנָה)
        for Columba.
        Irish forms:- I, Ia, hIe, Eo, I often adding Columcille.
        Latin forms:- Eo, Hu, Hy, Hya, Hi, I, Iona, Hii, Adjectives,
            Ioua, Euea, Ioensis, Hiiensis.
        Saxon forms:- Ii, Hii. Scottish forms:- Yi, Hii, Hy, Iona,
            Yona, I, Hii.
        Monuments in Iona:- 'Y'. Legal Documents:- Ycolmkill,
            Ecolmkill.(See further Reeves' 'Adamnan V.S.C.' CXXVII-CXXX)
(4) Duke of Argyll ('Iona' 114) says ninety-six miles.

separated from it and safe-guarded by the sea; within striking dis-tance, alike of the Scots of Dal Riata and of the Britons of Strath-clyde, and of the Picts beyond the northern mountains - it was an ideal place for a missionary centre: no more suitable and strategic position could have been found on all the western coast of North Britain for a colony of missionary monks, than this little island lying in the Hebridean seas, which St. Columba chose for his pur-pose and dedicated to Christ.

He readily obtained a gift of the island from his kinsman, Conall, the King of Dal Riata; [1] and the work of erecting the nec-essary buildings was at once begun.

From the many incidental hints and details which are given by Adamnan, we can picture the monastery of Iona and its inmates, and the life of the little community which gathered there under the rule of St. Columba.

Of the buildings, as they stood in St. Columba's day, no vestige now remains; for, as Adamnan tells us, the original build-ings were constructed of wood or wattle. [2] The monastery proper - like all Irish monasteries in these turbulent and warlike days -

(1) A.T. and A.U. say Conall was the donor of Iona. Bede (H.E. III, 4) says that St. Columba received the Island from the Picts. Conall was probably the original donor; and his gift was probably afterwards confirmed by the Pictish King, Brude.

(2) Adamnan, II, 3, 46.

was surrounded by a rampart - a 'rath' or 'cashel', as it was called - built probably of earth, and intended for defence against enemies.[1] Within the rampart stood the group of huts for the brethren,[2] the refectory for the common meal,[3] the guest-house for strangers,[4] and the church[5] with its little side-chapel;[6] and at a little distance from the rest, and situated upon a slight rising-ground, St. Columba's own house;[7] while, outside of the rampart, were the barn,[8] the byre,[9] and the kiln (for drying corn),[10] and the fields which the monks cultivated. A mill there was also, probably, although Adamnan does not mention it; for the little stream is still called 'Struth-a-mhuilinn ('The Stream of the Mill'); and down by the beach there was the harbour for the boats.[11]

The members of the monastery were at first only the twelve disciples who came with St. Columba from Ireland; but they afterwards increased in number, until they reached, we are told, a hundred and fifty:-

> "Illustrious the soldiers who were in Hii,
> Thrice fifty in monastic rule." [12]

They were divided into three classes: the Seniors,[13] the older brethren, who were employed chiefly in attending to the various religious services, and in the copying of the Scriptures; the Work-

(1) Vallum (Adamnan, II, 30). (2) Hospitia (II, 3).
(3) Refectorium. (II, 12). (4) Hospitium (I, 4).
(5) Ecclesia (II, 5). (6) exedra, exedriola (III, 20).
(7) Turgurium (III, 24), turguriolum (I, 19), Hospitium (III, 24), Hospitiolum (III, 22). (8) Horreum (III, 24).
(9) Bocetum (III, 24). (10) Canaba (I, 35).
(11) Portus (I, 16). (12) O.I.L. Lismore, 30.
(13) Seniores (Adamnan, II, 45).

ing Brethren, who did the manual labour of the monastery;[1] and the
Juniors, novices or pupils, who were under instruction.[2] They were
all monks; and for their dress they wore a cowl[3] and a white tun-
ic[4] and leathern sandals;[5] and they were distinguished by their
peculiar tonsure, which, according to the fashion in the Irish
Church, was "from ear to ear".[6]

Worship - the observance of the ordinary daily services in
the church, and the private devotions of the brethren - occupied a
central place in the life of the monastery; but not to the exclu-
sion of other employments: attention was also given to study and
writing and manual labour. The chief subject of study was The
Holy Scriptures, especially The Psalms, which were committed to
memory. And the copying of The Scriptures - a task to which St.
Columba himself was particularly devoted - meant the practice also
of the beautiful art of illumination, which had been brought to
such a perfection in the monastic schools of Ireland. Manual lab-
our had also to be done by the monks themselves for the support
of the monastery: we read of ploughing,[7] and sowing[8] and reaping,[9]
and winnowing,[10] and grinding the corn; of building with wood,[12] and
of working in metals;[13] and of labour also in the dairy and in the

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(1)   Operarii fratres (Adamnan, III, 24).
(2)   Juniores (I, 2). Alumni (III, 22). Pueri, familiares. (I,3).
(3)   Cucula (II, 25).   (4) Candida tunica (II, 45).
(5)   Calcei (II, 12).   (6) "Ab aure ad aurem". See pages 119,120.
(7) Adamnan, II, 45.   (8) II, 45.   (9) I, 29.
(10) III, 24.   (11) I, 22.   (12) II, 3.
(13) II, 30.   (14) II, 15.

kitchen[1] - for there was no women's service to help the brethren. It was not to a life of prayer and meditation merely that St. Columba invited men in Iona: secular labour also had its honoured and religious place in the Christian colony which grew up under his rule.

For the first two years after his arrival in Iona, St. Columba seems to have confined his attention to the development of the monastery which he had founded on the island; and to work also, probably, amongst his fellow-countrymen in Dal Riata; and then he turned himself to his great task - the carrying of The Gospel to the Northern Picts.

He resolved to begin his mission to the Picts by visiting their King. The head-quarters of King Brude - the King who ruled at that time over the Northern Picts, and who had recently inflicted a severe defeat upon the Scots of Dal Riata - lay on the other side of the country, on the river Ness, at what is now called the town of Inverness. To the fortress of King Brude, therefore, he set out, taking with him, to accompany him on his expedition, some of his disciples from Iona; and also two of his old friends, whom

(1) Adamnan, III, 11.

he had summoned to his assistance from Ireland, and who had been
in former days his companions when they had studied together at
Clonard - St. Comgall, the founder of the celebrated monastery of
Bangor, and St. Cainnech, the founder of the monastery of Aghabo.[1]
St. Comgall and St. Cainnech, being Irish Picts, would be familiar
with the Pictish language, and likely to be helpful to him in deal-
ing with the Pictish King.

It was a perilous journey in these old days - the journey
from Iona to Inverness - 150 miles, over mountain and river and
loch, through the pathless wilds of the Highlands; and through the
midst of a hostile people too, for the Picts and the Scots had
lately been at war; and St. Columba himself seems to have been
ignorant also of the language of the Picts, and when he spoke to
them he had to make use of an interpreter.[2] But the fortress of
King Brude at length was reached in safety; and Adamnan gives us
a graphic description of the events which ensued. By the orders
of the King, the gates were closed against the strangers. St.
Columba advanced with his little company to the gates, made the
sign of the Cross over them - and the gates opened - miraculously

(1) 'Vita Sancti Comgalli' LI. (Plummer 'V.SS.H.' II, 18).
(2) Adamnan, I, 27.

as Adamnan would have us believe; but probably for a simpler reason - because the guards gave way before him, overawed by his intrepid manner and commanding appearance and the mystic sign which he had used; and King Brude himself, confounded by what had happened, came forth to meet with respect the Saint and his followers.[1]

In the series of encounters which followed, between St. Columba and the heathen priests who surrounded King Brude - the Druids - we are reminded forcibly of the similar encounters which are recorded of St. Patrick with the Druids of Ireland, at the court of the King at Tara; and these, and other incidents which occurred during St. Columba's visit to Northern Pictland, give us some insight into the primitive religion of the country - the first reliable glimpse which we get of the heathenism of North Britain before the introduction of the Christian Faith. They give us some idea also of the manner in which St. Columba prosecuted his missionary work - the means which he employed to make an impression upon the minds of an ignorant and superstitious people. The chief Druid at the Court of King Brude was Broichan; and, as the foster-father of the King and the Arch-priest of the Druid religion in the Kingdom of the Northern Picts, he occupied a posi-

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(1) Adamnan, II, 36.

tion of great authority. The struggle which Broichan and his
fellow priests waged against the new religion was long and de-
termined; and in the pages of Adamnan we come upon many inter-
esting details. There is the story of how Broichan and his fol-
lowers tried to interrupt St. Columba and his monks, at one of
their services at Inverness; and how they were awed into sil-
ence by the wonderful voice of the Saint, lifted up "like thun-
der" in one of the Psalms.[1] There is the story of how Broichan
is said to have caused darkness to come down, and to have rais-
ed up an adverse wind, just as St. Columba was about to set
sail upon Loch Ness; and how he was amazed to see the Saint
embark and sail against the wind, which after a brief time be-
came favourable.[2] There is the story again of how a certain
peasant, with his wife and family and servants, having listened
to the preaching of St. Columba through an interpreter, believ-
ed and was baptized; and soon afterwards, one of the sons died;
and the Druids upbraided the parents, and extolled their own
gods as more powerful than the God of the Christians - implying
that the death of the child was a judgment; and St. Columba,
after earnest prayer, called upon the dead child in the name of

(1) Adamnan, I, 29.   (2) II, 35.

The Lord Jesus Christ, and the child was restored to life.[1] There was a spring also, to which they paid divine honour as to a god: they were afraid to wash in it, or to drink of it, and it was supposed to be bewitched by demons; but St. Columba blessed it in the name of Christ, and drank of it, and washed in it; and it was changed thereafter into a fountain of healing.[2] Finally, Broichan, who had refused to set free, at St. Columba's command, a captive Irish maid whom he held as a slave, was smitten with sickness, and was at the point of death; but on promising to obey, was recovered from his sickness, by a draught of water in which a pebble had been placed which St. Columba had blessed.[3]

It was not the cultured type of Druidism which Caesar met in Gaul, and which has been described by Caesar and by other Classical writers, which St. Columba seems to have encountered in North Britain;[4] but rather, a kind of polytheistic nature-worship, and a system of magic, and a belief in a world of evil spirits; and the ministers of religion, the Druid priests, who were the principal advisers of the king or chief - working with spell and charm and incantation, which gave them power as they claimed over the elements and over the evil spirits and over the lives of

(1) Adamnan, II, 33.

(2) Adamnan, II, 10.

(3) Adamnan, II, 34.

(4) W. J. Watson, 'The Celtic Church and its Relations with Paganism'. ('Celtic Review', Nov. 1915). Plummer 'V.SS.H', I, CXXIX-CLXXXVIII.
Kendrick, 'The Druids' 212-221, gives all the passages relating to the Druids in Greek and Latin Authors.

men - resembled most nearly the witch-doctors, or medicine-men,
which are to be found in many a tribe in the heart of darkest
Africa to-day.[1] Nor can it be said - as far as the evidence of
Adamnan seems to indicate - that St. Columba used the most Chris-
tian means of commending, in the face of such superstition, the
Christian Faith. Adamnan, unfortunately, does not pause, amid
all the marvels which he is so anxious to relate, to give us any
sample of the way in which St. Columba preached to these heathen
people; but to endeavour to match the Druids at their own pre-
tended profession, and to meet magic with what seemed to be only
a more successful kind of magic, and to appear before them him-
self merely as a superior kind of Druid - all this was a poor sub-
stitute for the simple proclamation of the Christian message;
and it was to entangle the Christian religion itself afterwards
with many of the superstitions from which Christ was meant to set
men free. It may be unfair to judge him in the light of a later
age; but the truth of the matter seems to have been, that St.
Columba himself had not advanced very far out of the darkness
which surrounded him, and that his own mind was darkened by a very
real belief in many of the superstitions of his age.

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(1) J. Mackinnon. 'Ninian und sein Einfluss auf die Ausbreitung
    des Christentums in Nord-Britannien', 32.

The outcome of St. Columba's visit, however, to the court of King Brude was the overthrow of Druidism in the land of the Northern Picts, and the opening up of that part of North Britain to the Christian religion. It was at this time, probably, that King Brude granted, or confirmed to St. Columba, as Bede tells us, the possession of Iona; and soon the Gospel was being carried by St. Columba and his disciples throughout all the length and breadth of the Highlands. According to the record in "The Book of Deer", one of his disciples, St. Drostan, founded the monastery of Deer in Buchan;[1] and under the protection of King Brude, another of his disciples, St. Cormac, is said to have reached the Orkney Islands.[2]

In the year 574, Conall the King of Dal Riata died; and by the advice of St. Columba, his cousin Aidan, although not the rightful heir according to the Scottish law of succession, was chosen to succeed him upon the throne; and he was consecrated to his office by St. Columba: it was the first Scottish coronation, and it took place in Iona.[3]

In the following year (575), St. Columba accompanied by King Aidan crossed to Ireland, and attended a great Convention which was

(1) Stuart, 'The Book of Deer', 91, 92.

(2) Adamnan, II, 43.

(3) Adamnan, III, 6.

held at Drumceat near Derry – a Convention which had been summon-
ed by Aedh, the High King of Ireland.[1] St. Columba went with a
considerable retinue, twenty bishops and other clergy following
in his train;[2] and he was received with all honour by those who
were assembled there.   It was the first time that he had set foot
in Ireland, since he had left it twenty years before;   and what-
ever had been the cause of his leaving Ireland, it was not as a
banished and excommunicated man that he returned.   In attending
the Convention, he had three objects in view: to secure the lib-
eration of an Irish Chieftain from imprisonment, for whom he had
become surety;   and to plead for the Bards of Ireland against a
sentence of banishment which was threatened upon them;   and – most
important of all – to obtain the recognition of the independence
of the Colony, or Kingdom, of Dal Riata in Alba.[3]   In the first of
these objects, he was met by a refusal;   but the captive effected
his own escape, and so the end was otherwise achieved.   In his
other two objects, however, he was completely successful.   The
Bards – an ancient Order of great distinction in Ireland – were
allowed to remain;   but their privileges were curtailed.   He was
a Bard himself, St. Columba, and he knew how to plead for them;

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(1) Adamnan, II,6.

(2) Amrha (Revue Celtique, XX, 38).

(3) Amrha (Revue Celtique, XX, 38).

and it was in gratitude for his intervention on this occasion on their behalf that so many of them afterwards sang his praise. It was on this occasion, we are told, that the Chief Bard, Dallan Forghaill, composed in his honour the poem which is still preserved - The "Amhra Choluimb Chille" ("The Eulogy of Cholumb Chille") - which is an important source for many of the details about his character and life and work.[1] And the main purpose which he had at heart - the independence of Dal Riata - was also secured: the King of Dal Riata was released from paying tribute to the King of Ireland, on condition of giving certain help to him in time of war.

The important part which St. Columba played at the Convention of Drumceat is an indication of the position of authority to which he had attained by that time among his fellow-countrymen, and of the influence which he wielded in affairs of state.

From the Convention of Drumceat to the end of his life, there remained a period of twenty-two years (575-597): a period which, for the most part, was spent in Iona; broken by occasional visits to Ireland, to supervise the monasteries which he had founded there; and varied also by missionary voyages among the Western Isles.

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(1) Amrha (Revue Celtique, XX, 30).

The death of King Brude in 584, and the accession to the throne of the Northern Picts of Gartnaidh, who belonged to the Kingdom of the Southern Picts, united the two Kingdoms of the Picts, and opened up a new field for the missionary efforts of St. Columba and his monks; for the new King adopted the same friendly attitude towards the missionaries from Iona, as had been shown by his predecessor. Gartnaidh fixed his royal seat at Abernethy on the Tay; and there he built a church and dedicated it to St. Brigit, on the same spot where King Nechtan Morbet, as we have seen, had already built one about a hundred years before in honour of the same Saint.[1] St. Columba himself, following Gartnaidh to his court in the south, brought the message of The Gospel to the tribes beside the Tay;[2] and St. Cainnech who accompanied him carried The Gospel also into Fife, and founded a monastery at Kilrimont, on the spot where now stands the town of St. Andrews; and soon all the country north of the Forth and Clyde was studded with Christian settlements from Iona which were under the rule of St. Columba.

St. Columba is said to have built three hundred churches.[3]

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(1) Skene, 'C.P.S.', 201.

(2) "In forcetlaid forcanad tuatha Toi." ("The teacher who taught the tribes of Tay"). ".i. ainm strotha i nAlbain in Toe no in Túi." ("that is the name of a river in Alba, the Toe, or the Túi"). Amrha (Revue Celtique, XX, 164).
   "Cluidsius borb beolu bennacht batar ic Toi tolrig". ("He subdued to benediction the mouths of the fierce ones, who dwelt with Tay's high King.") Amrha (Revue Celtique, XX, 400).

(3) O.I.L. Lismore Lives, 28.

Little stress can be laid, perhaps, on the round number, as it is a favourite number in Irish legend; but it points at least to his widespread labours and influence. In a list, confessedly incomplete, Dr. Reeves, in his monumental work upon Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba", gives the names of ninety churches or monasteries, either founded by St. Columba, or in which he is commemorated. Of these, thirty-seven are in Ireland; and the remaining fifty-three are in Scotland and in the Western Isles.[1] It is possible, as has been suggested, that in some cases there may be confusion with some other saints of similar name;[2] but even if we make allowance for that, his name is written in an extraordinary way across the map of Scotland. In the Western Isles, and on the Western coast of Scotland, those places which are associated with his name are most numerous; we come upon them, from Wigton in the south to the Butt of Lewis in the north, and as far north even as St. Kilda; and across on the other side of Scotland too, we come upon his name from the Forth to Caithness and to the Orkney Islands. These Christian colonies, each a miniature Iona, spread the light of The Gospel and the civilizing influences of Christianity far and wide throughout the land; and had far-reaching

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(1) Reeves 'Adamnan, V.S.C.', XLIX-LXXI.

(2) Douglas Simpson, 'The Historical St. Columba', 63-72.

results, not only religious, but also political. It was not only the Church which he founded in North Britain, but also the nation. "The conversion of the Picts", says Hume Brown, "may fairly be regarded as the governing fact in Scottish history. Happening at the time when it did, it determined those subsequent turns in affairs, which gradually led up to a consolidated Scotland, and a united Scottish people." [1]

His death, which occurred in Iona on the 6th of June 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his life, [2] is described by Adamnan in a passage of singular beauty. [3] It was a Saturday - (called Sabbath in Iona) [4] and taking his faithful servant Diarmit with him, he went out to visit the monastery for the last time. And first, he went to the barn, and blessed the labour of the monks. He sat down to rest by the way; and the white horse, which used to carry the milk from the byre to the monastery, came and laid its head upon his bosom; and he blessed it too. Then climbing the hill, and looking at the monastery beneath him, he lifted up his hands over it and commended it to God. On returning to his cell, he resumed the work which he was then engaged upon - transcribing The

(1) Hume Brown, 'History of Scotland', I, 17.

(2) A.T. in ann. 597. The date is discussed by Reeves, Adamnan, V.S.C. LXXVI-LXXIX, and A. O. Anderson, 'Early Sources of Scottish History', I, 103,104.

(3) Adamnan, III, 24.

(4) Macewen says that "to the Lord's Day no sabbatical ideas were attached" in the Columban Church. (Macewen, 'History of the Church in Scotland' I, 53. Maclean conclusively proves the opposite. (Maclean, 'The Law of the Lord's Day in The Celtic Church' 42). The crucial passage is Adamnan III, 24.

Psalter; and the last words which he wrote were the words of The Thirty-Fourth Psalm:- "They that seek The Lord shall not want any good thing". His last message to the Brethren was that they should love one another, and keep the Commandments of God; and his last promise was that he would pray for them himself in Heaven. When the bell tolled at mid-night, they found him beside the altar: he had been kneeling in prayer. Speech had failed him; but he made the sign of Benediction over them; and with a wonderful light of joy upon his face, his spirit passed.

"He was angelic in appearance, polished in speech, holy in his actions, with ability of the highest order, and great in counsel; he lived a soldier on an island for thirty-four years. He never could spend the space of a single hour, without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other employment. So constantly was he occupied, night and day, in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of human endurance. And in these things, beloved of all, manifesting ever a holy cheerfulness upon his face he was made glad with the joy of The Holy Ghost, in his inmost soul".[1]- It is the beautiful tribute of Adamnan; and it sums up

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(1) Adamnan, Second Preface.

the character of one of the greatest Saints of history.

With his love of Nature, his love for the lower animals, his compassion for all human frailty, his intense Irish patriotism, and his strange gift of second-sight - he moves our interest at many points. There were shadows upon the picture too, and many seeming contradictions. "He was," says Montalembert, "vindictive, passionate, bold, a man of strife, born a soldier rather than a monk".[1) It is exaggerated, as Montalembert puts it; but it emphasises the other side; for there was his proud and imperious temper, swept by passion at times, and leading to deeds of regrettable violence, hardly in keeping with the character of a saint; but we must remember the age in which he lived, and the race from which he was sprung. Through all the lights and shadows which fall upon him, we recognise a singularly great and human and lovable character; worthy to stand at the beginning of a nation's history, and to lay the foundations of a nation's religion.

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(1) "Vindicativ, emporté, intrépide, batailleur, né pour être soldat plutôt que moine." (Montalembert, 'Les Moines d'Occident'. Tom III, 285.

III.

THE MISSION OF THE COLUMBAN CHURCH TO BRITAIN.

The great achievement of the Columban Church, after the death
of St. Columba, was the expansion of his work into Britain; and the
establishment by the monks of Iona of a new missionary centre at
Lindisfarne, from which the message of The Gospel was to be given
to the Anglo-Saxon race, the conquerors of Britain, who up to that
time had proved the most determined opponents of the Christian re-
ligion. Where St. Augustine and Rome had failed, St. Aidan and Iona
were to succeed; and the dream which had filled the heart of Pope
Gregory was to be realised by the followers of St. Columba.

Iona had always been distinguished for its hospitality, and
as a place of refuge in these war-distracted days for all who were
in trouble; and in the year 617 - just twenty years, that is, after
the death of St. Columba - two notable strangers arrived on the Is-
land. They were refugees from the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria:
the youthful sons of Ethelfrid, the King of Northumbria, who had just
been defeated and slain in battle; and they had fled north, on the
loss of their father's life and kingdom, to seek an asylum from the

monks of Iona. The usurper of their father's throne was Edwin – the Edwin who was to give his name to Edinburgh; and in whose reign Paulinus, the Roman bishop from Kent, was to introduce Christianity for a brief time into Northumbria. The elder of the two sons was named Eanfrid; and the younger, Oswald. They were received with kindness by the monks of Iona, and were instructed by them in the Christian Faith, and both became Christians.[1] After sixteen years spent in exile in Iona, on the death of Edwin, who was slain by Penda the heathen King of Mercia, they returned to Northumbria, to make an effort to regain their father's kingdom. Eanfrid apostatized, and became for a brief time King of Bernicia (the northern portion of Northumbria); but was murdered; and Oswald was left to carry on the struggle alone. In 634 a battle was fought by him against the Welsh King, Cadwallon, at Heavenfield, (near Hexham); and as the result of his signal victory, he won back at length his father's throne, and became the King of all Northumbria.[2]

Before the battle a memorable thing happened. As he slept in his tent upon the field he had a dream: St. Columba appeared to him, "bright with angelic glory, and of a stature so majestic that he seemed to touch the clouds with his head"; and spreading

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1. Bede, 'H.E.' III, 1.
2. Bede, 'H.E.' III, 1, 2.

his mantle over Oswald's little force, bade him, in the words which God had spoken to Joshua, to advance with confidence against the enemy, for he had already obtained the promise of the victory for him from God.[1] Before he led his army into the battle, Oswald erected a wooden cross upon the field, and knelt with his men before it, and committed his cause to God.[2]

The victory had been won by the help of Heaven, and by the prayers of St. Columba - so Oswald believed; and when he came into his Kingdom he remembered his debt; and one of the first acts of the new King was to send to his old friends in Iona for a bishop, to help him to convert his Kingdom to the Christian Faith. The request was immediately acceded to; and the Columban Church started upon a new region of conquest.[3]

The new mission had a rather inauspicious beginning. The first missionary who was sent by the authorities in Iona was unsuitable for the post. He was a man with too austere and too impatient a temperament; and meeting with no success, he returned again soon to Iona, declaring that he could do nothing with "so intractable a people, and of such a stubborn and barbarous disposi-

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(1) Adamnan, I, 1.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 2.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3.

tion". A council was held in Iona, to deliberate upon what was
to be done. "It seems to me, brother", said one of those present,
to the returned missionary, "that thou hast been unduly hard upon
those uninstructed hearers, and hast not given them first, accord-
ing to the Apostle's precept, the milk of milder doctrine, until,
gradually nurtured upon the Word of God, they should be capable of
performing the higher precepts of God." All eyes were turned upon
the speaker - he was a monk, Aidan, by name - and all seemed to re-
cognise that the right missionary had at last been found. So Aidan
was consecrated bishop, and was sent to occupy the vacant field.[1]

It was in the year 635, probably, that St. Aidan arrived in
Northumbria;[2] and with the memory of Iona before him, he did not
choose York - the southern capital of the country, where Paulinus
had previously laboured - as the seat of his Episcopate; but the
little island-promontory of Lindisfarne, lying off the Northumbrian
coast, and within easy reach of Bamborough, the fortress where the
King resided; and from another "Holy Island" now on the East coast,
the monks of Iona began the conquest of another Kingdom.[3]

No more suitable man could have been found for the post
than St. Aidan. Bede, to whom we owe his portrait, although he

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 5.

(2) Plummer, 'Baedae Opera Historica', II, 136.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3. "The Holy Island of Lindisfarne, the
     true cradle of English Christianity." (Lightfoot, 'Leaders
     in The Northern Church', 16.)

hated and condemned what he considered to be his erroneous and
schismatic Scottish usages, lavishes upon St. Aidan's character
his most unstinted praise. "He was found," says Bede, "to be en-
dued, above all things, with the grace of discretion, which is the
mother of all the virtues. . . . as time went on, he appeared
adorned with all the other virtues."[1] Bede praises him for his ab-
stinence and continence, his gentleness and piety, his detachment
from the world, his compassion for the poor, and the courage with
which he rebuked the sins of the rich.[2] One incident which Bede
records gives us an insight into his character. He was accustomed
to do all his journeys on foot; and the King presented him on
one occasion with a horse, richly caparisoned. One day soon af-
ter, when he was mounted upon it, a beggar met him upon the way
and asked for alms; and St. Aidan dismounted, and gave the horse
with all its royal trappings to the poor man. Annoyed at what had
happened to his gift, the King remonstrated with him. "What say
you, O King," was the Saint's reply, "Is yon son of a mare more
precious to you than that son of God." [3]

We do not wonder that a character, so singularly beauti-
ful, and so quixotic, and with such a touch of Irish humour too,

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 5.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3,5,14,17.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 14.

won the hearts of men. Reinforcements came continually from Iona
to his assistance; and King Oswald himself, we are told, gave
him his own personal help in his missionary labours, acting as his
interpreter often when he preached, until he had learned the lan-
guage of his hearers. Crowds flocked to hear the Word of God;
churches were built and monasteries were founded; lands were given
for ecclesiastical purposes; children were sent to be taught by
the Scottish monks; and soon Christianity was spread throughout
all the Northumbrian Kingdom.[1] It was in St. Aidan's time that the
monastery of Melrose was founded; which meant that the Angles of
North Britain (The Bernicians), had now a missionary centre in
their midst.[2] It was in St. Aidan's time also, that women began to
be received into the monastic life in Britain - a custom familiar
enough already in Ireland and on the Continent, but new as yet in
the Columban Church. The first woman to take the veil in Britain
was consecrated by St. Aidan.[3] And soon after, an institution, to
be found also in Ireland and on the Continent, made its appearance
in the Northumbrian Church, the Double Monastery - for men and
women - and presided over by a woman-abbot.[4]

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3. "Augustine was the Apostle of Kent;
     but Aidan was the Apostle of England." (Lightfoot, 'Leaders
     in The Northern Church', 11).

(2) St. Cuthbert entered Melrose at St. Aidan's death. (Bede,
     'H.E.' IV, 27. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 6.)

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 23.

(4) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 23.

To follow the extension of the Christian religion southward, beyond the borders of Northumbria, amid the wars and the confusions of the times which ensued, we must pause to consider the divided state of the country, politically and religiously, when the monks of Iona began their work at Lindisfarne.

Britain, at that time - towards the beginning, that is, of the seventh century - in so far as it had been over-run by the conquerors, had fallen, roughly speaking, into three rival Kingdoms. In the north, beyond the Humber, there was the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria; and in the south, stretching from Watling Street to the Channel, the Saxon Kingdom of Wessex; and between these two, the Kingdom of Mercia (or the Kingdom of the Middle Angles) - while in the west, there still remained the unconquered Britons, in Cornwall and Wales and Cumbria. Northumbria was now Christian, and owed its Christianity to the Columban Church - to the missionaries from Iona; and Wessex had the Christianity which had been received from the Roman Church, through the mission of St. Augustine; and Christianity still maintained itself among the Britons in the west - the Christianity of the original British Church; but the great central part of the country, Mercia, still remained entirely pagan.

The history of Britain, for the next two hundred years was to consist of the struggle for the mastery between Northumbria and Wessex and Mercia - the effort, on the part of each of those three powers, to win the whole country and to weld it into one.

In the year 642, Oswald, the Christian King of Northumbria, and the friend of St. Aidan, fell in battle, fighting against Penda, the heathen King of the Mercians, who had already slain his predecessor Edwin;[1] but Oswy, who succeeded Oswald upon the Northumbrian throne[2] gave his royal support also to the Christian religion; and in his reign the Northumbrian Church made great advance. In the year 653, Peada, the son of Penda, who had been made by his father King of the Middle Angles - a Kingdom carved for him by his father out of the north of Mercia, and bordering on Northumbria - came on a peaceful visit to the Northumbrian court; and sought from King Oswy the hand of his daughter Alchfled in marriage; and his suit was granted, on the condition that he and his Kingdom should both receive the Christian Faith. For himself he readily accepted the condition; and having been instructed in the Christian religion, he was baptized; and, to fulfil the rest of his promise, he took back with him some Christian priests,

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 9.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 14.

who were appointed for the purpose, to convert his people. Of the four missionaries who were sent with him, three - Cedd, Adda, and Betti - were Northumbrians; and the fourth, Diuma, was an Irishman; and being men well qualified for the work, "by reason of their learning and good life", they were heard willingly by all classes of the people; and soon many in the Kingdom of the Middle Angles professed the Christian Faith. Nor did King Penda forbid the preaching of the Christian religion in Mercia itself; and while he himself clung to his old gods, he contented himself with pouring his contempt upon those, who, having changed their religion, did not obey their God by making a sufficient change in their lives[1]. It was apparently in the same year - the year 653 - that Sigbert, the King of the East Saxons (Essex), who was a friend of King Oswy, paid a visit also to the Northumbrian court; and having been shown by King Oswy himself the foolishness of idolatry and the greatness of The One True God, accepted the Christian Faith; and having won the Truth for himself, desired it also to be given to his people. It was another opportunity for the Northumbrian Church; and Cedd - one of the missionaries who had been sent to the Middle Angles - was recalled, and sent with others to

(1) Bede, 'H.E.', III, 21.

help him, into the Kingdom of the East Saxons, to labour there instead; and soon Christianity was spread also throughout all the Kingdom of the East Saxons.[1]

But the religion of Woden and of Thor was not to succumb without a struggle; and the issue between the two religions was to be decided finally upon the field of battle. Once more - it was in the year 655 - Penda, the King of Mercia, always the redoubted champion of the heathen cause, roused himself - he was an old man of eighty now - to strike one final blow for the old gods. At the head of a great army, he crossed the Northumbrian border again. Twice already, he had carried fire and sword into the heart of the Northern Kingdom, and slain its Christian Kings: this time he determined to make surer work - he vowed that he would "blot out and exterminate the whole nation". Oswy, having tried in vain to buy off the invader with gifts, offered a gift to Heaven instead; and vowed that he would dedicate his daughter to God, if God gave him the victory; and on the field of Winwaed the battle was fought which was to settle the religious future of the country. Although greatly outnumbered, the Northumbrian forces triumphed, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy; and Penda himself fell

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 22.

upon the field.[1] With the fall of Penda, paganism fell; and the cause of the older gods was lost for ever. Where the sword of Northumbria opened up the way, the monks of Lindisfarne were not slow to enter; and Mercia, the last stronghold of heathenism in Britain, received at last the Christian Faith. The last and greatest achievement of the Columban Church was now complete: from the new Iona in the East The Gospel had been carried North to the Forth, and South to the Thames.

Before the first shadow fell upon the Northumbrian Church, one more glory was to be added to it: it had been inaugurated by the labours of St. Aidan; but before its story closed, it was to be illumined by a name even greater than St. Aidan - St. Cuthbert.

Of the birth and parentage of St. Cuthbert we know nothing; but that he was born on the Scottish side of the Border seems most likely, and probably not far from Melrose:[2] the legend as to his Irish extraction may be dismissed as quite unfounded.[3] The first time that we get a glimpse of him is in the home of a good woman, who brought him up from childhood, and whom in after days he was wont to call his "mother";[4] and the earliest tales which are told

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 24.

(2) He often visited his old home from Melrose. (Bede, 'Vita
       S. Cudberti', 14).

(3) In 'Libellus de Nativitate S. Cudberti', a worthless four-
       teenth century MS. It is strange to find Skene quoting it
       seriously. (Skene, 'C.S.' II, 203-205).

(4) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 14.

about him, are tales of his boyish sports, in which - in feats of
strength especially - he was wont to excel all his companions. But [1]
beneath his robust frame, he hid an impressionable and imaginative
nature. He was engaged in one of these boyish sports one day, con-
torting his body in some curious way, when he was rebuked by one
of his little companions, who said that it was unbecoming for one
to behave himself in such a fashion, who was one day to be a bish-
op.[2] The chance remark made a deep impression upon him - it was his
first religious impression; and he was then but eight years old.
An attack of lameness which followed soon after gave him cause for
further thought. He imagined that it was because of his sins that
he was being punished; and when a stranger, clad in a white robe,
came riding over the hills one day, and gave him some advice which
helped to cure him of his lameness, he believed that his cure was
miraculous, and he attributed it to an angel.[3] Next, we find him
tending his sheep upon the Lammermoors, where the Leader flows
down into the Tweed,[4] and spending the watches of the night in pray-
er; and one night, amid the splendour of the stars, he imagined
that he saw angels, and they were carrying a soul of surpassing
brightness to Heaven. He learned the next morning that St. Aidan

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(1) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 1.

(2) 'Vita S. Cudberti, Auctore Anonymo', 1.

(3) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 2.

(4) 'Vita S. Cudberti, Auctore Anonymo', 1.

had died; and leaving his sheep behind him, he set out for the
monastery of Melrose, to give himself up to God.[1]

St. Aidan died in 651; so that we have the date of St.
Cuthbert's entering Melrose. Eata was the abbot of the monastery
at the time, and the prior was Boisil (St. Boswell); and in Eata's
absence Boisil received him, as he came one day on horse-back,
and spear in hand, sought to become a monk.[2] Thereafter, for
thirteen years - save for one interruption, when he was absent
with Eata at Ripon[3] - he remained at Melrose; and he entered with
zeal into all the duties of the monastic life. As he used to ex-
cel his boyish companions at their sports, so he set himself now
to excel his fellow-monks in all the exercises of religion. "In
reading, praying, watching and working, he completely out-did
them all";[4] and when Boisil died, he succeeded him as prior.[5] But
it was not only in his labours in the monastery that he showed his
zeal: he threw himself with enthusiasm also into the mission-work
which the monks of Melrose carried on in the surrounding district
of the Border country. Sometimes he went on horse-back on his
missionary journeys, but more often on foot; and he sought out
chiefly those villages and hamlets far away among the hills, which

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(1) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 4.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 6.

(3) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 7.

(4) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 6.

(5) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27. Bede 'Vita S. Cudberti', 9.

were most pagan, and least accessible, and where others feared to
go.[1] On one occasion, we find him as far afield as Nithsdale, among
the Picts of Galloway.[2] It was by his indefatigable labours that
The Gospel was carried through all the Border country and the
Lothians. The earliest of all the romances in that land of romance
was the mission-work of St. Cuthbert; and the last race to re-
ceive the Christian Faith in North Britain - the Angles - received
it from the greatest Saint of the Northumbrian Church.

The last portion of his life was passed south of the Borders.
In 664, he was transferred as prior to Lindisfarne.[3] But the love
of solitude had grown upon him, and the desire for a hermit's life;
and he built a home for himself on Farne Isle - an uninhabited
rock in the sea a few miles distant from Lindisfarne, which St.
Aidan had used as a place of prayer before him.[4] Piling up a wall
around him there, to shut out all the world, and so that all that
was left to him to see was Heaven; and finding his only society
among the sea-birds which frequented the island; he gave himself
up to a life of prayer and meditation. After nine years spent
thus apart from the world, his solitude was broken in upon, and
he was summoned to become bishop of Lindisfarne;[5] but when his

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27.

(2) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 11. Watson 'C.P.N.S.', 175-178,
       says that his visit was to the Picts north of the Forth.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 16.

(4) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27, 28. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 17.

(5) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 24.

end drew near, he returned to Farne Isle again; and there, in the year 687, he passed away.[1] He left a fame behind him, says Bishop Lightfoot, "which no churchman, north of the Humber, has ever surpassed, or even rivalled."[2]

We turn now to the train of events, which brought to an end the mission of the Columban Church in Britain, and which marked the beginning of the end of the supremacy of Iona. A cloud had long been gathering on the horizon; and long before the life of St. Cuthbert had run its course, the storm which had long been threatening broke upon the devoted missionaries of Lindisfarne. It was not before the powers of heathenism that they had to give way: they were defeated by division within the Christian Church itself: the Church of Rome fell into conflict with the Columban Church at Lindisfarne; and vanquished in the unequal struggle, the missionaries of Lindisfarne, in the hour of their greatest triumph, were driven back again across the Borders.

As often happens in ecclesiastical disputes, the differences between the two Churches - between the Church of Rome and the Columban Church - arose out of matters of very trifling importance:

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 29. Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', 37.
(2) Lightfoot, 'Leaders in The Northern Church', 81.

the two chief questions which produced the conflict were concerned with the fixing of the date of Easter, and the correct form of the tonsure.

The fixing of the date of Easter had been from the earliest times a source of trouble; and it led to one of the most prolonged and wearisome and embittered and profitless controversies which ever afflicted the Christian Church.[1] The first Paschal controversy had occurred in the Early Christian Church; and it was concerned with the day of the week upon which the great Christian Festival ought to be held. The Christians of Asia and of the East, following the example of the Jewish Christians, were accustomed to observe Easter on the evening of the Jewish Passover: on the fourteenth day, that is, of the month Nisan, which was the first month of the Jewish year; which month began with the first new moon after the vernal equinox, so that the fourteenth day was the day of the full moon; and they observed it on that day, regardless of what day of the week it might be on which the fourteenth of Nisan fell. The Western custom, on the other hand, was to observe it always on the eve of the Sunday following the fourteenth of Nisan: the first day of the week being considered to be the

(1) Smith, 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' - Easter.
       Plummer, 'Baedae Opera Historica' II, 348-352.
       Bede, 'H.E.' V. 21.

only appropriate day for its observance, as it was the day of the
week already set apart for the commemoration of The Resurrection
of The Lord. This earliest phase of the Paschal controversy was
terminated at the first OEcumenical Council of the Church - the
Council of Nicaea in 325. At that Council, the Western usage was
endorsed; and it was enacted, therefore, that Easter should be ob-
served always upon a Sunday; those who still clung to the four-
teenth of Nisan being denounced as heretics, and receiving the
name of Quarto-Decimans.[1] There was no difference between the
Church of Rome and any of the Celtic Churches upon this point: the
Celtic Churches, like the Church of Rome, always observed Easter
upon a Sunday.[2] The difference which arose between the Church of
Rome and the Celtic Churches was much more complicated, and involv-
ed abstruse astronomical questions. In order to determine the date
of the Paschal full moon, it was necessary first to determine the
date of the vernal equinox; and that could only be done by means
of an astronomical calculation, based upon a cycle, or period of
recurring years. The Roman Church had used, to begin with, for
this purpose a cycle of sixty-four years; but from time to time
afterwards had adopted other cycles, as more accurate reckonings

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(1) Smith, 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' - Easter.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4.

were worked out by the astronomers. But, owing to their isolation from Rome and from the rest of Christendom, the Celtic Churches had never adopted any of these later cycles; and still went on calculating Easter, therefore, from the original cycle of sixty-four years; and this, of course, led to the fixing of different dates for Easter. And the Roman Church had a further rule which led to still further confusion; for, in order to avoid the incidence of Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover, when the fourteenth of Nisan fell on a Sunday, the Roman Church celebrated Easter on the twentieth of the month instead; whereas the Celtic Churches had no such rule; and if the fourteenth of Nisan fell on a Sunday they celebrated Easter on that day, although it was the day of the Passover. Sometimes, between the two systems, there was a difference of a whole month in the date of Easter; and as the date of Easter governed the whole Church year, when the two systems came to exist side by side, the confusion was considerable.

The other chief subject of dispute was concerned with the form of the tonsure.[1] There were three forms of tonsure known in the Church in the seventh and eighth centuries; which were distinguished as the Oriental, the Roman, and the Celtic. According

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(1) Smith. 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities' - Tonsure.
   Plummer, 'Baedae Opera Historica' II, 353, 354. Bede, 'H.E.'
   V. 21.

to the Oriental form, which was also called the Pauline, as tracing its supposed authority back to St. Paul - the whole head was completely shaved. According to the Roman form - which was also called the Petrine, as tracing its supposed authority back to St. Peter - only a circle on the top of the head was shaved, leaving a fringe of hair to surround it, which was intended to symbolise The Saviour's Crown of Thorns. As to the form of the Celtic tonsure, there is some difference of opinion. The view which is most commonly held is, that it was from ear to ear: all the fore-part of the head being completely shaven, and long locks of hair being left to hang down behind.[1] The other view - which seems to be the more probable - is, that while the tonsure was from ear to ear, and the hair was left to hang down behind, a semi-circle of hair was still retained on the front of the head.[2] The Romans called it opprobriously "the tonsure of Simon Magus";[3] but, the Celts claimed for it the high authority of St. John.

It was over the question of the Easter date that the collision between the Roman Church and the Columban Church occurred; and it took place in the Northumbrian court; and it was due to the marriage of the King. King Oswy, who had carried the Christian

(1) Todd, 'St. Patrick', 487; Warren, 'The Liturgy and Ritual of The Celtic Church', 67; Reeves, 'V.S.C.', CXIV; Mac-ewen, 'A History of The Church in Scotland', 89. Plummer, 'Baedae Opera Historica' II, 354.

(2) T. Innes was the first to maintain this view. ('Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland' 242). Bright, 'Early English Church History', 81. 'The Roman See in the Early Church', 414. Dowden, 'P.S.A. Scot', XXX, 325-337. Gougaud, 'Les Chrétientés Celtiques', 196.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 21.

cause to victory upon the field of battle by the defeat of the heathen Penda at Winwaed, became in the hour of his triumph the unwitting cause of the conflict which rent the Christian Church. He had married a princess from Kent, Eanfled by name. Bred in the Roman Church in Kent, Eanfled brought the customs of Rome with her to her new home in Northumbria; and the two Churches confronted each other in the court itself. "Thus," as Bede forcibly describes it, "it is said to have sometimes happened in these times, that Easter was twice celebrated in one year; and that, when the King having ended his fast was keeping The Lord's Feast, the Queen and her friends were still fasting and celebrating the Day of Palms."[1]

Obviously something had to be done, to settle, if possible, the differences between the two Churches; and for this purpose it was arranged that a synod should be held at Strenaeshalc - now Whitby - at the monastery there, over which the abbess Hilda presided.[2]

The synod was held early in the year 664, and was attended by the King, and by the leaders of the two rival Churches. On the one side, representing the Columban Church, there were present, Colman, who was then the abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, and his

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 25.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 25. Eddius 'Vita Wilfridi' X.

Scotic clerks;   and Cedd, now bishop of the East Saxons;   and the abbess Hilda. And on the other side, representing the Roman cause, were Alchfrid, the King's son, who had gone over to the Roman party; Agilbert, the bishop of the West Saxons, a Frank by birth, who happened to be there on a visit to Northumbria, and a priest whom he had brought with him named Agatho;   Romanus, the Queen's chaplain, who had come with her from Kent;   James, a deacon who had been left behind in Northumbria by Paulinus;   and - most important of all - Wilfrid, a Bernician by birth, who, brought up to begin with in the monastery of Lindisfarne, had since been to Rome, and was now abbot of Ripon, and a strong supporter of the Roman Church: by far the ablest partisan whom the Roman Church then had in Britain.[1]

King Oswy, who presided - and whose sympathies were all with the brethren of Lindisfarne, who had educated him in the Christian religion - opened the synod with a speech, in which he urged upon the opposing parties the desirableness of uniformity; and then, turning to Colman, invited him first to state his case. The discussion which ensued resolved itself into a duel between Colman and Wilfrid. Colman, who was no match for his skilful and eloquent opponent, declared that he adhered to the Easter date which was observed by those who had appointed

(1)   Bede, 'H.E.' III, 25. Eddius 'Vita Wilfridi', X.

him to his office, and by all his saintly fore-fathers, and by
the Apostle whom Jesus loved, and all the Churches over which St.
John had presided; and which had been endorsed too by Anatolius,
one of the greatest authorities in the Early Church, and by their
"most reverend Father Columba". And Wilfrid replied by pointing
out the wide-spread acceptance of the Roman date - in Rome itself,
where St. Peter and St. Paul had taught, and by all the rest of
the Christian Church throughout the world - the only exceptions
being Colman and his friends, and "their accomplices in obstinacy".
the Picts and Britons. A long and specious argument followed by
Wilfrid, by which he laboured to prove that the Church of Rome
followed the example of St. Peter; whereas Colman and his friends,
he maintained, followed neither St. Peter nor St. John; as for
Anatolius, Colman did not seem to know that he used a different
cycle from the followers of Columba, else he never would have ap-
pealed to his authority upon the subject; and as for Columba him-
self and his successors, he was quite prepared to believe that
they were servants of God and beloved of God, but in this matter
they had acted in ignorance, and if anyone had shown them the true
way he was sure they would have adopted it. And then, coming to

his peroration, Wilfrid turned thus upon Colman:- "But you, and
your companions, sin without any doubt, if, having heard the de-
crees of the Apostolic See, nay of the Universal Church, and these
confirmed by Holy Writ, you refuse to follow them. For, though
your Fathers, were Saints, is their scanty number, from one cor-
ner of a remote island, to be preferred to the Universal Church
of Christ throughout the world? And if that Columba of yours -
of ours too indeed, if he were Christ's - was holy and powerful
in his virtues, yet could he be preferred to the most blessed
Chief of the Churches, to whom The Lord says:- 'Thou art Peter,
and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell
shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the Keys
of the Kingdom of Heaven'?"   "Is it true, Colman?" said the
King, "that these words were spoken to that Peter by The Lord?"
"It is true, O King!"   "Can you show any such power given to
your Columba?" "None," replied Colman. "Do both of you then
agree in this, without any controversy, that these words were
spoken above all to Peter, and that the Keys of the Kingdom of
Heaven were given to him by The Lord?" "Yes," they both replied.
"Then," said the King in conclusion, "I also say unto you, that

this is that Door-keeper whom I am not willing to gain-say; but so far as I know and am able, I desire to obey his statutes in all things; lest haply, when I come to the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, there be none to open them, he who is proved to have the Keys having turned away." The pronouncement of the King settled the question; and the synod declared for the Catholic Easter.[1]

When the synod was ended, Colman resigned his see, that he might return home, to consult with his brethren in Iona as to what was to be done; and he took with him all who wished to follow him - all the Iona monks at Lindisfarne, and about thirty English monks also who remained faithful to him; and he took with him also some of the relics of St. Aidan. He left behind him in Lindisfarne a few English monks; and Eata, the abbot of Melrose, was appointed over them, the King readily acceding to this, which was Colman's part-ing request;[2] and with Eata came Cuthbert as prior.[3] Colman retired, first to Iona; and then, afterwards, took his little company of monks across to Ireland, and settled some of them in the Island of Innisboffin, and others in the monastery of Mayo.[4] It must have been a sad-hearted little company that followed Colman on his jour-ney north, leaving behind them their island-home that they loved so

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 25. Eddius 'Vita Wilfridi', X.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 26.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 27.

(4) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 4.

well, and all the scenes of their so recent conquests. "What heart," writes Montalembert, "will be so evil, as not to understand to sympathise with, and to journey with him, along the Northumbrian shore, and across the mountains of Scotland, when, carrying with him the bones of his father, the proud vanquished brought home to the sacred Island of Iona his defeat, and his indomitable faithfulness to the traditions of his race."[1]

The result of the Synod of Whitby was momentous for Britain. Had the decision been reversed, and the Columban Church been left to mould the spiritual destinies of Britain, Britain would have continued then in isolation from the most of western Christendom; and it is questionable if the Columban Church, with its lack of organization, had the power which was necessary to weld rival and hostile races into one united nation: the political union of Britain would certainly have been more difficult of attainment.[2] The victory of the Church of Rome meant that all the country was now opened up to all the influences of Western Civilization; and the Church of Rome was strong, just where the Columban Church was weak - in organizing power; and where one Church was, it was easier to

(1) Montalembert, 'Les Moines d'Occident', Tom. IV, 175.
(2) Oman 'England before The Norman Conquest' 191, 192.

build up one Kingdom. The Church of the Tribe had to give way be-
fore the Church of the Empire, that the unity of the Kingdom might
be achieved.

But the monks of Iona and of Lindisfarne had conferred an
unforgettable service upon the country in which they had laboured.
They had rescued the land from heathenism. They had laid the
foundations of the English Church. They had left behind them a
record of missionary enthusiasm and single-hearted devotion to
duty and high spiritual attainment, amongst the most memorable in
all the annals of the Christian Church. "Devout and upright men,"
says Bishop Lightfoot, "even though their sympathies might be with
Rome in the dispute, yet, writing when the memory of those Celtic
days was fresh, looked back with longing eyes on the departed
glory. It was the golden age of saintliness, such as England
would never see again."[1]

(1) Lightfoot, 'Leaders in The Northern Church', 14.

IV.

THE DECLINE OF THE COLUMBAN CHURCH.

(1) *Southern* Britain.

The decision reached at Whitby was crucial for the future of the Columban Church: it marked the turning-point in its history: it was the beginning of the end. The subsequent history of the Columban Church is the story of its decline: of its gradual conquest and absorption by the Church of Rame. But even after Whitby it did not succumb without a struggle.

We turn to the sequel in Britain first.

There is no chapter in the history of the Church in Britain which has been so continuously mis-read, as that which immediately follows after the Synod of Whitby. It has been the custom of the historians of the Church, from Bede onwards, to assert that, with the decision of the Synod at Whitby and with the withdrawal of Colman and his followers to Iona, the Columban Church came to an end in Britain; and that the Church of Rome gathered up at once all the spoils of its victory, and entered into the immediate and undisturbed possession

of all the wide field in which the missionaries of Lindisfarne had so successfully laboured.[1] It is a conclusion which is at variance with all the facts. There is ample evidence, on the other hand - and most of it gathered from Bede himself - to prove that, long after Whitby, the Columban Church continued to make its presence felt amid the scenes of its former conquests.

We have to bear in mind, that the Synod which was convened at Whitby was a Synod merely of the Northumbrian Church and of the Northumbrian Kingdom; and that its enactments affected immediately, therefore, only the Church in Northumbria. And we have to remember also, that the history of the period has come down to us mainly from Bede, who was greatly prejudiced against the Columban Church, and not likely therefore to lay stress upon its continuing influence.

Bede - from whom all subsequent historians take their lead - sums up the result of the Synod of Whitby in the following words:- "The King having spoken these words, all who were sitting or standing by, the greater and the less, gave in their assent, and renouncing the less perfect custom, hastened to transfer themselves to that which they had come to recognise to be better."[2] But that these words of Bede are an exaggeration, can be proved I think from Bede

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(1) e.g. Lingard says "The conference at Whitby established harmony in the Anglo-Saxon Church'. (Lingard, 'History and Antiquities of The Anglo-Saxon Church' I, 59).

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 25.

himself.

Let us go back, to begin with, to what happened immediately after the close of the Synod at Whitby.

The first thing which was done, as Bede tells us, after the conclusion of the Synod and the withdrawal of Colman and his monks, was the appointment of another bishop, to be bishop of Northumbria in Colman's place; and the vacant bishopric was bestowed upon Tuda, a Scot from the south of Ireland, who had no connection with Iona, and who had already accepted in Ireland the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure.[1] The appointment of Tuda to the vacant bishopric seemed to be a victory for the Roman party; but it was counter-balanced by what was done at Lindisfarne.

When Colman withdrew with his faithful followers to Iona, to make report - as his duty was - to the authorities there, of what had happened at Whitby, he had no intention of abandoning Lindisfarne - the citadel of the Columban Church in Britain - to the enemy; and he made it his parting request therefore, as we have seen, to his friend King Oswy, that the monks who chose to remain behind at Lindisfarne should be allowed to have for their abbot, Eata, who was then the abbot of the monastery of Melrose.[2] Eata had been one of

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 26.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 26.

the favourite disciples of St. Aidan;[1] and he had given unmistake-
able proof of his zealous attachment to the customs of the Columban
Church, as only three years before he had resigned the abbacy of the
monastery of Ripon, rather than accept the Roman Easter.[2] Such an
appointment must have meant, surely, that the monastery of Lindis-
farne was to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop of North-
umbria, and was to remain under the jurisdiction of Iona: it is dif-
ficult otherwise to understand why Colman should have made his request.
And further, it must have meant also, surely, that the customs of
the Roman Church would not be rigorously enforced upon the community
at Lindisfarne: it is difficult otherwise to understand how Eata
could have accepted the post to which he had been called: the man
who had refused to conform to the Roman customs at Ripon could hardly
have been expected to be very enthusiastic about them at Lindisfarne;
and there is evidence that the Columban customs lingered on at Lindis-
farne.[3] And what happened at Lindisfarne would happen also, almost
certainly, at Melrose, which was the daughter-monastery of Lindis-
farne and united with it always under the same rule. And there is
strong probability, that the monastery of Whitby, where the princess-
abbess Hilda still bore rule, would remain also under the jurisdiction

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(1) "Eata unus de XII pueris Aidiani" (Bede, 'H.E.' III, 26).

(2) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', VIII.

(3) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', XVI.

of Iona; and that the customs which had been condemned at Whitby would be continued at Whitby itself; for there is no hint of the submission of Hilda, at any time or in any particular, to the Roman party; and long after Whitby, we find her as the determined and implacable opponent of the victor of Whitby, Wilfrid.[1] If this interpretation of the immediate sequel to the Synod of Whitby be correct, the Columban Church, in spite of its defeat, was far yet from having finished its course in Britain. With the three principal monasteries of Northumbria still in its hands - Lindisfarne and Melrose and Whitby - it still remained strongly entrenched in the heart of Northumbria; and - with Rome far away, and Canterbury for long too weak to interfere with the affairs of Northumbria, and reinforcements always flowing in from Ireland, and all outside Northumbria untouched by the decision at Whitby - it still was a power to be reckoned with, in the religious and ecclesiastical life of Britain.

Bede himself supplies us with the evidence that, long after the Synod of Whitby, the constitution of the monastery of Lindisfarne remained unchanged; and that the Columban customs lingered among the community which resided there. In his "Life of Cuthbert", which was written probably in 720, he tells us that, up to that date at least,

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(1) H.S. 'C.E.D.' III, 262. Lingard says she passed over to the Roman party after Whitby: a statement for which he gives no proof. 'History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church', I, 58.

the monastic constitution of Lindisfarne still remained the same as in the time of St. Aidan - which would have been impossible, if it had passed out of the jurisdiction of Iona into Roman hands;[1] and in his "Life of Cuthbert" and elsewhere, he gives us glimpses again and again of the trouble which was experienced afterwards, in bringing the refractory monks at Lindisfarne into uniformity and obedience in the matters of the old dispute.[2]

But the most conclusive evidence which we have for the long-surviving influence of the Columban Church in Britain is the legislation which the Church of Rome found it necessary to pass, from time to time, to counteract the irregularities which were associated with its ways. For it was not merely in the matter of Easter, or of the tonsure, that the Church of Rome was at issue with the Columban Church: the whole monastic system of the Columban Church was an offence to the Church of Rome - a system which permitted monks and bishops to wander about the country, and to trespass into the territories of bishops who were in communion with the Church of Rome; and against such irregularities the Church of Rome had to protest. The first Provincial Council of the Church in Britain was the Council of Hertford which was held in 673; and the first enactment which was

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(1) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', XVI.

(2) Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', XVI.

passed at the Council of Hertford was, we find, an enactment about Easter,[1] and three other enactments followed which had to do with wandering clergy.[2] At last, at the Council of Celchyth (Chelsea), held in 816, it was laid down, that no one of Irish race should be permitted any longer to exercise any ministerial function in England.[3]

The fire which had flamed up at Whitby still smouldered after more than a hundred and fifty years.

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(1) H.S. 'C.E.D.' III, 119.

(2) Capitula IV, V, VI (H.S. 'C.E.D.' III, 120).

(3) Kap. Quinta interdictum est: 'Ut nullus permittatur de genere Scotorum in alicujus diocesi sacram sibi ministeria usurpare.' H.S. 'C.E.D.' III, 581.

(2) <u>North Britain.</u>

We turn from Britain, to consider the sequel to the Synod of Whitby in North Britain.

The Angles.

Of the four nations which still divided North Britain amongst them - the Angles, Britons, Picts and Scots - we have already been dealing with the Angles, in dealing with Northumbria; for the Angles of North Britain (the Bernicians) belonged to the Kingdom of Northumbria; and they were the first therefore, naturally, in North Britain to feel the effect of the decision at Whitby, and to be brought under the influence of the Roman Church. In 669, Wilfrid, who had won the victory for the Roman Church at Whitby, became the bishop of Northumbria;[1] and he held the see of Northumbria until he was expelled in 678:[2] he was restored to his see again in 705,[3] and he held it until his death in 709.[4] The see of Northumbria extended north to the Forth; and it is in these two periods - between 669 and 678, and between 705 and 709 - when the ecclesiastical power of Northumbria was in the energetic hands of Wilfrid, that we must place the Romanizing of the Angles of Bernicia. We can imagine the

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(1) Bede. 'H.E.' IV, 2,3. Eddius, 'Vita S. Wilfridi', XV.

(2) Bede. 'H.E.' IV, 12. Eddius, 'Vita S. Wilfridi', XXIV.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 3. Eddius, 'Vita S. Wilfridi', LVII.

(4) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 19. Eddius, 'Vita S. Wilfridi', LXV.

zeal with which the victor of Whitby, and the arch-enemy of the
Columban Church, would set himself to push forward the Roman cause,
and to eradicate "the Scottish tares", throughout his diocese. In
681, as Bede tells us, a new bishopric, founded by the Northumbrian
Church at Abercorn (Abbercurnig) in Linlithgowshire beside the
Forth, marked the advance northwards by that date of the Roman power[1]

The Britons.

As to the ecclesiastical situation among the Britons of Strath-
clyde, in the period which followed immediately after the Synod at
Whitby, the records are extremely meagre and uncertain. After the
passing away of St. Kentigern indeed, the history of the Christian
Church in the British Kingdom of Strathclyde is almost a total blank
for about four hundred years. The only certain fact which has come
down to us, about the ecclesiastical affairs of Strathclyde in the
period in question, is a note which is to be found in Bede, just be-
fore he brings his "History" to a close; and it is to the effect
that, shortly before 731 - the year in which Bede's "History" ends -
Candida Casa, St. Ninian's old seat at Whithorn, had been created an
episcopal see, belonging to the Kingdom of Northumbria[2] The military

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' IV, 26.
(2) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 23.

power of Northumbria had encroached upon the territory of the Brit-
ons of Strathclyde; and under its aegis, the Church of Rome had also
advanced and seized upon the southern part of the country. There are
only two other scraps of information, which may possibly refer to
the ecclesiastical affairs of Strathclyde during this period: the
one is another note in Bede, which states that, about the year 703
or 704, certain of the Britons conformed to the Roman Easter; and
these may have been the Britons of Strathclyde:[1] the other is the
presence, at a Council held in Rome under Pope Gregory II in the
year 721, of a certain bishop Sedulius - "a bishop of Britain, of
the race of the Scots"; and he may possibly have been a bishop of
Strathclyde, one of the successors of St. Kentigern in the see of
Glasgow.[2] If these references have to do with Strathclyde, a still
earlier date than 731 would be indicated for the advance of the
Roman Church into that part of North Britain.

The Picts.

As to what happened among the Picts, after the Synod of Whit-
by, we have more exact and detailed information. It is important
to remember, to begin with - and it is a fact which has not been

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 15.

(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 7.

properly recognised - that, from the time of St. Columba's visit to
King Brude in 565, the monasteries in the Kingdom of the Picts were
Columban monasteries, either by foundation or commemoration, and
continued always under the jurisdiction of the abbots of Iona.[1] In
685, the Picts shattered the power of Northumbria in the Battle of
Nechtansmere - a blow from which Northumbria never recovered; and
the hegemony in the north passed, from that date, out of the hands
of Northumbria into the hands of the Picts.[2] All the country north
of the Cheviots was now in subjection to the Picts. In 706, Nechtan
(or Naiton) became King of the Picts; and having become himself a
convert to the Roman customs, he resolved to bring his people also
to the same opinion. For this purpose he sent therefore, in the year
710, a letter to Ceolfrid, the abbot of the monastery of Jarrow -
the monastery to which Bede belonged and where Bede was then resid-
ing - desiring him to send him a letter in return, containing the
most effective arguments in favour of the Roman customs, in order
that he might make use of it for the conversion of his subjects. He
also asked that some architects might be sent, to build in his king-
dom a church of stone after the Roman fashion - a church to be de-
dicated to St. Peter. Both requests were readily granted.[3] Where

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.', IV, 26. In A.T. under year 685.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 21.

the church was built, we do not know; [1] but the letter which was sent
in reply, containing the arguments for the Roman customs - which
Bede quotes at length, and which was most probably written for Ceol-
frid by Bede himself - was read in the presence of King Nechtan and
his court; and when the King heard it, we are told that he knelt
down and gave thanks to God that he had received such a gift from
the country of the Angles; and he declared that, from that day for-
ward, he and all his people would adopt the ways of the Roman Church;
and he gave orders, accordingly, for the observance in the future
of the Catholic Easter throughout all his Kingdom, and for the cor-
onal tonsure of all the clergy.

As to what happened to the Columban monks in the Kingdom of the
Picts, in consequence of this command of King Nechtan, there are two
seemingly conflicting accounts. There is, on the one hand, the
statement which is made by Bede, who says that "all the ministers of
the altar and monks were tonsured after the fashion of the crown" -
which would seem to indicate the immediate and complete submission
on the part of all the Columban monks within the Kingdom of the
Picts to the Roman customs [2] But the Irish Annalist, Tighernach, on
the other hand, writing in the eleventh century, says that, in the

(1) Wyntoun indicates Rosemarkie: under 716 A.D. he writes:-

> "Nectan Derlyng wes than regnand
> "Owre the Peychtis in Scotland
> "In Ros he fowndyd Rosmarkyne."

>   ('The Orygynal Chronykil of Scotland', V, 13.)

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 21.

year 717, the Family of Iona were expelled "across the back of Britain" by King Nechtan - which seems to point to a different result - to the refusal on the part of the monks of Iona to obey the King's command, and their consequent expulsion from the Kingdom.[1] What probably happened was what had previously happened at Lindisfarne, where another King had interfered with the affairs of the Church: some probably conformed, and others probably refused to conform. It was the first intervention by the State in North Britain in the province of the Church; and it caused the First Disruption of the Church in North Britain. For the second time, within about half a century, the Church of Rome owed its triumph over the Columban Church to a summary and high-handed act of royal power.

In any case, the decree of King Nechtan marked the end of the Columban Church in the territory of the Picts, and the passing away of the authority of Iona over all that part of the country. After 717, the Church which is to be found among the Picts is a Pictish Church - the first occasion upon which the term "Pictish Church" can be rightly used of North Britain - a non-Columban Pictish Church, subservient to Rome.

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(1) "Expulsio familiae Ie trans Dorsum Britannie a Nectono Rege'.
    (A.T. in anno 717). "Tonsura corona super familiam Iea
    datur" (A.T. in anno 718). So also A.U. in ann. 717
    Zimmer follows A.T. ('Keltische Kirche', Realencyklopadie, X,
    230). Hume Brown ('History of Scotland' I, 25 note) and
    Macewen 'A History of The Church in Scotland', I, 99 note)
    follow Bede.

The Scots.

It remained for the Church of Rome to complete her triumph: to see her authority acknowledged in the very strong-hold of her Rival - in Iona itself; and to bring the last people of North Britain, the Scots, into the Roman obedience.

When Colman and his monks returned from Lindisfarne, and made report in Iona as to what had happened at Whitby, the authorities in Iona seem to have accepted the inevitable; and recognising that their work in the south had been checked, they concentrated their missionary efforts thereafter nearer home: they turned their attention especially to the Western Islands and to the Western coast. But even in what might have been considered to have been their peculiar province, the initiative seems to have passed from their hands; and the greatest missionary achievement which followed is associated, not with the name of any monk of Iona, but with the name of St. Maelrubha.[1] Born in 642,[2] and of the same clan as St. Columba, and abbot of the monastery of Bangor in Ulster, St. Maelrubha crossed to Alba in 671;[3] and in 673 he founded the monastery of Applecross (Aporchrosan);[4] from which as his centre, he evangelised all that part of the Western coast which lies between Loch Carron and Loch

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(1) Reeves, 'P.S.A. Scot'. III 258-296. Forbes, 'K.S.S.' 382,383.

(2) "Maelrubai rested in Applecross, after completing the eightieth year of his life" (A.T. in an. 722). He was therefore born in 642.

(3) A.T.

(4) A.U.

Broom, and carried The Gospel into Skye also, and into the wilds of Ross-shire and Sutherlandshire - leaving behind him a name, second only to that of St. Columba himself, among the missionary Saints of the Scoto-Irish Church.

The first great blow was struck at the independence of Iona, when one of its own abbots, and that the greatest of them all since St. Columba - Adamnan himself - declared himself to be a convert to the Roman customs; and threw all the weight of his important authority upon the side of Rome. The conversion of Adamnan took place on the occasion of a visit which he paid to the Northumbrian court in 686, to obtain the release of some Irish prisoners of war.[1] While there, he saw the rites of the Roman Church; and, as Bede tells us, he journeyed to Jarrow also, to the famous monastery there, and had conversation with the abbot Ceolfrid, upon the vexed questions of Easter and the tonsure - as the result of which he professed his conversion to the Roman ways.[2] It is interesting to reflect, that these two also probably met upon this occasion - Bede and Adamnan - the future great historian of the Church of England, and the first great historian of the Church of Scotland.[3] It was in vain, however, that on his return to Iona, Adamnan endeavoured to persuade his

(1) There is some doubt as to the exact date of Adamnan's submission as he paid several visits to Northumbria. Reeves ('Adamnan's V.S.C.' CLII), and Skene ('C.S.' II, 172), say 688. Plummer ('Baedae Opera Historica' II, 301) says 686.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 15, 21.

(3) Bede was born in 673: at the time of Adamnan's visit, he was therefore either 13 or 15.

monks to adopt his altered opinion.[1] And so, the somewhat anomalous situation was to be found in Iona, of an abbot who had conformed to Rome, while the monks over whom he ruled remained non-conformists.

After his failure at Iona, as Bede goes on to relate - "He (Adamnan) sailed to Ireland, and preaching to them, and with sober exhortation declaring the lawful time of Easter, he brought back very many of them, and almost all who were free from the dominion of those in Hii, corrected from the error of their fathers to the Catholic unity, and taught them to keep the lawful Easter"[2] - a passage which is of interest and of importance as showing, that the jurisdiction (dominium) of Iona still extended over the Columban monasteries in Ireland; and that the resistance to the Roman customs was as stubbornly maintained there as in Iona itself: it was precisely with his own 'family' in Ireland, as in Iona, that Adamnan had least success.

After the death of Adamnan, a schism seems to have taken place in Iona - probably over the Easter question - and there appear to have been, for a time at least, rival abbots.[3] But the end was now at hand; and what Adamnan, with all the authority of his

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 15.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 15.

(3) Page 171.

high reputation and office, could not achieve, was accomplished by a humble English monk. As Bede tells us the story, one of the most saintly men in Northumbria in these days was Egbert.[1] For many years he had lived as a monk in Ireland, and had won a great name there among the Scots for his holy life.[2] Being an old man now - in his seventy-seventh year - he wished to go to the Continent, to preach The Gospel to the heathen in Germany, and perhaps to see Rome before he died; but he was warned by the dream of a brother-monk, that God had other work for him to do: to go to the monasteries of St. Columba instead, 'because their ploughs did not go straight', and to correct their error.[3] It was in the year 716 that he arrived in Iona; and he was kindly received by the abbot (abbot Dunchad) and his monks; and by his gentle persuasion he won over all the community to the Roman customs. The dispute at last was ended: the last stronghold of the Columban Church in North Britain had capitulated to the Church of Rome; and Easter was celebrated for the first time in Iona, on the Roman date, in the year 716.[4]

After the submission of Iona, the night comes down upon the

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III 4, V, 9, 22, 24.

(2) Plummer says that he was probably a bishop: the term 'sacerdos' which is used of him often means 'bishop'. (Plummer, 'Baedae Opera Historica', II, 285.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 9.

(4) There is doubt about the exact date, owing to a discrepancy in Bede. In 'H.E.' III, 4, Bede gives 715 as the date; in 'H.E.' V, 22, and V, 24, he gives 616. Macewen is in error in postponing the submission of Iona to 729, the date of Egbert's death. (Macewen, 'History of The Church in Scotland', I, 100.)

history of North Britain. Adamnan died in 704, and Bede in 735; and there is nothing like history, until Turgot comes in the twelfth century to tell us about Queen Margaret. During all that long stretch of time we are left groping in the darkness, forced to be content with such faint gleams of light as we can find in Irish Annalists. A few doubtful dates; the names of a few kings and abbots; the records of a few battles and forays; the founding of a monastery here, and the building of a church there; or the burning of monastery and church by heathen invaders - these are the only scraps of information which we can find for more than three hundred years. It is, as Hill Burton says "The dark period" of Scottish history.[1]

The rest of the story of Iona is quickly told. The enemies that followed were more merciless than Rome. Before the century closed the Norsemen appeared. In 794 they laid waste "all the Islands of Britain".[2] In 795 they devastated Iona.[3] In 802 the monastery was burned.[4] In 806 sixty-eight monks were slain.[5] In 807, Cellach, the abbot then of Iona, crossed to Ireland, and began the building of a new monastery at Kells, to take the place of Iona; and thereafter the primacy, so long held by Iona, was transferred

(1) Hill Burton, 'The History of Scotland', I, 139.
(2) "The devastation of all the Islands of Britain by the heathen". ("Vastatio omnium insularum Britanniae a gentibus") A.U. 794.
(3) "The devastation of Iona of Columcille, and of Inishmurray, and of Inishboffin". ("Vastatio Hyonae Columbae Ecclesiarum, et Insulae Murethagi et Insulae vaccae albae".). A.T. 795.
(4) "Iona of Columcille was burned by the heathen". ("I Columbae Cille a gentibus combusta est"). A.U. 802.
(5) "The family of Iona was slain by the heathen, that is sixty-eight". ("Familia Iae occisa est a gentibus, id est LXVIII") A.U. 806.

to Kells.[1] In 825, the Norsemen came again, searching for the
shrine which contained the relics of St. Columba; and, failing
to find it, they slaughtered all the community.[2] Again and again,
the relics of the Saint were carried to Ireland for safety;[3] and
at last, in 849, Kenneth Macalpine, the first King of Scotland,
transported them to the new church which he had built in his cap-
ital at Dunkeld.[4] There is no need to pursue the story any further.
From time to time the monastery was rebuilt; and there were abbots
in Ireland who held the nominal abbacy of Iona; but the Columban
Church had ceased to be.

So the story of Iona closes. It is by the light of heathen
fires that we see it at the end, and its altars running red with
martyr-blood: a few charred and blackened ruins marked the spot
where once St. Columba had prayed and sung.

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(1) "The building of the new monastery of Columcille in Kells."
      ("Constructio nouae ciuitatir Columbae Cille hi Ceninnur")
      A.U. 807.

(2) "The martyrdom of Blamac, the son of Flann, by the heathen in
      Iona of Columcille". ("Martre Blaimicc mic Flann o gentib
      in Hi Coluim Cille"). A.U. 825. Walfridus Strabo, 'Vita
      S. Blaithmaic' (Pinkerton, 'Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum',
      459-463).
(3) In ann. 829, 831, 849 A.U.

(4) "The Pictish Chronicle". (Skene, 'C.P.S.' 8.)

V.

CHARACTERISTICS of the COLUMBAN CHURCH.

(1) Organization.

The Columban Church has provided a frequent subject of dis-
cussion for ecclesiastical writers - Roman, Anglican and Presbyter-
ian; and, generally speaking, each writer has attempted to read
into it something of the particular system of Church government in
which he happened to believe. Historical investigation has fre-
quently therefore been subordinated to controversial purposes; and
the impartial love of truth has been forgotten often in the desire
to prove a contention. We approach the subject best, when we look
upon the Columban Church as an off-shoot of the Irish Church, and
as reproducing therefore most of its essential characteristics.

Like the Irish Church then, the Columban Church was monas-
tic, founded upon the clan-system which existed then in Ireland.
The unit was the monastery, which corresponded to the clan. And
the most remarkable feature of the ecclesiastical system which was
to be found in it was the peculiar and pre-eminent position which
was held by the abbot of Iona.

Before St. Columba had left Ireland, he had founded several monasteries in that country; but after the choice of Iona as his future home, and the establishment of the monastery of Iona, Iona became the head-quarters - it was called the Insula Primaria[1] - of the Columban Church, and the monastery of Iona became the mother-church (matrix ecclesia)[2]: all the other religious establishments, founded by St. Columba himself, or by any of his disciples, and afterwards by his successors - whether in Ireland, or in North Britain, or in Britain - were under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Iona. The abbot of Iona became the primate of the Columban Church; and all the communities of the various affiliated monasteries were regarded as belonging to "The Family of Iona" (Familia Iae).[3]

At the head of the monastery was the abbot (abbas or pater); and in Iona, following the precedent which was set there by St. Columba - who was a presbyter only, and not a bishop - the abbot, as Bede tells us, was always a presbyter.[4] The abbot, when matters of importance had to be decided, summoned to his assistance a council of his monks; but ordinarily, he himself directed all the affairs of the community;[5] and all the members of the community of whatever rank were subject to him; even those of episcopal rank

(1) Adamnan, I, 1.

(2) Adamnan, I, 4.

(3) A. U. under year 717.

(4) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4.

(5) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 5.

were subordinated in jurisdiction to the presbyter-abbot of Iona.[1]

It was this singular and seemingly anomalous form of govern-
ment, in which the highest order of the clergy - bishops - were
subjected to one of inferior ecclesiastical rank, which excited
the greatest surprise in the eyes of Bede; and which has been the
most fruitful source of discussion among subsequent historians of
the Church. One thing, however, is clear: however singular and
surprising the arrangement might be, it was not intended in any way
to derogate from the respect in which the episcopal office was held;
the presbyter-abbot did not usurp any of the spiritual functions
of the bishop, nor trespass upon any of his spiritual rights. Al-
though there was nothing corresponding to diocesan episcopacy in
the Columban Church, the episcopal office was nevertheless always
considered as essential in the Church; and in Iona, and in other
Columban monasteries, bishops were always present; and whenever
an episcopal function - such as ordination - had to be performed,
recourse was always had to their services.[2] Ranking above the ab-
bot in ecclesiastical position, the bishop was subject to his jur-
isdiction in all that concerned the government of the community;
and although there was no usurpation of the bishop's/functions, these func-

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4.

(2) Adamnan, I, 29.

tions could be exercised only by the permission and under the command of the abbot. To illustrate the respect which St. Columba had for the episcopal office, Adamnan tells us how once, when a bishop came from Ireland on a visit to Iona, St. Columba gave place to him at the celebration of The Lord's Supper.[1]

It was only in Iona that the precedent set by St. Columba was followed as a rule: in other Columban monasteries, such as Lindisfarne for instance, we find bishops acting as abbots; but these were themselves of course always under the supreme rule of the presbyter-abbot of Iona.

The abbot usually officiated at the altar, and dispensed the Sacraments;[2] he summoned the brethren to church whenever he chose;[3] he instituted festivals[4] and regulated fasts[5] and prescribed penance[6] and sent the brethren out upon their various missions,[7] and administered also all the temporalities of the monastery.[8]

The founder of the monastery named his successor;[9] and subsequent abbots were elected in conformity with the Irish custom which gave to those of the founder's kin the preference over others These successors to the abbacy were called the Comarbs, or Co-arbs (Co-heirs) of the original founder - the inheritors, that is, of

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(1) Adamnan, I, 35.   (2) III, 13.

(3) I, 7.   (4) III, 12.

(5) I. 20.   (6) II, 40.

(7) I, 12.   (8) I, 33.

(9) III, 24.

all his spiritual and temporal rights.[1]

As the head of the monastery was the abbot - 'the father' - so the community over which he ruled was called 'the family' (munitir or familia),[2] and the individual members were 'brethren'[3] (fratres); or, changing the metaphor, and looking up to Christ as their King, they were called also 'soldiers of Christ' (Christi milites),[4] and the monastic life was "The Christian military service" (Christiana militia).[5]

Whether St. Columba drew up any systematic monastic "Rule" is very doubtful. There is a so-called "Rule of St. Columba" (Regula Choluim Chille) which has come down to us;[5] but its authenticity is very questionable; and in any case, as Reeves points out, it is a Rule which is intended for the use of hermits, and not for the members of a social community[6] But it seems clear from all that Adamnan tells us, that the monastic vow (monachicum votum) which the Columban monks took was the ordinary three-fold monastic vow of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. The brethren had all things in common. That they practised celibacy seems certain; for there was no hereditary succession to the abbacy in any Columban monastery; and - except in the Double Monasteries which arose lat-

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(1) Todd, 'St. Patrick', 149, 155, 156.

(2) In A. U. under the year 642 etc.

(3) Adamnan, I, 1.   (4) I, 2.   (5) I, 26.

(6) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 119-121. Reeves, 'Adamnan', CIII. Fowler, "Adamnani Vita S. Columbae', 67.

er, and which constituted a class by themselves - women are never mentioned as attached in any way to any Columban monastery;[1] and the work which is usually relegated to women was performed by the monks themselves.[2] And, as for obedience - the will of the abbot was absolute, and demanded instant compliance, even at the risk of life itself.[3]

To students of ecclesiastical history the Organization of the Columban Church must remain always a subject of absorbing interest. As an instrument for mission-work it proved an unparalleled success; but it lacked the power necessary to conserve what it had won; and it failed before the effort of building up a stable and enduring ecclesiastical fabric. And a Church, whose primates held no commission from Rome, whose bishops had no dioceses and who were subject to the authority of presbyters, and whose presbyters were not considered qualified to perform the act of ordination - presents little to Roman, or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, to support any of their respective theories of Church Government.

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(1) Meissner asserts that clerical marriage was permitted in the Celtic Church. (Meissner, 'The Celtic Church in England' 9.) There is no evidence for clerical marriage in the Columban Church.

(2) Adamnan, II, 15.

(3) II, 28.

(2) Religious Customs.

The worship of the Columban Church, like its organization, was similar to what was to be found in the Irish Church.

The daily services were the canonical Offices of the Hours. All the Hours are mentioned by Adamnan, except Compline.[1] And at these daily services hymns were probably sung; for Adamnan speaks of "a book of hymns for the seven days of the week" (hymnorum liber septimaniorum), written by St. Columba himself - the earliest hymn-book of which we have any record in the Scottish Church.[2] With his own wonderful voice, and his love of poetry and singing, we can understand the interest which St. Columba would take in developing on all occasions the service of praise. These daily services were performed probably only by the senior brethren; and those who were engaged in ordinary labour were not expected to attend.[3]

The sacred days (dies solennes)[4] were Sundays (dies Dominicae)[5] and Saints' days (Sanctorum natales);[6] and these were distinguished by the celebration of the Eucharist, and by rest from labour.[7]

The chief Festival of the year was Easter (Paschalis solemnitas):[8] on that day the Eucharist also was celebrated,[9] and it was

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(1) Prime. (Adamnan, II, 5, III, 12); Tierce, Sext. (II 46); None (I, 35, II, 12, 39); Vespers (III, 24).

(2) Admanan, II, 8.   (3) I, 29.

(4) II, 1.   (5) III, 24.

(6) II, 46, III, 12.   (7) III, 13.

(8) II, 40.   (9) II, 40.

regarded as a season of special rejoicing (laetitiae Festivitas).[1]
The fifty days which followed - up to Whitsunday - were called "The
Paschal Days" (Paschales Dies),[2] and they partook of the gladness of
Easter. The only other great Festival of the Christian Year to
which there is any reference was Christmas (natalitium Domini).[3]

The supreme act of worship was the celebration of the Eu-
charist. Following the usage of the Irish Church, and the custom
which prevailed almost universally throughout the Early Church, the
mixed chalice (water mingled with the wine) was used,[4] and unleavened
wafer-bread;[5] and Communion was in both kinds. The celebrant con-
secrated the elements, "standing before the altar" (ante altare
stans);[6] and he was assisted in the preparation of the elements by
a deacon.[7] The communicants approached the altar to partake.[8] The
practice as to ministration varied. When presbyters only were pres-
ent, they sometimes selected one of their number who was most dis-
tinguished for his piety, and requested him to minister to the
others;[9] more frequently, however, it seems to have been the custom
for two, or probably more, presbyters to act as concelebrants (simul
duo presbyteri Dominicum panem frangere);[10] but when a bishop was
present, by virtue of his superior rank, he celebrated alone. (solus

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(1) Adamnan, III, 24.   (2) II, 8.   (3) II, 8.   (4) II, 1.

(5) The use of unleavened bread is an inference from the custom
        prevailing in the Celtic Church. (Warren, 'L.R.C.C.' 131-133)
        A circular wafer is found on the Nigg Stone in Ross-shire.
        (Stuart, 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland' I, Plate XXVIII).

(6) Adamnan, III, 18.   (7) II, 1.

(8) II, 40.   (9) I, 32.

(10) I, 35.

episcopali ritu panem fregit)[1] There does not appear to have been a daily celebration of the Eucharist, but only on Sundays[2] and Saints' days[3] and on occasions specially commanded by the abbot[4] and the hours for celebration varied: sometimes it was "in the early morning" (mane primo)[5] and sometimes at noon (hora sexta)[6] and sometimes in the evening (vespertinalis Dominicae noctes Missa)[7] From "The Book of Deer" we learn that the Sacrament was also given to the sick[8] There is no mention of Confirmation, or of Reservation; and there is no indication that the Sacrament was taken fasting[9] or that Confession was required as a necessary preparation. The terms used for the celebration of the Eucharist give abundant evidence of the belief in the sacrificial character of the rite[10] and of the belief also that, after the consecration, the Bread became the Body of Christ (Corpus Christi conficere)[11] but there was no attempt made to define the mystery[12] At the celebration of the Eucharist, white robes were worn as in a Festival[13] and the service was choral[14] but it was not the Gregorian Chant which was used, for Bede tells us that the Gregorian Chant was not introduced into Britain until 678:[15] the music was probably that of the old Gallican Chant[16] From the solitary fragment which has been preserved in "The Book of Deer", it is not

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(1) Adamnan, I, 35.   (2) III, 18.   (3) III, 12.   (4) III, 13.
(5) III, 12.   (6) II, 46.
(7) III, 24. Warren thinks this was not Communion, but Nocturns,
     (Warren, 'L.R.C.C.' 142). (8) Stuart, 'The Book of Deer', 90.
(9) Warren infers fasting from the early hour of celebration(Warren,
     'L.R.C.C.' 146). But the hour was not always early.
(10) Appendix VII.   (11) Adamnan, I, 35.
(12) T. Innes says that the Columban doctrine of the Eucharist was
     that of the Catholic Church (T. Innes. 'Civil and Ecclesiastic-
     al History of Scotland' 167, 168). But the Catholic doctrine
     was not fixed until the Council of Trent (1551).
(13) Adamnan, III, 13.   (14) III, 13.
(15) Bede, 'H.E.' II, 20; IV, 18.
(16) So Grub. 'Ecclesiastical History of Scotland', I, 146.

possible for us to determine what Liturgy it was which was used in the Columban Church, but it was probably also based upon the old Gallican Liturgy.[1]

The Sacrament of Baptism was administered to adults, after instruction in the Christian Faith, and after a confession of Faith had been made. Sometimes, however, St. Columba, on his missionary journeys, following the example of the Apostles in the Early Church, baptized a whole household at once - husband, wife, children and servants - so that there was presumably also Infant Baptism.[2] And Baptism was administered also as a preparation for death: there is no mention of Extreme Unction in the Columban Church; Baptism seems to have been used in its place. Adamnan cites two occasions upon which St. Columba administered Baptism to heathen who had lived good lives, and who were on the point of death; but on each occasion, only after a confession of the Christian Faith had been made.[3] As to the form of the rite - whether immersion or affusion was practised - there is not sufficient evidence to determine.

Holy Orders, as we have seen, were conferred only by a bishop; but before the ordination of a priest, the abbot first laid his right hand upon the head of the candidate, to signify his con-

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(1) Warren argues for an Eastern source. (Warren, 'L.R.C.C.' 163-166).

(2) Adamnan, II, 33.

(3) I, 27; III, 15.

currence in the act.[1] For the canonical consecration of a bishop at least three bishops required to be present; but this rule was not always observed in the Irish Church, and it is doubtful if it was always observed in the Columban Church. St. Columba himself, we remember, was sent to Bishop Etchen to be consecrated a bishop, when according to the legend a mistake was made, and he received the ordination only of a presbyter - and St. Etchen was alone when the ordination took place;[2] but Bede gives us instances of the consecration of bishops in the Columban Church in Britain, when three bishops were present.[3]

Prayer occupied a very important place in the religious life of the Columban Church. There was the great example of St. Columba himself, who was distinguished by his life of prayer: "The Little Hill of the Angels" (Colliculus Angelorum) - the place where he used to pray, and to which the Angels used to come with answers from Heaven to his prayers - is to be seen in Iona.[4] Sometimes he would summon the brethren in Iona to the church by sound of bell, even at the dead of night, to pray, if any special occasion seemed to demand it;[5] and he himself would kneel down beside the altar and pray even with tears:[6] it was beside the altar, kneeling in prayer,

(1) Adamnan, I, 29.

(2) Fél. Oeng. 72.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 22, 28.

(4) Adamnan, II, 45; III, 17.

(5) I, 16.

(6) II, 43.

that he died.[1] Prayer for the Dead was used, and also prayer to the
Dead. Inscriptions on grave-stones in Iona request prayers for the
Departed;[2] and writers of manuscripts - the writer of 'The Book of
Durrow' for instance, and the scribe of Adamnan's "Life of St. Col-
umba" - request the prayers of their readers; and Adamnan records
one occasion at least upon which St. Columba commanded the brethren
in Iona to pray for a departed bishop.[3] Prayers to St. Columba him-
self were considered to be especially efficacious, and were resorted
to upon occasions of special need.[4] St. Columba himself, as Adamnan
tells us, and as we have already noticed, had promised, in his part-
ing words to his disciples, that he would intercede for them when he
went to dwell with God.[5] They had been accustomed to invoke him,
even during his life-time, in times of need, when they were absent
from him in distant places;[6] and it never occured to them that he
would cease to help them after he had passed into the unseen world.
They would take some of the books which he had written with his own
hands, and they would open them, and read them, on the place where
he had so often prayed himself - "The Little Hill of The Angels" -
and wave the white tunic in the air, which he had worn when he died;[7]
or they would take his books and garments, and spread them out upon

(1) Adamnan, III, 24.

(2) 'Ulster Journal of Archaeology', I, 85, 86.

(3) Adamnan, III, 13.   (4) II, 45, 46.

(5) III, 24.   (6) II, 5, 40, 41.

(7) II, 45.

the altar before which he had so often knelt - and they would invoke his name;[1] and they were sure that their great Abbot heard them still, in his high place in Heaven, and would prevail for them with God. Of prayer to the Virgin Mary, or any worship of the Virgin Mary, however, there is no record. There is no mention at all of the Virgin Mary.

Fasting was also a religious observance in the Columban Church. Wednesdays and Fridays were always fast-days,[2] except during "The Paschal Days" - the fifty days after Easter; and the fast was often prolonged until the minth hour (Nones - 3 p.m.).[3] Lent - the forty days before Easter (Dies Quadragesimales) - was also strictly observed; and during Lent, all the days were fast-days, except the Sundays, when some indulgence was allowed.[4] Sometimes, however, a fast was relaxed in Iona by the special order of St. Columba, when a stranger arrived at the monastery, in order that the brethren might be able to show him hospitality.[5] One curious use to which fasting was put in the Columban Church is mentioned by Bede, who draws attention to it because it was evidently strange to him: before building a church or monastery, it was customary for the founder to consecrate the ground, which had been gifted for the purpose, by a long period

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(1) Adamnan, II, 46.

(2) Adamnan, I, 20. Bede, 'H.E.' III. 5.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 5.

(4) III, 5.

(5) Adamnan, I, 20.

of prayer and fasting: Bede tells us how Bishop Cedd spent all the time of Lent in prayer and fasting, on the ground which King Ethelwald had given to him for the monastery of Lastingham.[1]

Confession, followed by the imposition of Penance was also practised; and confession was both public and private.[2] Adamnan gives us instances of St. Columba dealing with sinners, and giving them absolution after public confession (coram omnibus). Sometimes immediate absolution was granted;[3] and sometimes a long period of penance was imposed[4] - years of exile in some other monastery, or even life-long banishment.[5] But private confession was also common. In the Columban Church, as in the Irish Church, it was the custom for every individual, lay or clerical, to have attached to him some priest or saint, distinguished for his piety, who acted as his spiritual director (confessor)[6] - in Irish he was called his 'soul-friend' (anmchara) - whose duty it was to receive his private confession of sin, and to prescribe the appropriate penance.[7] Thus St. Donnan of Eigg requested St. Columba to be his soul-friend; and St. Columba himself, in the old days in Ireland, had as his soul-friend St. Laisren, to whom he unburdened his conscience for his responsibility for the Battle of Cul Dremhne, and who prescribed as penance to him

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.', III, 23.

(2) Warren is in error in saying that "Confession was public, rather than private". (Warren 'L.R.C.C.' 148).

(3) Adamnan, I, 24.   (4) I, 16; II, 40.   (5) I, 16.

(6) "Vita Sancti Lasriani', XXXI. (Plummer, 'V.S.H.', II, 139).

(7) Félire of Oengus, P. 86, line 3, also CXXIX.

perpetual exile from Ireland;[1] and St. Columba is said to have act-
ed as soul-friend to Aidan, the King of Dal Riata, whom he had rais-
ed to the throne and ordained to his office.[2] But there is no trace
in the Columban Church of compulsory confession: confession was al-
ways voluntary.

The reverence with which Marriage was regarded in the Colum-
ban Church is evidenced by a case which Adamnan cites of St. Col-
umba's dealing with an unhappy married couple: the woman wished to
be freed from her husband, and offered to become a nun, if St. Col-
umba would permit her; but he refused her request with these words:
"What thou sayest cannot lawfully be done; for as long as the hus-
band liveth, thou art bound by the law of the husband; for it would
be impious to separate those whom God hath lawfully joined together".[3]

Great reverence was also shown in the Burial of the Dead.
The day of death was regarded as the day of birth (natalis dies).[4]
In the account which Adamnan gives us of the funeral of St. Columba
we get an illustration of the Funeral Rites (exequiae) of the Col-
umban Church: perhaps in the case of St. Columba more elaborate
than in the case of an ordinary individual.[5] For three days and
three nights the obsequies lasted; and when these praises of the

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(1) 'Vita Sancti Lasriani', XXXI. (Plummer, 'V.S.H.', II, 139).

(2) MS. H. 2. 16. Trinity College, Dublin. (This reference has
been given to me by the Librarian of Trinity College.)
(3) Adamnan, II, 42.

(4) II, 46; III, 12.

(5) III, 24.

brethren were over - the chanting of Psalms - the body, wrapt in a clean shroud of fine linen, and placed in the coffin, was laid to rest reverently in the grave.[1]

One **other** religious custom to which frequent reference is made in the pages of Adamnan was the use which was made in the Columban Church of the Sign of the Cross. It was called "The Saving Sign" (signum salutare);[2] and it was used on **every** possible occasion. It was made over the pail before milking;[3] over tools and weapons before using them;[4] to ward off demons and wild beasts and sea-monsters;[5] on the historic occasion of St. Columba's visit to King Brude, it was used by the Saint to open the gates of the King's fortress;[6] and it was used on another occasion by St. Columba to endow a stone with healing virtue.[7] It was the custom to erect a cross also, to mark any specially sacred spot, or to commemorate any particularly memorable event;[8] and when the ships of the brethren put out from Iona, the yard and the mast were arranged in a cruciform way, so that they carried the Sign of the Cross wherever they carried the missionaries of the Cross in their errands upon the seas.[9]

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(1) Adamnan, III, 24.   (2) II, 15.

(3) II, 15.   (4) II, 30.

(5) II, 15, 27, 28.   (6) II, 36.

(7) II, 34.   (8) I, 35, III, 24.

(9) II, 46.

(3) Orthodoxy.

That St. Columba and his followers believed all the doctrines of the Christian Faith, as contained in The Holy Scriptures, and as handed down in the creeds of the Church, we might have been led to expect, from the reverence which they showed always for the Word of God, and the attention with which they studied it. And for the orthodoxy of the Columban Church we have the most convincing kind of evidence: we have the testimony of those who were the most deeply prejudiced against the Columban Church.

We have the testimony of Bede, to begin with. It is to Bede that we owe, more than to any other writer save Adamnan, so much of our knowledge of the Columban Church; and although Bede is wearisome in the reiteration of his condemnation of some of the religious customs of the Columban Church, which seemed to him to be erroneous and schismatic, he is generous always in his praise of the saintliness of the character of the followers of St. Columba, and never once casts any doubt upon the correctness of their belief: he notes, on the other hand, as if it were a matter of surprise to him, that men, in some things so mis-led, should have been so united in

their creed with all the rest of Christendom. After the first
notice which he inserts in his "History" about St. Columba and the
foundation of the monastery of Iona, he pays the following tribute
to St. Columba and his followers:- "But whatever he was in himself,
this we hold for certain about him, that he left successors distin-
guished for their great continence, and their divine love, and their
observance of monastic rules; following indeed doubtful cycles as
to the date of the Great Festival, as being situated so far away
from the rest of the world, no one had shown to them the synodal de-
crees for the observance of Easter; diligently performing, never-
theless, such works of piety and of chastity, as they were able to
learn from the Prophets, the Gospels and the Apostolic Writings."[1]
And again, when speaking about St. Aidan, after expressing his dis-
approval also of St. Aidan's error as to the date of Easter, Bede
remarks, with emphasis and particularity:- "Yet this I approve in
him, because, in the celebration of his Easter, not anything else
did he hold in his heart, reverence, and preach, than we do; that
is, the Redemption of the human race, through the Passion, Resurrec-
tion and the Ascension into the Heavens of The Mediator of God and
of man, The Man Jesus Christ."[2]

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(1) Bede, 'H,E.', III, 4.

(2) III, 17.

But more striking even than the testimony of Bede is the testimony of Wilfrid. In the year 680, as Bede tells us, Pope Agatho, in order to make preparation for the Council which was to be held later in the same year at Constantinople, to deal with the Monothelitic heresy, summoned a synod in Rome of a hundred and twenty-five bishops; and gave special orders for Wilfrid to be present, "to declare his own faith, and at the same time that of the province or island whence he had come"; and Wilfrid, attending, "made confession of the true and Catholic Faith, and confirmed it with his subscription, in the name of all the northern part of Britain and of Ireland, and of the islands which are inhabited by the nations of the Angles and of the Britons, as also by the Picts and the Scots."[1] Amongst the Scots were included also, of course, in Wilfrid's statement, the followers of St. Columba. This testimony to the orthodoxy of the Columban Church by the victor of Whitby, the most bitter and determined opponent which the Columban Church ever had, is as honourable to Wilfrid himself, as it is conclusive as to the Faith of the Columban Church.

But even if we had no such testimonies as those of Bede and of Wilfrid, we might have inferred the orthodoxy of the Columban

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.', V. 19. Eddius, 'Vita Sancti Wilfridi', LIII.

Church from what took place at the Synod of Whitby itself; for if
there had been any fault to be found with the Faith which was held
by the missionaries of Lindisfarne, it would have been upon that
that the opponents of Colman and his followers would have seized;
and far more serious matters then than the date of Easter or the
form of the tonsure would have brought about the downfall of the
Columban Church.

(4) Independence.

Like the question of the constitution of the Columban Church,
the question of the relationship of the Columban Church to the
Church of Rome has been the battle-field of much controversy between
ecclesiastical historians of different ecclesiastical schools; but
the historical facts themselves upon which the controversy has turn-
ed - whatever construction may be put upon them - stand out clearly,
and seem to be of the most unambiguous nature.

There are some preliminary observations which fall to be
made.

In the first place, it has to be borne in mind, that, in the
days of the Columban Church - that is, in the sixth, seventh and
eighth centuries - the position occupied by the Pope in the Western
Church was very different from the position which is held by the
Pope in the Roman Church to-day. The Pope then neither exercised
the same authority over the whole Church as he wields to-day: nor
did he receive the same deference and obedience as are rendered to
the Pope now, by every loyal member of the Roman Communion. There
was no question then of the Papal Supremacy, as it is known to-day.
Each province of the Church claimed the right to manage its own

affairs. All that was accorded to the Pope, in these early days of
the history of the Church, was a certain respect which was consid-
ered due to one who occupied the distinguished position of Bishop
in the great City of Rome, which was the Capital of the world.[1]

And another thing which has to be remembered is, that the
Christian Churches in the Islands which are now known as The British
Isles, were the furthest removed of all from Rome, and were there-
fore the least likely to be influenced in any way by Rome. They
were left to develop themselves; and it was from Gaul, more fre-
quently than from Rome, that they obtained direction and assistance.

And a third thing which has to be remembered is, that the
Columban Church was sprung from the Church of Ireland; and the
Church of Ireland had come into existence itself independently of
Rome: St. Palladius had indeed been sent by Rome; but St. Pallad-
ius had failed; and St. Patrick held no commission from Rome. Re-
flecting as it did most of the characteristics of the Church which
had given it birth, it was natural that the Columban Church should
reproduce also this outstanding characteristic of the Irish Church -
the spirit of independence.[2]

When we turn to St. Columba himself, to begin with, what is

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(1) Bright, 'The Roman See in The Early Church'. First Essay, 1-213.
    M.V. Hay, 'A Chain of Error in Scottish History', and J.C.
    MacNaught, 'The Celtic Church and The See of Peter', maintain
    the opposite view: they claim a Papal Supremacy in The Early
    Church, and deny the independence of any section of the Celt-
    ic Church. Neither makes any reference to Bright's classic
    contribution to the subject: and the mass of evidence which
    Bright adduces remains unanswered.

(2) The most outstanding example of Irish independence of Rome is
    to be found in the Letters which St. Columbanus addressed to
    some of the Popes. (Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi.
    Tom I, 156-160 in 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica'.)

clear from all the story of his life is the complete independence
of all his actions: there is no opposition to the Pope: there is
simply no reference to the Pope at all: neither in the inception of
his mission, nor at any point in the execution of it, does St. Col-
umba seek any commission or direction from Rome.   Our great author-
ity for all that concerns St. Columba is Adamnan;   and in his "Life
of St. Columba", while the City of Rome is mentioned twice - in a
casual way, and not with any reference to its ecclesiastical posi-
tion[1] - the Pope is not even once mentioned, nor in any way referred
to.   It is an argument from silence, perhaps;   but it is an argu-
ment, nevertheless, eloquent enough for the independence which char-
acterized the founder of the Columban Church.   Whatever the reasons
were, which led up to the mission of St. Columba to North Britain,
there is no suggestion that any of them had anything to do with the
Pope.   As St. Patrick constituted himself the Apostle of Ireland;
and as St. Columbanus on his own initiative carried The Gospel to
the Germans and to the Swiss;   so St. Columba neither sought nor re-
ceived any Papal sanction for his mission to the Picts, and for the
position which he assumed and held in Iona as the Primate of the
Church of North Britain.

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(1)   Adamnan, I, 22,   III, 24.

The same spirit, which marked the beginning of the Columban
Church in Iona, characterized all its subsequent history; and the
successors of St. Columba followed in the foot-steps of their master.
Lindisfarne was founded much in the same way as Iona. When the re-
quest came from Oswald the King of Northumbria to the authorities in
Iona, to send a missionary to convert his people, the authorities in
Iona did not refer the matter to the Pope; they acted for them-
selves, and they ordained and commissioned one of themselves to oc-
cupy the new field: it was another illustration of the independence
of the Columban Church.[1]

And then at last the collision came at the Synod of Whitby:
when the Columban Church did come at length into contact with the
Church of Rome, the result was open hostility. The Columban monks
at Whitby acknowledged the authority of The Scriptures, and the
authority of Apostolic example; but the authority of the Roman
Church meant nothing to them, and they openly defied it; and rather
than submit to it, they retreated to Iona.[2] The same thing seems to
have happened again, when King Nechtan decided against them: rather
than submit to Roman authority, even when it was enforced by royal
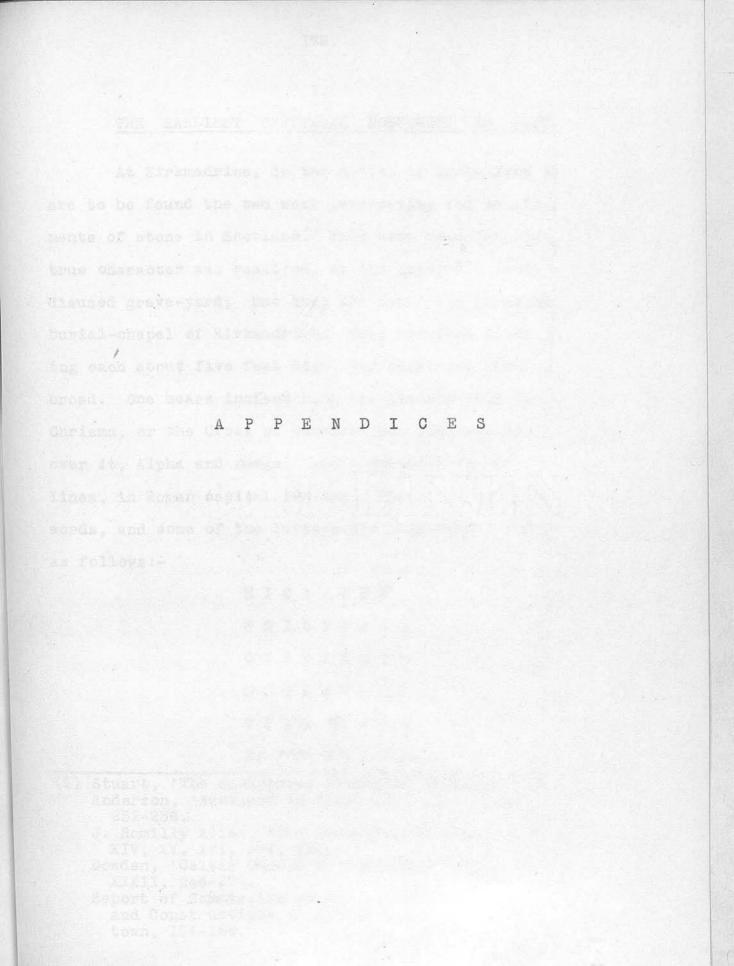command, the followers of St. Columba fell back again upon Iona.[3]

(1) Bede, 'H.E.'. III, 3; III, 5.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.'. III, 25, 26.

(3) A. T. 717 A.D.

And when they finally succumbed, it was not in deference to Papal authority: what they refused to the commands of Kings and of Popes they yielded at last to the persuasion of a humble English monk; [1] and even then, it was at the cost of schism; [2] and long after the first Roman Easter was celebrated in Iona, the spirit of independence still lingered in the remnants of the Columban Church. [3] And when the Columban Church itself passed away, it lingered still. It was the legacy which the Columban Church bequeathed to the Church which afterwards was to arise in Scotland; which was to be built at the Reformation on the ruins of the Church of Rome; and which at last has been completed in the Church of Scotland of to-day - the most independent National Church in Christendom.

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 22.

(2) Faelchu became Abbot of Iona in 716 A.D. (A.T.), and died in 724 A.D. (A.T.). But Fedlimid became Abbot in 722 A.D. (A.T.) - i.e. in the life-time of Faelchu. There must therefore have been two abbots at the same time.

(3) The schism lasted until 772 A.D. (Skene, 'C.S.' II, 287-289)

APPENDICES

I.

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS IN SCOTLAND.

At Kirkmadrine, in the parish of Stoneykirk in Wigtownshire are to be found the two most interesting and precious ancient monuments of stone in Scotland.[1] They were used for long, until their true character was realised, as the gateposts leading into an old disused grave-yard; but they are carefully preserved now in the burial-chapel of Kirkmadrine. They are flat slabs of stone, standing each about five feet high, and measuring about sixteen inches broad. One bears incised upon its obverse face the monogram of the Chrisma, or the Cross of Constantine, enclosed in a circle; and over it, Alpha and Omega; and underneath it, an inscription in six lines, in Roman capital letters. There are no divisions between the words, and some of the letters are ligatured. The inscription runs as follows:-

H I C I A C E N

S C I E T P R A E

C I P V I S A C E R

D O T E S I D E S

V I V E N I U S

E I MA O R I U S

(1) Stuart, 'The Sculptured Stones of Scotland', II, 35,36.
    Anderson, 'Scotland in Early Christian Times', Second Series,
      252-256.
    J. Romilly Allen, 'The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland'.
      XIV, XV, XVI, 494, 495.
    Dowden, 'Celtic Church in Scotland', 15,16. 'P.S.A. Scot.'
      XXXII, 246-274.
    Report of Commission on The Ancient and Historical Monuments
      and Constructions of Scotland', Fourth Report. Galloway, Wig-
      town, 154-156.

The translation scarcely admits of any doubt:- "Here lie the holy and distinguished Priests, that is, Viventius and Mavorius." The Chrisma, with a circle around it, is incised also on the reverse side. The second stone bears also the Chrisma, enclosed in a circle; and underneath, there is an inscription in three lines, in Roman capital letters, of which all that is legible is " S ET FLORENTIUS". A third stone has recently been discovered which also bears the Chrisma within a circle, and underneath it the words "INITIUM ET FINIS". [1]

The language is Roman; the form of the letters is Roman; the symbols are Roman; the type is totally different from that of the Celtic crosses and Celtic inscriptions which are to be found so frequently elsewhere in Scotland and in Ireland. It is not certain, however, that the names Viventius and Mavorius are Roman: they might be native names Romanized.

That these stones are probably the earliest Christian remains in Scotland, archaeologists are generally agreed; but to put an exact date upon them is a little more difficult. Stuart, in his monumental work on "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland" gives his opinion very cautiously, and avoids committing himself:- "The

(1) Discovered in 1916. ('P.S.A. Scot.' LI, 199-207).

letters of these inscriptions remind us of the style of those on Roman altars and tablets . . . . The monuments are probably to be regarded as among the earliest Christian records now remaining in Britain"[1] Bishop Dowden is more definite, for the earliest possible date:- "I see no reason why the Kirkmadrine stones should not have been inscribed during the time of the Roman occupation."[2]

The only light which we have upon the matter comes from Gaul. In Gaul, the monogram which is cut upon the Kirkmadrine stones is to be found on dated monuments belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries; and it is not likely to have been used, therefore, in North Britain any earlier than that. "It would be hazardous," says Joseph Anderson, "to assign to these stones a date earlier than somewhere in the second half of the fifth century."[3]

It is surely a remarkable thing, that these stones should have been found so near the spot where we know that St. Ninian lived and laboured; and it seems the most reasonable conclusion to come to then, in the light of all the facts, that these earliest Christian monuments which we possess in Scotland were connected with the Church which St. Ninian founded in Galloway; not dating back to the period of the Roman occupation, which came to an end before

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(1) Stuart, "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland', II, 35, 36.

(2) 'P.S.A. Scot.', XXXII, 256.

(3) 'P.S.A. Scot.', XXXII, 274.

the close of the fourth century; but after Candida Casa was built in the beginning of the fifth century: they marked the graves, not of Roman priests belonging to a Christian Church which we never heard of in that part of the country before St. Ninian, but of priests of the Church which St. Ninian himself founded beside the shores of the Solway.

Besides the Kirkmadrine Stones, there is another stone which stands upon the high ground above the town of Whithorn, bearing Christian symbols also, and dating probably from the same period. It stands about four feet high, and it measures about two feet in breadth; and, on the obverse side, there is incised a cross of a peculiar kind, placed within a circle, and beneath it an inscription in three lines. The cross is formed by the intersecting arcs of four circles, and is one of the oldest forms of the cross known in Scotland and Ireland. It bears also the Chrisma; and the inscription which is in Roman capitals runs as follows:- "LOCI TI PETRI APOSTOLI". Whatever be the translation, and whatever the purpose of the stone, it carries the name of St. Peter; and the Chrisma dates it again to the fifth or sixth century.[1]

So far as the stone monuments of Scotland are concerned, it

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(1) It "cannot be earlier than the end of the fourth, and it may
    be as late as the latter part of the sixth century".
    (Anderson, 'Scotland in Early Christian Times', Second
    Series, 253.)

is therefore safe to say, that no Christian remains have been dis-
covered, which can with certainty, or even with probability, be
dated back to the period of the Roman occupation.

II.

THE ROMAN SILVER OF TRAPRAIN.

The most important archæological discovery, which has been made in Scotland in the present century, is the hoard of silver which was found in 1919 at Traprain Law in Haddingtonshire, and which now rests in the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. The hoard consists of a number of silver articles - more than a hundred and sixty pieces - the most of them of an undoubtedly Roman type; while some suggest a Teutonic and non-Saxon origin. No hoard of Roman silver as large has ever been found in The British Isles. On many of the pieces there are pagan symbols, e.g. representations of the Roman deities, and figures from Roman mythology; but a few of them bear Christian symbols, e.g. incidents from The Scripture, the Chi-Rho monogram, the Alpha and Omega; and one of them - a silver spoon, or wine-strainer - has perforated upon it the name "JESUS CHRISTUS". Many of the relics are large; and seem too large for merely domestic use: they look like a collection of plate taken from pagan temples and from Christian churches; and they are in a very damaged state. Along with the hoard, certain Roman coins were also found, bearing the names and effigies of cer-

tain Roman Emperors - of Valens (368-378), of Valentinian (375-392), and of Honorius (395-423). The latest of these coins serves to fix the approximate probable date when the treasure was buried - towards the end of the fourth, or at the beginning of the fifth century.

How then are we to account for such a deposit in Scotland at such a date - a deposit containing the unmistakable symbols of the Christian religion? Nothing that we know of the circumstances, in that part of the country at that time, can account for it. We know of no Roman Christian community established there at that time; and the site is not even Roman, but native. Are we to conclude then, that the discovery of this silver, with these Christian signs upon it, is a proof of the existence of Christianity in that part of North Britain, during the closing years of the fourth century, or the opening years of the fifth century?

In his interesting and valuable monograph upon the subject - "The Treasure of Traprain" - A. O. Curle suggests an explanation which seems to account for all the facts. He takes the treasure to be the loot belonging to some band of pirates. The greatly damaged condition of the silver seems to point to that. It does not look like treasure carefully concealed, to prevent it falling into the

hands of spoilers: it looks like booty roughly handled by the
spoilers themselves. The proximity to the coast suggests sea-pir-
ates; and the presence of Teutonic and non-Saxon articles suggests
that the spoil came from the Continent - probably from Gaul.[1] After
the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric in 410, a good deal of
spoliation of pagan temples and of Christian churches probably took
place; not only in Rome and in Italy, but also in Gaul; and not
merely by the Goths themselves, but also by the Saxons, who, now
that the strong arm of Rome was struck down, began to swarm upon the
coasts. We know that the Saxons were busy pirates at that time,
and often ravaged the northern coast of Gaul and the eastern coast
of Britain. It seems most likely then - at least, so Curle suggests
- that this treasure was spoil, brought from the Continent by these
Saxon pirates, and deposited at this spot near the coast, which was
a stronghold probably which they then occupied. When, at a subse-
quent time, they were driven out, they left it behind them; and it
lay unknown and therefore undisturbed until the present century.
Such an evidently convincing explanation relieves us from the nec-
essity of imagining the existence of a Christian community in that
part of North Britain at the time when the deposit seems to have been
made - at the end of the fourth - or at the beginning of the fifth cen-
tury.

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(1) Mackinnon suggests that it might possibly have been the spoil
    from St. Ninian's Monastery at Whithorn. (Mackinnon, 'The
    Social and Industrial History of Scotland', 32.)

III.

THE BIRTH-PLACE of ST. NINIAN.

The question of the birth-place of St. Ninian is of import-
ance; for it involves the question of the first appearance of Chris-
tianity in North Britain.

St. Ninian is said to have been born into a Christian home;
and he is usually supposed to have been born in Galloway, beside the
Solway, in that part of the country in which he afterwards laboured;
and the probable date of his birth was, as we have seen, about the
middle of the fourth century. That would mean that Christianity al-
ready existed in that part of North Britain then, in the middle of
the fourth century - before the time, that is, of his own mission.

Our two principal authorities for St. Ninian, as we have seen,
are Bede and Ailred; and of these two authorities, Bede is much the
more important. When we turn to Bede then, in the first place, we
find that all that he tells us about St. Ninian's birth is, that he
was a Briton ("de natione Brettonum").[1] That leaves us in doubt as
to whether he was born on the north or on the south side of the Sol-
way; for there were Britons on both sides of the Solway in his day.
And furthermore, Bede has nothing to say about his having been born

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 4.

into a Christian home. Bede, therefore, our more important author-
ity, leaves the question quite unsettled: he does not tell us,
with any precision, where St. Ninian was born; and he has nothing
whatever to say about the religion of the home into which he was
born.

When we turn to Ailred, the matter is more complicated. Ail-
red states definitely that St. Ninian's father was a Christian
(religione Christianus);[1] but whether Ailred here was quoting a tra-
dition, or merely inventing the fact, we do not know. He was un-
doubtedly capable of considerable invention, as his "Life of St.
Ninian" amply proves; and moreover, he was separated from St. Nin-
ian by more than seven hundred years. We cannot, therefore, lay
much stress upon such a statement, when Bede is silent about the
subject, and when we have no corroboration of it from any other
source. As to the place of St. Ninian's birth again, nothing could
well be more perplexing and more irritating than the way in which
Ailred refers to it. St. Ninian was born, he says, "in that region,
as it is thought, in the western part of the Island, where the
ocean stretching as it were an arm, and making as it were on either
side two angles, now divides the settled Kingdoms of the Scots and

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(1) Ailred, 'V.S.N.', 1.

of the Angles" ("in ea, ut putatur, regione, que in occiduis ipsius insulae partibus ubi occeanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit constituta").[1] It is worth noticing, to begin with, the hesitation of the "as it is thought", with which the subject is introduced. By "the arm of the ocean", the Solway is undoubtedly meant. All that we can gather from Ailred as to the place of St. Ninian's birth is, that it was somewhere near the Solway; but whether he was born on the north side, or on the south side - whether in Galloway, or in Cumberland - we are left in doubt.

Ailred, therefore, as well as Bede, leaves it unsettled, as to where exactly St. Ninian was born; and even if what Ailred tells about his father being a Christian is true, nothing can be deduced from such precarious grounds which could be regarded as evidence for the existence of Christianity in North Britain in the middle of the fourth century.

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(1) Ailred, 'V.S.N.', l.

IV.

The Birth-Place of St. Patrick.

The question of the birth-place of St. Patrick is one of the most perplexing of historical problems. Like the question of the birth-place of St. Ninian, it is of importance for our enquiry as to the beginnings of Christianity in North Britain; for according to the most generally accepted tradition, St. Patrick is said to have been born near Dumbarton on the Clyde, at the place which is now named after him, Kilpatrick; and as the date of his birth is reckoned to have been about the year 389 A.D., and as the home into which he was born was - as he himself tells us - Christian, that would mean that Christianity was to be found on the shores of the Clyde at that early date - that is, a few years before the mission of St. Ninian.

The facts about St. Patrick's home, as we gather them from his own writings - from his "Confession", and from his "Letter to Coroticus" - are as follows. In his "Confession" he says:- "I had a father Calpornus, a deacon, a certain son of Potitus, the son of Odissus, a presbyter who was in the village of Bannauem

Taberniae, for he had a farm near by, where I was taken captive .

. . . and I was led into captivity in Ireland. (patrem habui Calpor-
num diaconum, filium quemdam Potiti, filii Odissi, presbyteri, qui
fuit vico Bannauem Taberniae, villulam enim prope habuit, ubi ego
capturam dedi . . . . et Hyberione in captivitate addictus sum).[1]
Further on in his "Confession", he says that his parents lived "in
the Britains" ("in Britannis", or "in Brittanniis").[2] And in his
"Letter to Coroticus" (the King of Strathclyde, whose fortress was
Ail Cluade - now Dumbarton), he adds, that his father was a decurio;[3]
and he refers to the soldiers of Coroticus as his (Patrick's) fel-
low-citizens (civibus meis).[4]

To these statements of St. Patrick himself about his home,
there must be added a few other references which bear upon the sub-
ject. (1) In "The Hymn of Fiacc", which was composed about 800,
and which - apart from "The Confession" and "The Letter to Corot-
icus" - is the earliest document relating to St. Patrick which has
come down to us, the opening words are:- "Patrick was born in Nem-
thur" ("Genair Patraicc inNemthur" - another reading is Nemptor".[5]
(2) A scholiast of the eleventh century has appended to these words
in "The Hymn of Fiacc" the following gloss: "That is, it is a city

(1) "Confessio S. Patricii", (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 296).

(2) "Confessio S. Patricii", (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 303).

(3) "Epistola S. Patricii". (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 316).

(4) "Epistola S. Patricii". (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 314).

(5) 'Hymn of Fiacc'. 1. (H.S. 'C.E.D.', II, 356).

in North Britain, namely Ail Cluade". (.l. cathir sein feil imBret-
naib tuaiscrit .l. Ail Cluade").[1] (3) Muirchu, who wrote a "Life of
Patrick", towards the close of the seventh century says that St.
Patrick was "a Briton by nation, born in the Britains not far from
our sea" (i.e. The Irish Sea - "Brito natione, in Britannia natus,
haut (haud) procul a mari nostro"); and as to the village in which
he was born, he adds:- "which village, uniformly and indubitably we
have found to be Nemtrie". (quem vilum constanter indubitanterque
comperimus esse Nemtrie).[2]

Bannauem Taberniae has presented great difficulty, both as
to its signification and as to its identification.

We do not know whether it is the name of the village, taken
as a whole; or the name of the village (in the ablative case), fol-
lowed by some description of it (in the genitive case) - perhaps
the name of the village, followed by the name of the district in
which it was placed. Another reading is Banaven. It might poss-
ibly mean Bona (good) venta (market) berniae (genitive of the dis-
trict - now unknown - in which it was placed).[3]

The obscurity of the name has led to St. Patrick being claim-
ed as a native by several different countries: by Scotland and

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(1) Stokes and Strachan, 'Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus", II, 308.

(2) Stokes, 'Tripartite Life' II, 494.

(3) In Ptolemy's map of Scotland there is a Banatia marked, not
     far from what is now Dumbarton, which may possibly have been
     the place. (Ptolemaeus Claudius 'Geographiae').

England and Wales, and even by France and by Ireland itself. The most serious claims for consideration, as the birth-place of St. Patrick, have been made on behalf of the following four localities: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Daventry in Northamptonshire, somewhere in Glamorganshire near the Severn or the Bristol Channel, and at or near Dumbarton.

Boulogne-sur-Mer is the suggestion made by Lanigan, for the birth-place of St. Patrick; but, although he argues for it with great weight of learning, it is impossible to accept it, for it is in obvious confliction with St. Patrick's statement that his parents lived "in Britannis".[1]

Daventry is the suggestion made by Haverfield and Nicholson. It was discovered by Haverfield[2] and also by Nicholson[3] that in the "Itinerarium Antonini", a Bannaventa appears as the name of a station on Watling Street, three or four miles from Daventry. But to accept Daventry as the site of St. Patrick's home seems also impossible. Daventry is not near the Irish Sea; and it would leave unexplained St. Patrick's reference to the soldiers of Coroticus as his "fellow-citizens"; and it is surely far from likely that pirates from Ireland would ever penetrate into the heart of Northamp-

(1) Lanigan, 'The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland', I, 93.

(2) Haverfield, 'English Historical Review', X, 711. Oct. 1895.

(3) E.W.B. Nicholson, 'The Academy', No. 1201, pp. 402,403. May
      11th, 1895.

tonshire.

Some place in Glamorganshire near the Severn or the Bristol Channel is the suggestion which is made by Bury, the latest of the biographers of St. Patrick.[1] Such a locality would suit Muirchu's reference to the Irish Sea; and would be a very likely place for Irish raiders to be found; but it would still leave unexplained St. Patrick's reference to his "fellow-citizens".

We are left then with Dumbarton, or some place in its vicinity - the popular tradition. Such a locality for St. Patrick's home would suit the story of his capture by Irish raiders; and it would suit also Muirchu's reference to the Irish Sea; and St. Patrick's statement about the soldiers of Coroticus; and further, some possible explanation could perhaps at last be found for the statement in "The Hymn of Fiacc", that St. Patrick was born at Nemthur, and the identification of Nemthur with Ail Cluade or Dumbarton. Nemthur may have been a poetical name for Ail Cluade or Dumbarton; but the most recent writer who has touched upon the subject - Dr. W. J. Watson, in his "Celtic Place-names of Scotland" - has brought some further facts to light, which have their bearing upon the matter. Nem is the Old Irish for 'Heaven'; and Nemed is the

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(1) Bury, 'Life of St. Patrick', Preface X, and 322-325.

Old Irish for 'holy', or 'a holy place'. Nemeton was a term in common use in Gaul for 'a holy place' - the place which was used by the tribe for judgment and for worship. Now, in the vicinity of Dumbarton, Dr. Watson has discovered that there existed once such a nemeton: "The name survives in Roseneath, in Gaelic Ros-neimhidh, 'Promontory of the Nemet'."[1] And further, Dr. Watson finds in "The Yellow Book of Lecan" a reference to a marauding expedition made upon the Kingdom of Strathclyde (a "Battle of Strathclyde" - "cath Stratha Cluatha", or a "Harrying of Strathclyde" - "argain Stratha Cluatha") by Dathi (or Nathi) the last pagan King of Ireland; and which probably took place to inaugurate his reign, which began in the year 405 A.D. If, as Dr. Watson points out, St. Patrick was born in, or about, the year 389, and taken prisoner as he tells us with thousands of others at the age of sixteen, this might have been the very expedition in which he was carried away into captivity into Ireland.[2]

One would fain consider that the question of the birth-place of St. Patrick was at last settled; and either Dumbarton itself,[3] or some spot in the near vicinity, might be taken to be the locality which all the evidences seem to point to as the site of

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(1) Watson, 'C.P.N.S.', 246. "It is possible that Nemthor, if it was not Dumbarton, was somewhere within the old parish of Roseneath, and on the Dumbarton side of the water." (Watson, 'C.P.N.S.', 247). Macbain also suggests Roseneath. ('Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness', XXXIII, 148).

(2) Watson, 'C.P.N.S., 192. Y.B.L. 192.

(3) A. T. Stokes 'Ireland and The Celtic Church' 37.

his home. But a serious difficulty remains, namely, that it seems to be against all the probabilities that there was a civilised Chris Christian community in that part of North Britain at that date - such a community as St. Patrick indicates as surrounding his home. He tells us that his father was a decurio and a deacon: he was an official, that is, in a Roman town, and an official also in the Christian Church; but we have no evidence of Roman towns, nor of Christian churches in the Kingdom of Strathclyde at that date - towards the close of the fourth century.

The position of the Roman frontier in Britain, about the time of the birth of St. Patrick, is extremely obscure. It is generally supposed that Theodosius in 369, by his successful expedition against the Picts and Scots, recovered for Rome the territory which had been lost between the Two Walls - between the Wall of Hadrian (Tyne to Solway) and the Wall of Antonine (Forth to Clyde) - and that the recovered territory was named Valentia. It is quite possible that the supposition is correct; but there is no direct authority for it. Ammianus, who is our authority for the expedition of Theodosius, does not tell us where Valentia lay.[1] And no Roman coins have been found along the Wall of Hadrian bearing

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(1) Ammianus Marcellinus, 'Historia', Lib. XXVIII c. 3. (Monumenta Historica Britannica', Vol. I, p. LXXIV).
        "The shadowy province of Valentia" (Haverfield, 'Edinburgh Review'. CCXIII, 488).

any later date than 383.[1] The only observation which remains to be made is, that, if a Roman settlement such as St. Patrick describes existed anywhere in North Britain at the date of St. Patrick's birth, at or near Dumbarton - that is, at one end of the Roman Wall - would not be an unlikely place to expect to find it.

(1) Collingwood in 'Journal of Roman Studies' XII, 76.

V.

"THE HISTORICAL SAINT COLUMBA"

The recently published "Life" of St. Columba, of which the
above is the title, by Dr. Douglas Simpson of Aberdeen University,
propounds a very novel and a very revolutionary view of St. Columba
and his work.[1] Dr. Simpson states his thesis in his preface thus:-
"It has long seemed clear to me that the popular conception of St.
Columba as the Apostle of Scotland cannot sustain the test of rigid
historical and archæological inquiry . . . . Long before Columba's
time, Christianity was already widely spread among the Picts, who
had their own organised Church - between which and Columba, if my
reading of the evidence is right, there was either active hostility
or, at best, a complete absence of co-operation. I believe that
the real scope of St. Columba's labours can be shown to have been
almost entirely restricted to his fellow-nationals of Dalriada -
the early Scotic Kingdom corresponding roughly to Argyllshire - and
to the Pictish tribes of the borderland; with an extension into
Strathtay, and probably another extension along the Great Glen to-
wards Inverness." [2] It is a thesis substantially the same as that
which is to be found in another book, published a few years before

(1)   Published in 1927.

(2)   'The Historical St. Columba', Preface VII.

by another Scottish writer, to whom Dr. Simpson makes due acknow-
ledgment - Dr. A. B. Scott, in his work on "The Pictish Nation, Its
People and Its Church" (1918). No more revolutionary view of the
mission of St. Columba has ever been placed before the public; and
if it can be substantiated by the necessary historical evidence,
the first chapter of the history of the Church in Scotland will re-
quire to be revised.

We turn to a consideration of the evidence.

The most important authority that we have, for all that con-
cerns St. Columba, is Adamnan. Adamnan wrote his celebrated "Life
of St. Columba", as we have seen, on the spot where St. Columba
lived and laboured, and within about a hundred years after the death
of the Saint. He is the most important authority, because he is the
earliest authority: he also writes at considerable length, and in
his position of Abbot of Iona was most likely to have been convers-
ant with all the facts. Referring to the Great Plague, which de-
vastated Europe in the latter half of the seventh century, Adamnan
says:- "The Islands of the ocean, namely Ireland (Scotia) and
Britain, have on two occasions been laid waste by a dreadful pestil-
ence, except among two peoples, the Picts and the Scots of Britain,
who are separated from each other by the mountains of the Dorsal

Range of Britain (Dorsi Montes Britannici) . . . . Now, to what other person is this favour granted to them by God to be attributed, unless to St. Columba, whose monasteries, founded within the territories of both of these peoples, have been regarded by both up to the present time with great veneration."[1] By the "Dorsi Montes Britannici", Adamnan undoubtedly refers to the Grampian Mountains, the dominating range in Scotland. The testimony of Adamnan, in the first place then, is clear and unambiguous, as to the existence of Columban monasteries among the Northern Picts, as well as among the Scots; and much of Adamnan's book is devoted to the description of St. Columba's mission-work amongst the Northern Picts.

Second in importance only to the authority of Adamnan is that of Bede. Bede wrote his "Ecclesiastical History", within a century and a half after the death of St. Columba, in the monastery of Jarrow. And the monastery of Jarrow had, in Bede's day, communication both with Iona and with the Picts; for Adamnan came from Iona to visit Ceolfrid, the Abbot of Jarrow, when Bede was there;[2] and it was in Bede's time also, that Nechtan, the King of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfrid, to ask information about the date of Easter, and to request from him architects to help him to build a church.[3]

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(1) Adamnan, II, 47.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.', V, 21.

(3) Bede, 'H.E.', V, 21.

In Bede's "History", the following four important references to the Columban mission occur:- (1) "There came from Ireland to Britain a distinguished Presbyter and Abbot, marked as a monk by habit and life, by name Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts, (septentrionalium Pictorum), that is, to those who are separated from their southern regions by steep and rugged mountain ranges. For the Southern Picts (Australes Picti) themselves, who dwell upon this side of these mountains (qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes), had, it is said, long before forsaken the error of idolatry, and received the true Faith, under the preaching of Nynias . . . . Columba came into Britain, when Bridius, the son of Meilochan, a most powerful King, reigned over the Picts, in the ninth year of his reign; and he converted that people, by his word and example, to the Faith of Christ." (gentemque illam verbo et exemplo ad fidem Christi convertit).[1] (2) "Now Columba was the first teacher of the Christian Faith to the Picts beyond the mountains to the north (erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianae transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem), and the first founder of the monastery, which in the Island of Hii long remained venerated among many peoples of the Scots and of the Picts."[2] (3) "In the year 565, Columba

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(1) Bede, 'H.E.', III, 4.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.', V, 9.

the Presbyter came from Ireland to Britain, to teach the Picts, and he made in the Island of Hii a monastery."[1](4) And of Iona, Bede adds:- "Its monastery was for a long time the chief of almost all those of the Northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the rule over their peoples"[2].- The testimony of Bede is as clear and emphatic as that of Adamnan, as to the important and successful mission of St. Columba to the Northern Picts, to whom, as Bede says, he was "the first teacher of the Christian Faith".

It is clear that, if Dr. Simpson's view of St. Columba's work is to stand, it will be necessary to set aside, first of all, our two most important and trustworthy authorities for St. Columba - Adamnan and Bede; for all their evidence is in direct and patent contradiction to his thesis. Those passages in Adamnan and in Bede which we have quoted must be well known surely to Dr. Simpson; and one would naturally have expected that he would have given us some explanation, to begin with, of what was to be done with all this weight of evidence, so hostile to his view; but we find to our surprise that, except for the casual and depreciatory notice of one of these references in a foot-note, all this mass of hostile evidence is passed over in silence![3]

(1) Bede, 'H.E.' V, 24.

(2) Bede, 'H.E.' III, 3.

(3) "The Historical St. Columba", 25.

Instead of dealing with the evidence, which seems to be conclusive against his view, Dr. Simpson offers us the reasons which seem to him to be conclusive in favour of his revolutionary reconstruction of history - reasons which in his opinion render it improbable that St. Columba could have accomplished very much in the way of Christianizing the Picts.

He has three main reasons to offer, in support of his view.

His first reason, as he states it in his preface is, that "long before Columba's time, Christianity was already widely spread among the Picts, who had their own organised Church".[1] This Pictish Church, as Dr. Simpson explains later, had been founded by St. Ninian:- "North of the Forth and Clyde line, the Picts, long before Columba's time, had received the Gospel Message from St. Ninian, who, between the years 397 and 432, had conducted his great mission up the East coast, probably as far as Shetland."[2]

We have already dealt with this claim which is advanced, both by Dr. Simpson and by Dr. Scott, on behalf of a mission by St. Ninian beyond the Grampian Mountains.[3] If, as we have seen, it is supported by the testimony of Ailred, (for reasons which are easily explainable), it is explicitly contradicted by Bede. According to

(1) "The Historical St. Columba", Preface VII.

(2) "The Historical St. Columba", 18.

(3) See page 45.

Bede, the mission-work of St. Ninian was confined to the Picts south of the mountains; whilst the first teacher of the Christian Faith to the Picts north of the mountains was St. Columba - and, in any conflict of evidence between Bede and Ailred, there is no question as to which is the more respectable and the more reliable authority. And, as for as the commemorations of St. Ninian which are to be found on the Eastern side of Scotland, on which Dr. Simpson also lays stress - in no single instance can it be satisfactorily proved, that any commemoration of St. Ninian, north of the Grampian Mountains, was a personal foundation of the Saint.

The work of St. Ninian, in building up this Pictish Church beyond the Forth and Clyde, and extending up to the Shetlands, was, as Dr. Simpson proceeds to tell us, "continued by other missionaries from the central community at Candida Casa, and by the local centres which they established, such as those of St. Ternan at Banchory, and St. Drostan at Deer." [1]

But these are strange missionaries to issue from Candida Casa, and in the days before St. Columba. The only St. Ternan that we know is to be identified with St. Torannan, who, as far as we are aware, had no connection with Candida Casa, and was a contemporary of St.

(1) "The Historical St. Columba", 18.

Columba;[1] and the only St. Drostan that we know was the disciple
of St. Columba, who, along with St. Columba himself, founded the
monastery of Deer.[2]

As to St. Drostan, Dr. Simpson adds:- "St. Drostan, who was
working in what is now Aberdeenshire about 520, just at the time
when Columba was born, was of noble Britonic blood, and combined
the advantages of high birth with great personal gifts and passion-
ate conviction. Along with him laboured his three disciples - Dros-
tan and his three, they are called in "The Martyrology of Oengus" -
namely, Colm or Colman, Medan, and Fergus." Where Dr. Simpson gets
these particulars about St. Drostan - about his date, and birth,
and character - he does not mention; but surely, there must be er-
ror somewhere; for in the only reference which Dr. Simpson does
give about St. Drostan and his disciples - the reference to "The
Martyrology of Oengus" - there is no mention either of St. Drostan
or of any of these alleged disciples: there is a mention of "Drusus
with his three" (Drusus cona Thriur); but Drusus is not to be iden-
tified with Drostan.[3] And, as for these alleged disciples of St.
Drostan: Colm, or Colman is Colman of Ard Bo on Loch Neach, who, as
far as can be judged, seems to have been a contemporary of St. Col-

(1) St. Torannán was one of the seven sons of Oengus, son of Aed,
    son of Erc. Gabran (King of Dal Riata) died 559 (A.T.) was
    grandson also of Erc. Therefore St. Torannan was probably a
    contemporary of St. Columba (521-597).
    "Torannán buan bannach,   "Torannan, famous, deedful,
    "Tar ler lethan longach.   "Over the broad shipful sea.
    ('Fél. Oeng.', under June 12.) Also noted in 'Fél. Gor',June 12.
(2) Stuart, 'Book of Deer', 91, 92.
(3) Drusus was a martyr of Antioch. His companions were Zosimus,
    Theodorus and Lucia.

umba;[1] Fergus may have been "Fergus the Pict, a Bishop of Scotia" (i.e. Ireland - Fergustus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus) who is recorded to have been present at a council held in Rome in 721 (more than a century, that is, after St. Columba);[2] and of Medan, nothing at all is known.

These are all the "predecessors" of St. Columba amongst the Northern Picts whom Dr. Simpson mentions; and of not one of them can the claim to such a title be established, on any grounds which bear the name of history.

The other reasons which Dr. Simpson gives, in favour of his theory, may be dismissed more summarily.

His second reason is the political state of the country: the hostility existing, in St. Columba's day, between the Picts and the Scots; and the unlikelihood of the Scotic St. Columba being a persona grata at the court of the Pictish King, and of his receiving permission from him to traverse his Kingdom.[3] We know that there was war between the Picts and the Scots, immediately before the arrival of St. Columba in Iona; but that does not settle the question; for it was doubtless part of the reason why St. Columba went to visit King Brude, that he might try to make peace between the two peoples.

(1) "Colmán ó Ard Bo 1 nCinél Eogain, nó 1 nAlbain fri Monaid (read 'Monad') atuaid". (Fél. Oeng. under Feb. 18.). His genealogy (given in LL 347 f, L. Br. 14, c, B.B. 216 d) suggests that he was probably a contemporary of St. Columba. He was eighth in descent from Colla Uais. (Watson 'C.P.N.S.' 279 note).

(2) H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 116.

(3) 'The Historical St. Columba', 21 ff.

But, in any case, we have the plain statement of Adamnan, and it is in direct contradiction to Dr. Simpson: referring to the result of the first meeting between St. Columba and King Brude, on the historic occasion when St. Columba went to visit the Pictish King in his stronghold at Inverness, Adamnan adds:- "From that day, ever afterwards, for all the remaining days of his life, that same King held the holy and venerable man in very great honour, as was fitting".[1]

The third reason which Dr. Simpson gives in support of his theory of a non-Columban Pictish Church, covering all the land East of Drumalban, from the Forth to the Shetlands, is based upon archaeological grounds - on the distribution of the well-known symbol-marked stones over all that part of the country.[2] But to annex these stones for an alleged Pictish Church is a mere piece of guess-work, and proves nothing: the origin and the symbolism of these stones still present a problem which up to the present day has baffled the elucidation of all the archaeologists.

Whenever it is put to the test of "rigid historical enquiry", this reconstruction of history which Dr. Simpson proposes breaks down at every point.

But this whole conception of an organised Pictish Church,

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(1) Adamnan, II, 36.

(2) "The Historical St. Columba", 73-78.

covering all the north up to the Shetland Islands, is utterly at variance, not only with the repeated statements of Bede which we have quoted; it is in utter contradiction also to all the picture which Adamnan paints of the unrelieved heathenism of the Northern Picts in the days of St. Columba. Why, if there was an organised Pictish Church among the Northern Picts in the days of St. Columba, does Adamnan not mention it; and why were they only heathen Druid priests whom St. Columba encountered at the court and in the Kingdom of King Brude, and not the Christian priests of this alleged Pictich Church which had been founded so long before by St. Ninian, and built up by his disciples?

As far as we have any historical evidence to rely upon, the conclusion which we are driven to - and which we have previously stated - is, that no Pictish Church ever existed anywhere in North Britain, before the days of St. Columba; and it was not until long after St. Columba's time that such a Church came into existence. Before the days of St. Columba, in the country of the Southern Picts, there was some mission-work done by St. Ninian; and St. Ninian's work was supplemented afterwards, in that part of the country, by missionaries from Ireland and from Wales; but all

north of the Grampian Mountains lay untouched by Christianity un-
til the coming of St. Columba. It was only after the year 717, af-
ter King Nechtan expelled the Columban Church from his Kingdom,
that it is possible to speak accurately of a Pictish Church - the
Church which took the place of the Columban Church amongst the Picts,
and was subservient to Rome and subject to royal authority.

The most unpleasant feature of Dr. Simpson's book remains
to be mentioned - one can hardly pass it over in silence, it is
such an outstanding feature - the sustained attack which is made
throughout it upon the character of St. Columba. Surely - to quote
but a single sample of Dr. Simpson's constant reflections upon St.
Columba - to speak of "the combination of ferocity and craft that
formed a marked feature of his (St. Columba's) highly complex and
many-tinted character",[1] is to do strange injustice, in the face of
what his most trustworthy biographer tells us, to one of the great-
est Saints of history - who was so greatly used of God   in lay-
ing the foundations of His Church and of His Kingdom in our Land.

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(1) "The Historical St. Columba", 2.

VI.

FOUNDATIONS and COMMEMORATIONS.

When we come in Scotland upon a place-name which bears the name of a saint, what is the conclusion which is to be drawn from the fact? It is one of the most perplexing questions which lies on the threshold of any enquiry into the early history of the Church in Scotland.

"Previous to about the eighth century, as is well known," says Dr. Douglas Simpson, "Celtic churches were not dedicated to saints in heaven, but bore usually the names of their founders,"[1] Upon this assumption then, whenever we come upon a place-name in Scotland which involves the name of any saint who lived before the eighth century - that is, before the Columban Church succumbed to the Church of Rome and adopted its fashions - the most natural inference would be, that the saint so commemorated had once visited the place in question, and founded there a church. And it is upon this assumption that Dr. Douglas Simpson and Dr. A. B. Scott and others largely proceed, in advancing the claims which they make for the existence of an extensive Pre-Columban Brito-Pictish Church, covering practically the whole of Scotland.

(1) Douglas Simpson, 'The Historical St. Columba', 19, note 4.

But the matter is not so easily disposed of; as the few following instances may serve to prove.

The first church, of which we have any record, which was built in Scotland, was the church which St. Ninian erected at Whithorn about 400 A.D.; and, as Bede informs us, St. Ninian named it after St. Martin of Tours.[1] Ailred adds more particularly:- "Having first learned that the most holy Martin, whom he (St. Ninian) always held in wonderful affection, had passed from earth to heaven, he was careful to dedicate (dedicare) the church itself in his honour."[2] Here then, is the first church which was built in Scotland; and it is named, not after its founder, nor after anyone who had anything to do with the place, but after a departed Saint, to do him honour, by one of his disciples.

The next church which we read of, which was built in Scotland, was the church which was erected at Abernethy, by the Pictish King Nechtan Morbet, who reigned from about 457 to 481; and we learn from "The Pictish Chronicle", that Nechtan Morbet "offered it up (immolavit) to God and to St. Brigit, in the presence of Darlugdach", the Abbess of Kildare.[3] St. Brigit, the celebrated Abbess of Kildare, was born about 452 (A.U.), and died in 525 (F.M.), when

(1) Bede, 'H.E.', III, 4.

(2) Ailred, 'V.S.N.', 3.

(3) Skene, 'C.P.S.', 6.

she was succeeded by Darlugdach. There is no suggestion that she
ever visited Abernethy; but Nechtan Morbet had visited her, we are
told, when he was in exile in Ireland; and it was in gratitude
for her prayers upon his behalf, that he dedicated Abernethy to her
on his restoration to his Kingdom.[1] We have an instance here then,
of a church which was dedicated to a Saint who was still living,
but who had never visited the place herself: her representative
(Darlugdach) alone was present upon the occasion.

Kirkoswald again in the parish of Cathcart, and Kirkcarswell
in the parish of Rerwick, are named after Oswald, the saintly King
of Northumbria, who fell in battle in the year 642. There is no
record anywhere, nor the remotest probability either, that King Os-
wald ever visited either of these places which bear his name.
Here we have surely dedications then in the modern sense, i.e.
churches named after a departed Saint, by those who wished to do
him honour, and to enjoy his protection.

Another Northumbrian Saint, whose name finds a place in
Scotland, is St. Cuthbert, who is commemorated in Kirkcudbright.
St. Cuthbert died in 687; and Bede, who wrote his "Life" before
721, tells us, that on one occasion St. Cuthbert "came by sea to

(1) Skene, 'C.P.S.' 7.

the land of the Picts, which is called Niduari."[1]   But, according

to Bede's narrative, the visit which St. Cuthbert made was of the

briefest description; and there was certainly no time for the

founding of a church. Here we have again surely, not a foundation

by the Saint himself, but a commemoration of him afterwards, in a

place which was supposed to have some association with him.

In none of these cases then - which are all instances of

place-names involving the names of Saints who lived before the

eighth century - do we find any foundation by the Saint; but a

mere commemoration by others. It is hazardous to assume then, as

is usually done, that previous to the eighth century, Celtic church-

es usually bore the names of their founders.

In "The Book of Deer" we have the tradition preserved to us

about the foundation of that monastery, and also of the church of

Aberdour: the tradition is as follows:- "Columcille and Drostan

son of Cosgrach his pupil came from Iona, as God had shown to them,

unto Abbordoboir; and Bede the Pict was mormaer of Buchan before

them; and it was he that gave them that town in freedom for ever

from mormaer and tosech. They came after that to the other town:

and it was pleasing to Columcille, because it was full of God's

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(1)   Bede, 'Vita S. Cudberti', XI.   Also Bede, 'Vita Metrica
        Cudberti', IX.   'Vita S. Cudberti', Auctore Anonymo, XV.
        Watson thinks that the Picts referred to were in Fife.
        Watson, 'C.P.N.S.', 176, 177.

grace; and he asked of the mormaer, to wit Bede, that he should give it to him, and he did not give it; and a son of his took an illness after refusing the clerics, and he was nearly dead. After this, the mormaer went to entreat the clerics, that they should make prayer for the son that health should come to him; and he gave in offering to them, from Cloch in tiprat to Cloch pette mic Garnait. They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that, Columcille gave to Drostan that town and blessed it, and left as his word:- "Whosoever should come against it, let him not be many-yeared (or) victorious." Drostan's tears (deara) came in parting with Columcille. Columcille said:- 'Let Dear be its name henceforward'."[1] In this account which has been preserved as to the founding of the churches of Aberdour and Deer, we have a typical example of the way in which churches and monasteries were settled among the native tribes of Scotland in the days of the Columban Church.[2] The head of the Columban Church was the Abbot of Iona - to begin with, St. Columba. Whenever it was desired to plant a church anywhere, a gift of land was asked from the chieftain of the tribe; and he made over the grant of land to God, and to the Abbot of Iona, and to the particular monk who was to found and build the church,

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(1) Stuart, 'The Book of Deer', 91, 92.

(2) The authenticity of the account given in 'The Book of Deer' of the founding of the monastery is denied by Simpson. ('The Historical St. Columba', 35, 39); also by Macbain ('Transactions of The Gaelic Society of Inverness' XI, 137-166, and by A. B. Scott. ('Transactions of The Gaelic Society of Inverness', XXVII, 111).

and afterwards to rule over it. Even after St. Columba had passed
away, these grants of land were still made to him, and to the Abbot
of Iona who had succeeded to him, and to the disciple who was to
build the church.

The conclusion which we come to, therefore, with regard to
place-names in Scotland which involve the names of Celtic Saints,
is, that they prove the influence of the saints so commemorated,
but do not necessarily imply actual foundations by those saints
themselves.

VII.

THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

in

The Columban Church.

The following are the references to the Sacrament of The Lord's Supper, in Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba", and in "The Book of Deer": (1) The names which are given to the Sacrament; (2) The phrases which are used for the celebration of the Sacrament.

(1) The names which are given to the Sacrament:-

sacra eucharistiae mysteria [1]

sacra oblationis mysteria [2]

sacrificale mysterium [3]

mysteria [4]

sacra eucharistiae ministeria [5]

sacrae eucharistiae ministeria [6]

sacrosancta ministeria [7]

sacrae oblationis obsequia [8]

sacra oblatio [9]

missarum solemnia [10]

missarum solemnia Dominica [11]

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(1) I, 32. III, 13, 18.   (2) I, 32.

(3) II, 1.   (4) II, 1.

(5) III, 12.   (6) II, 1.

(7) III, 18.   (8) III, 13.

(9) III, 18.   (10) I, 32, III, 12, 18.

(11) III, 24.

eucharistia[1]

Christi corpus[2]

sacorfiacc (The Sacrifice).[3]

(2) The phrases which are used for the celebration of the Sacrament:

sacra eucharistiae mysteria conficere[4]

sacra eucharistiae mysteria celebrare[5]

sacra eucharistiae mysteria consecrare[6]

missarum solemnia celebrare[7]

missarum solemnia Doninica celebrare[8]

missarum solemnia peragere[9]

sacrae oblationis mysteria ministrare[10]

sacram oblationem consecrare[11]

sacrosancta ministeria perficere[12]

Christi corpus conficere[13]

panem frangere[14]

Dominicum panem frangere[15]

mysteria peragere.[16]

(1) II, 40.   (2) I, 35.   (3) Stuart, 'The Book of Deer',90

(4) I, 32.   (5) III, 24.   (6) III, 18.

(7) III, 18.   (8) II, 24.   (9) I, 32.

(10) I, 32.   (11) III, 18.   (12) III, 18.

(13) I, 35.   (14) I, 35.   (15) I, 35.

(16) II, 1.

VIII.

THE CULDEES.

Of all the fabulists who have had a share in confusing the early chapters of the history of Scotland, and of the history of the church in Scotland, the pride of place must be reserved for Hector Boece; and of all the fables which his prolific genius invented, that which enjoyed perhaps the most prolonged popularity was the account which he gave of those ecclesiastics whom he named the Culdei.[1] Finding that Palladius had been sent in the year 431 by Pope Celestine, "as the first Bishop, to the Scots who believed in Christ";[2] and falling into the common error about these Scots - believing, that is, that they were the Scots of what was afterwards called Scotland; and ignorant of the fact that they were the Scots of Ireland - he dated the introduction of Christianity into Scotland as far back as the year 203;[3] and he filled in the gap, between 203 and 431, with monks whom he named Culdei - explaining the name as Cultores Dei, i.e. 'Worshippers of God'.[4] Boece wrote in the beginning of the sixteenth century - the century in which the Reformation swept over Scotland - and his description of the Culdees, as they came to be called, accepted as history, was eagerly acclaim-

(1) Boece, 'Scotorum Historiae a Prima Gentis Origine'. Lib. VI, fol. 92.50; fol. 99.20; fol. 105. 70. Lib. VII, fol.108.50.

(2) Prosper Aquitan.'Chron. in an. 431'. (H.S.'C.E.D.' II, 290).

(3) Boece, 'Scotorum Historiae', Lib. V. fol. 83. 20.
     Fordun 'Chronica Gentis Scotorum' II, 35.

(4) "Vulgo Culdei, .1. Cultores Dei". (Boece, 'Scotorum Historiae', Lib. VI, fol. 92, 50.)

ed by Protestant writers, and pressed into the controversy which had broken out with the Church of Rome. The argument, which was based upon Boece, was something as follows:- If Palladius was the first bishop who was sent to Scotland, and if there were Christians in Scotland for more than two hundred years before his arrival, then these Christians must have been Presbyterians: the earliest Church in Scotland was therefore Presbyterian, and not Episcopal; and its ministers were these Culdees - the argument seemed irrefutable; and so the fable grew. A still further development took place, when the Culdees came to be identified with the followers of St. Columba. The argument proceeded as follows:- St. Columba, as was well known, Bede being witness, was a Presbyter, and never held the rank of Bishop; and, if a Presbyter, then he must have been a Presbyterian, and all his monks must have been Presbyterians too; and between Presbyterian Culdees, who already existed in Scotland long before St. Columba, and the Presbyterian followers of St. Columba, there was small difference. When the Columban Church went down before the Church of Rome in the eighth century, the Non-conformists who still remained faithful to the old Presbyterian traditions of the Church of Scotland were the

Culdees.   The Reformation of the Church of Scotland in the six-
teenth century was but the restoration of the Church of Scotland
to its original state of purity and simplicity, which it had en-
joyed under the Culdees, before it had been corrupted by the inven-
tions and the errors of Rome.   It was an amazing, and a very grati-
fying piece of 'history', and it delighted Presbyterian writers:
it held the field, until it was finally disposed of, in the middle
of last century, by the great Irish scholar, Dr. Reeves.[1]

We turn from fiction, to get at the facts.

As to the meaning of the name, to begin with, there has
been much discussion, and various interpretations have been sug-
gested.[2]   In Irish and in Scottish records, from the eighth to
the twelfth centuries, we come upon the terms Céli Dé (in Irish),
and Coledi (in Latin), as denoting a certain type of religious
people who had appeared in Ireland and Scotland in that period. Boece
- who ante-dated them, as we have seen, by a thousand years -
named them Culdei, and explained the name as Cultores Dei.   But
Boece's etymology is as fabulous as his history.   The Irish term
Céli Dé consists of the plural of the common noun céle (the Latin
equivalent for which is socius or servus), and the genitive of

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(1)   Reeves, 'The Culdees of The British Islands' (1864).

(2)   'Cuiltich' = 'men of the recess'. (M'Lauchlan 'The Early
         Scottish Church', 121).

Dia (God). A Cele De therefore is 'a companion or servant of God' - an individual, that is, who has given himself up to God, and who has entered into His service.[1]

The Monastic Church was attacked from the outside by the Roman system of government; but it decayed also internally; and some of its most pious members, in order to live a life of greater sanctity, withdrew into desert-places, and became hermits or anchorites. These individuals had many names in Latin; but they were most often called Deicolae (Worshippers of God) or Colidei. They appeared in Ireland about the close of the eighth century under the name of Céli Dé. The earliest Irish Céle-Dé, of whom we have any record, was St. Mailruain, the founder and abbot and bishop of the monastery of Tamhlacht, now Tallaght, near Dublin, whose death is stated in 'The Annals of Ulster' as having occurred in 791. In the fraternity over which St. Mailruain ruled, there also lived "Oengus The Cele-Dé", who wrote the celebrated metrical Calendar, or Félire, which goes by his name. Thereafter the name is common in Ireland, and we find Céli-De attached to many of the principal churches and monasteries in that country.[2]

In Scotland, the earliest reference to the Céli-Dé is in

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(1)   The meaning of the name has been finally settled by a reference, which was unknown to Reeves, in 'The Milan Glosses on The Psalms', supposed to have been written by St. Columbanus of Bobio, in which 'céle Dae' is equated with 'ad illum (Deum) pertinet" ('The Milan Glosses on The Psalms' fol. 30 c. 3. Stokes and Strachan, 'Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus', I, 65. Zimmer, 'Keltische Kirche', Realencyklopädie', X, 234).

(2)   Reeves gives Tamhlacht, Armagh, Clonmacnois, Clondalkin, Monahinha, Devenish, Clones, Pubble, and Scattery Island as churches in Ireland where Céli-De existed. (Reeves. 'The Culdees of The British Islands', 6-25.)

the year 843, when it is recorded that Brude, the son of Dergard, the King of the Picts, "gave the island of Loch Leven to God Omnipotent, and to St. Servanus, and to the Keledei hermits dwelling there, and who are serving and shall serve God in that island."[1] Thereafter we come upon the existence of Keledei in various places in Scotland,[2] up to about the middle of the twelfth century, when they seem at last to have been absorbed by the Augustinian Order, and transformed into canons.

The best description of these Scottish Keledei is probably that which is given by Jocelyn, in his "Life of St. Kentigern". By an anachronism, Jocelyn says that the disciples of St. Kentigern were Keledei; but the description which he gives of the disciples of St. Kentigern probably reflects the ideas which were current about the original ideals of the Keledei in the age in which he wrote, i.e. towards the close of the twelfth century. His description is as follows:- "He (St. Kentigern) joined to himself a great many disciples whom he trained in the sacred literature of the Divine Law, and educated to sanctity of life by his word and example. . . . They all, with godly jealousy, imitated his life and doctrine, accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils, intent on

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(1) Regist. Prior. S. Andr. (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 147).

(2) Reeves gives St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, Rosemarkie, Dunblane, Dornoch, Lismore, Iona, Loch Leven, Abernethy, Monymusk, Muthil, and Monifieth as churches in Scotland where Céli-Dé existed. (Reeves, 'The Culdees of The British Islands', 33-58).

psalms and prayers and meditation upon the Divine Law: content
with sparing diet and dress; occupied at certain times and hours
with manual labour. For, after the fashion of the Primitive Church,
under the Apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their
own; living very soberly, righteously, godly, and continently;
they dwelt, as did St. Kentigern himself, in single huts (singulis
casulis), from the time when they had become mature in age and doc-
trine. Therefore these solitary clerics (singulares clerici) were
called in common speech Calledei."[1]

    That was a picture of the Céli-Dé of Scotland probably as
they were at the first; but in course of time they degenerated sad-
ly from that; and what had been the title which had marked a super-
ior sanctity and asceticism at the beginning, became in the end a
synonym for laxity and irregularity. In 'The History of The Church
of St. Andrews', which was written about the middle of the twelfth
century, we get a very different description of the Keledei of Scot-
land, from the ideal picture which was painted by Jocelyn. There
was a community of Keledei there, we learn, thirteen in number,
"who lived after their own fancy, and the tradition of men, rather
than after the precepts of the holy fathers." They were married,

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(1) Jocelyn. 'V.S.K.' 20.

and had property, and transmitted their church-endowments to their children.[1] It is the last glimpse which we get of the Keledei of Scotland, in the last phase of their decadence, before they were swept away in the Reformation of the Church, which was initiated by Queen Margaret, and carried to its completion by David I.

It is clear that the Celi-De of Scotland then were not - as they have been commonly supposed - the degenerate descendants of the Columban Church.[2] They never had any connection with the Columban Church. They never appeared in Scotland until the Columban Church had passed away. The centres where they appeared were, for the most part, in the Kingdom of the Picts, from which the Columban Church had been expelled under the edict of King Nechtan in 717. They came from Ireland at the first, it would seem;[3] and they helped to fill up the gaps in the Pictish Church which succeeded to the Columban Church in the Pictish state; and they survived until they were swept away, in course of time, by the regular establishment throughout all Scotland of the Church of Rome.

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(1) 'Hist. Eccles. S. Andr.' (H.S. 'C.E.D.' II, 179, 180).

(2) So T. Innes ('Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland', 191, 331). Grub ('Ecclesiastical History of Scotland' I, 228). M'Lauchlan ('The Early Scottish Church' 175). Cunningham, ('Church History of Scotland' I, 63.)

(3) Zimmer. 'Keltische Kirche'. Realencyklopädie', X. 235.

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